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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

I

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

I

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INTRODUCTION

The historian, Appian, was a native of Alexandria, Egypt. All that we know about him as an individual is gleaned from his own writings and from the letters of Fronto, the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. It is supposed that he was born about A.D. 95 and that he died about A.D. 165. A fragment of his works found in recent years speaks of a war against the Jews in Egypt in which he had an adventure. This was probably the war waged by the Emperor Trajan to suppress the Jewish insurrection in that country, A.D. 116. In the preface to his history he says that he reached a high station in his own country and afterwards became a pleader of causes in the court of the emperors at Rome (probably as *advocatus fisci*) until he was appointed procurator by them. In order to be qualified for the latter office he must have been a Roman citizen of equestrian rank. The time of writing the preface is indicated as 900 years from the founding of the city, which would be during the reign of Antoninus Pius. A letter of Fronto to Antoninus is extant asking the appointment of his friend Appian as procurator, not to gratify his ambi-

tion, or for the sake of the pay, but as a merited distinction in his old age. Fronto vouches for his friend's honour and integrity. Appian says also in his preface that he had written an autobiography from which persons wishing to know more about him could obtain information. This work was not known to Photius in the ninth century, although Appian's historical works were all extant at that time.

Appian's plan is sketched in section 14 of his preface. It was not chronological but ethnographical, being in detached parts, corresponding to the wars carried on by the Romans with other nations and among themselves. The earliest detailed account of his works that has reached us is that of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 891. He wrote an encyclopedia of literature entitled the *Myriobiblon*, containing notices of 280 authors whose works were then extant. Those of Appian which he recorded were twenty-four in number, of which eleven have come down to us complete, or nearly so, namely: the Spanish, Hannibalic, Punic, Illyrian, Syrian, Mithridatic, and five books of the Civil wars. Extracts from other books have been preserved in two Byzantine compilations made by order of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus about A.D. 950, one entitled *Concerning the Embassies* and the other *Concerning Virtues and Vices*. Each of these books contains extracts from Appian and other ancient historians on the subjects named. Those of Appian from the former of the two compilations were first collected in a slovenly manner by Fulvio Orsini (Ursinus) in Rome and published in Antwerp in 1580. Those from the latter were reproduced with great fidelity by Henry de Valois at Paris in

1634, from a MS. belonging to his friend Peiresc. A few detached sentences have been found in the lexicon of Suidas and elsewhere. The history terminates at the death of Sextus Pompeius in the year 35 B.C., shortly after the division of the Roman world between Antony and Octavian.

The first publication of any of the works of Appian in modern times was a Latin translation by Petrus Candidus, private secretary to Pope Nicholas V. in 1452. The first printing of the Greek text was done by Carolus Stephanus at Paris in 1551. The most important critical revision and collation of the manuscripts was made by Professor J. Schweighäuser, of the University of Strassburg, published in 1785. The text used in the present translation is in the main that of Professor L. Mendelssohn, of the University of Dorpat, Russia, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1879–82. An important edition is that of Didot, Paris, 1877, which has a Latin version facing the text.

As the events recorded in Appian's history took place long before his own time, it is important to know what authorities he used. He makes mention of Polybius, Paulus Claudius, Hieronymus, Caesar, Augustus and Asinius Pollio as authors, in a way which implies that he is quoting from them. He mentions casually the names of Varro, Fabius Pictor, Cassius Hemina and Rutilius Rufus, but not in terms which imply any use of their works. He does not mention the writings of Livy, Sallust, Dionysius, or Diodorous, although the works of all these authors must have been within his reach. We are not without the means, however, of testing his narrative by those of other ancient writers. This has been a

favourite hunting ground of German scholars for more than a century, and many learned treatises on the sources of Appian have resulted from their labours. That of Professor Schwartz, of the University of Göttingen, in the Classical Encyclopedia of Pauly-Wissowa, is the latest and best, and is a monumental work of its kind, but its author is more successful in demolishing the conclusions of his predecessors than in pointing out the true sources himself. He inclines to the opinion that they were Latin chiefly if not exclusively, and that for the republican era they were the official annalists whom he describes as "high born amateurs in whose hands historiography was placed," and says that "whenever they turned their leisure to give information to a public, ignorant and incompetent for criticism, to these amateurs, lying, particularly in a patriotic cause, was permitted even more than to the rhetorician."

Appian was a narrator of events rather than a philosophic historian. His style is destitute of ornament, but in the rhetorical passages, which are numerous, it is animated, forcible and at times eloquent. Occasionally he rises to the dignity of the best writers of the ancient world. The introduction to the history of the Civil Wars is an example of this kind. Here the events leading up to the tragedies of the Gracchus brothers move forward with a dignified and measured tread which has been imitated by many later historians but surpassed by none. It is the only account of the agrarian controversy by an ancient author giving both sides of that question.

The first book of the Civil Wars is perhaps the most valuable of the Appian series, since it spans the

"twilight period" between Polybius and Cicero. Next to this in point of value is the history of the third Punic War and the destruction of Carthage. It is the only detailed account of those events which has come down to us, and it is dramatic in a high degree. The source of this part of Appian may have been the lost books of Polybius, from whom a quotation is given in section 132 of the Punic Wars.

Appian has been severely censured for want of accuracy in details. According to modern canons of criticism accuracy is the first and indispensable requisite of the historian, but it was not so in the ancient world. General conformity to facts was, of course, necessary, but in most cases the aim of the ancient writer was to make an interesting book or to furnish a setting for the political ideas, or the moral principles, which he entertained. Appian was neither better nor worse in this respect than the average historian of his time. Professor Schwartz says truly that Appian's account of the struggle between Antony and the Senate in book iii. of the Civil Wars is not history but "historical novel writing," but he adds that "with all its disfigurations and inventions the great lines are worked out correctly and keenly, the inventions contributing in part to that very end." This criticism may be safely applied to a large part of Appian's writings.

It was the habit of ancient historians to put speeches into the mouths of their leading actors in order to present the ideas that moved peoples or political parties or factions, and sometimes to deliver the author's moral lectures to mankind. Thucydides did so, and his example, as Professor Gilbert Murray says, was "a fatal legacy to two thousand years of

history-writing after him." Appian followed the fashion. The speeches which he delivered in this way are the best part of his work in point of style. We feel that here we are listening to the practised debater, the trained pleader of causes in the imperial courts. Professor Schwartz even puts the edict of proscription of the triumvirs (book iv, sec. 8–11 of the Civil Wars) in that category, although the author says that he has translated it from Latin into Greek.

In conclusion it may be said that the writings of Appian embrace matter of exceeding interest that no student of Roman history can afford to overlook.

To Theodore Lyman Wright, Professor of Greek in Beliot College, the translator is deeply indebted for helpful service in the revision of his work, and for numerous suggestions for bettering the phraseology.

H. W.

NOTE

Appian *Bell. Civ.* Book 1 ed. E. Gabba, Florence, 1958; ed. 2 1967; Book 5 ed. and translated E. Gabba, Florence, 1970.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρχόμενος συγγράφειν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην προτάξαι τοὺς ὅρους ὅσων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε. ἐν μὲν τῷ ὠκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν τοῦ πλείονος μέρους, διὰ δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσπλέοντί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς στήλας περιπλέοντι νήσων ἄρχουσι πασῶν, καὶ ἠπείρων ὅσαι καθήκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὧν εἰσὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρῶτοι Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα Λιβύων ἔθνη μέχρι Καρχηδόνος, καὶ τούτων ὕπερθε Νομάδες, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Νουμίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν Νουμιδίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Λίβυες ὅσοι περιοικοῦσι τὰς Σύρτεις μέχρι Κυρήνης, Κυρήνη τε αὐτὴ καὶ Μαρμαρίδαι καὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἳ τὴν Μάρειαν λίμνην κατοικοῦσι, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθηκε πρὸ Αἰγύπτου, Αἴγυπτός τε αὐτὴ μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑῴων ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντι, καὶ μέχρι Πηλουσίου διὰ θαλάσσης.

2. Ἐπιστρέφοντι δὲ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ περιιόντι Συρία τε ἡ Παλαιστίνη, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

PREFACE

1. Intending to write the history of the Romans, I have deemed it necessary to begin with the boundaries of the nations under their sway. They are as follows: In the ocean, the major part of those who inhabit the British Isles. Then entering the Mediterranean by the Pillars of Hercules and circumnavigating the same we find under their rule all the islands and the mainlands washed by that sea. The first of these on the right hand are the Mauretanians of the coast and various other African nations as far as Carthage. Farther inland are the nomad tribes whom the Romans call Numidians and their country Numidia; then other Africans who dwell around the Syrtes as far as Cyrene, and Cyrene itself; also the Marmaridae, the Ammonii, and those who dwell by the lake Mareotis; then the great city founded by Alexander on the border of Egypt, and Egypt itself, as one sails up the Nile, as far as eastern Ethiopia; and as far as Pelusium by sea.

2. Here turning our course and passing round, we take in Palestine-Syria, and beyond it a part

μοῖρα Ἀράβων, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν Φοίνικες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Φοινίκων ὑπερθεν ἥ τε κοίλη Συρία, καὶ μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Παλμυρηνοί τε καὶ ἡ Παλμυρηνῶν ψάμμος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Εὐφράτην καθήκουσα, Κίλικές τε Σύρων ἐχόμενοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι Κιλίκων ὅμοροι, καὶ μέρος Ἀρμενίων, οὓς καλοῦσιν Ἀρμενίαν βραχυτέραν, παρά τε τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον ἄλλα ὅσα Ποντικὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα γένη. Σύροι μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίλικες ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφορῶσιν, Ἀρμένιοι δὲ καὶ Καππαδόκαι ἔς τε τὰ Ποντικὰ γένη καθήκουσι, καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν μεσόγειον ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀρμενίαν μείζονα, ἧς Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἄρχουσι μὲν ἐς φόρου κομιδήν, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι τοὺς βασιλέας. ἀπὸ δὲ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Κιλίκων ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν καταβαίνοντι ἔστιν ἡ μεγάλη χερρόνησος· ὅ τε γὰρ πόντος ὁ Εὔξεινος καὶ ἡ Προποντὶς καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐπὶ δεξιά, καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον, ἐκ δὲ λαιᾶς τὸ Παμφύλιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος (λέγεται γὰρ ἄμφω) ποιεῖ χερρόνησον, καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος ἀφορῶντες, Πάμφυλοί τε καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Καρία μέχρι Ἰωνίας, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, Γαλάται τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Φρύγες, ἐν δὲ μεσογείῳ Πισίδαι τε καὶ Λυδοί. τοσαῦτα ἔθνη τὴν χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πάντων ἄρχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

3. Περάσαντες δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ Μυσῶν τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον. ἀπὸ δὲ

of Arabia. The Phoenicians hold the country next to Palestine on the sea, and beyond the Phoenician territory are Coele-Syria, and the parts stretching from the sea as far inland as the river Euphrates, namely Palmyra and the sandy country round about, extending even to the Euphrates itself. The Cilicians come next to the Syrians, and their neighbours are the Cappadocians, and that part of the Armenian country called Lesser Armenia. Along the Euxine are other nations called by the common name Pontic, subject to the Roman rule. The Syrians and Cilicians border on the Mediterranean, the Armenians and Cappadocians extend to the Pontic nations and to the interior as far as Greater Armenia, which is not subject to the Romans in the way of tribute, and its people appoint their own kings. Descending from Cilicia and Cappadocia to Ionia we find the great peninsula bounded on the right by the Euxine, the Propontis, the Hellespont, and the Aegean, and on the left by the Pamphylian or Egyptian sea, for it is called by both names. Some of the countries embraced in it look toward the Egyptian sea, namely: Pamphylia and Lycia and after them Caria extending to Ionia. Others look toward the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont, namely: the Galatians, Bithynians, Mysians, and Phrygians. In the interior are the Pisidians and Lydians. These are the nations which inhabit this peninsula and all are under Roman rule.

3. Crossing from these coasts they rule other nations around the Euxine, the Mysians of Europe and the Thracians who border that sea. Beyond

Ἰονίας κόλπος ἔστι θαλάσσης ὁ Αἰγαῖος, καὶ ἕτερος Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ Σικελικὸς πορθμός, καὶ ἡ Τυρρηνικὴ θάλασσα μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν. τοῦτο μηκός ἐστιν ἀπ' Ἰονίας ἐπὶ τὸν ὠκεανόν, καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ τῷ παράπλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα τοσαῦτα, ἥ τε Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα καὶ Θεσσαλία καὶ Μακεδόνες, καὶ ὅσα πρόσοικα ἄλλα Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἔθνη, αὐτή τε Ἰταλία μακροτάτη δὴ πάντων ἐθνῶν οὖσα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου παρήκουσα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὓς αὐτοὶ Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἀφορᾷ, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Ῥῆνον ποταμὸν ᾤκηται, Ἰβηρία τε πᾶσα καὶ Κελτίβηρες ἐπὶ τὸν ἑσπέριον καὶ βόρειον ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας τελευτῶντες. καὶ τούτων πέρι καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστου δηλώσω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ὅταν ἐς ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἡ γραφὴ περιΐῃ. νῦν δέ, ὅσον ὅροις μεγάλοις τὴν ἀρχὴν περιλαβεῖν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν εἴρηται, 4. κατὰ δὲ γῆν περιοδεύοντι μοῖρά τε Μαυρουσίων ἂν εἴη τῶν παρ' Αἰθίοψι τοῖς περὶ ἑσπέραν, καὶ εἴ τι θερμότερον ἢ θηριῶδες ἄλλο Λιβύης μέχρι Αἰθιόπων τῶν ἑῴων. ταῦτα μὲν Λιβύης Ῥωμαίοις ὅροι, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας ποταμός τε Εὐφράτης καὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ἡ Ἀρμενίας τῆς μείζονος ἀρχή, καὶ Κόλχοι παρὰ τὴν Εὔξεινον θάλασσαν ᾠκημένοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πελάγους. ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποταμοὶ δύο, Ῥῆνός τε καὶ Ἴστρος, μάλιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὁρίζουσι, καὶ τούτων Ῥῆνος μὲν ἐς τὸν

Ionia are the Aegean sea, the Adriatic, the straits of Sicily, and the Tyrrhenian sea stretching to the Pillars of Hercules. This is the distance from Ionia to the ocean. Following the coast line we find the following countries subject to the Romans: all of Greece, Thessaly, and Macedonia, also the adjoining Thracians, the Illyrians, and Pannonians, and Italy itself, the longest country of all, extending from the Adriatic and bordering the greater part of the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the country of the Celts (whom the Romans call Gauls), some of whom face the Mediterranean, others the Northern ocean, and still others dwell along the river Rhine; also all of Spain and Celtiberia on the Northern and Western oceans as far as the Pillars of Hercules. Of these I shall speak more particularly when I come to deal with each nation. But for the present let this suffice for the principal boundaries which define their empire along the sea.

4. On the landward side the boundaries are the part of Mauritania adjoining western Ethiopia and the tropical region, infested with numbers of wild beasts, which extends as far as eastern Ethiopia. These are the Roman boundaries in Africa. Those of Asia are the river Euphrates, Mount Caucasus, the kingdom of Greater Armenia, the Colchians who dwell along the Euxine sea, and the remainder of that coast. In Europe two rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, for the most part bound the Roman empire. Of these, the Rhine empties into the Northern

βόρειον ὠκεανόν, Ἴστρος δὲ ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον καταδιδοῖ. περάσαντες δέ πῃ καὶ τούσδε Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον ἄρχουσιν ἐνίων, καὶ Γετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον, οὓς Δακοὺς καλοῦσιν. ὅροι μὲν οὗτοι κατ' ἤπειρον, ὡς ἐγγύτατα ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· 5. νῆσοι δὲ πᾶσαι ὅσαι τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰσίν, αἵ τε Κυκλάδες ἢ Σποράδες ἢ Ἰάδες ἢ Ἐχινάδες ἢ Τυρρηνίδες ἢ Γυμνησίαι ἢ ὅσας ἄλλας ὀνομάζουσιν ἑτέρως, περί τε Λιβύην καὶ τὸ Ἰόνιον ἢ Αἰγύπτιον ἢ Μυρτῷον ἢ Σικελικὸν ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ὅσαι τε ἐξαιρέτως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομάζονται μεγάλαι νῆσοι, Κύπρος τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ Ῥόδος καὶ Λέσβος καὶ Εὔβοια καὶ Σικελία καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνος, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη μικροτέρα τε καὶ μείζων, ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα. καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον περάσαντες, ἠπείρου μεγάλης μείζονα, τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, οὐδὲν τῆς ἄλλης δεόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ εὔφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἣν ἔχουσιν.

6. Τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ὄντων τὸ μέγεθος, Ἰταλίαν μὲν αὐτὴν ἐπιμόχθως τε καὶ μόλις ἐν πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι κατειργάσαντο βεβαίως. καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα βασιλεῦσιν ἐχρῶντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες, καὶ ἐπομόσαντες οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ τε ἐχρήσαντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ προστάταις ἄρχουσιν ἐτησίοις. διακοσίοις δὲ μάλιστα ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἐπὶ μέγα ἦλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ξενικῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐκράτησαν ἀπείρου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐθνῶν τότε ὑπηγάγοντο. Γάιός τε

ocean and the Danube into the Euxine. On the other side of these rivers, however, some of the Celts beyond the Rhine are under Roman sway, and beyond the Danube some of the Getae, who are called Dacians. These, with the nearest approach to accuracy, are the boundaries on the mainland.

5. All the islands also of the Mediterranean, the Cyclades, Sporades, Ionian isles, Echinades, the Tuscan isles, the Balearic isles, and all the rest, whatever their different names, that are off the coast of Libya and in Libyan, Ionian, Egyptian, Myrtoan, Sicilian, and other Mediterranean waters, by whatever names called, also those which the Greeks by way of distinction call the great islands, Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Lesbos, Euboea, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and whatever other isle there may be, large or small—all are under Roman rule. Crossing the Northern ocean to Britain, which is an island greater than a large continent, they have taken possession of the better and larger part, not caring for the remainder. Indeed, the part they do hold is not very profitable to them.

6. Although holding the empire of so many and such great nations the Romans laboured five hundred years with toil and difficulty to establish their power firmly in Italy itself. Half of this time they were under kings, but having expelled them and sworn to have kingly rule no longer, they henceforward adopted aristocracy, and chose their rulers yearly. In about the two hundred years next succeeding the five hundred their dominion increased greatly, they acquired unexampled foreign power, and brought the greater part of the nations under their sway. Gaius

Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε δυναστεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρατυνάμενός τε καὶ διαθέμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ἀσφαλῆ, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφύλαξε, μόναρχον δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι. καὶ ἔστιν ἥδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μέχρι νῦν ὑφ' ἑνὶ ἄρχοντι, οὓς βασιλέας μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὸν ὅρκον αἰδούμενοι τὸν πάλαι, αὐτοκράτορας δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν, ὃ καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων στρατηγῶν ὄνομα ἦν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πάντα βασιλεῖς.

7. Καὶ ἔστι καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐγγυτάτω διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς ἥ τε πόλις μάλιστα κατεκοσμήθη, καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ηὐξήθη, καὶ πάντα ἐν εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ καὶ εὐσταθεῖ προῆλθεν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀσφαλῆ. καί τινα καὶ τοῖς προτέροις ἔθνεσιν οἵδε οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν προσέλαβον, καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύναντο. ὅλως τε δι' εὐβουλίαν τὰ κράτιστα γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔχοντες σώζειν ἐθέλουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἄπειρον ἐκφέρειν ἐπὶ βάρβαρα ἔθνη πενιχρὰ καὶ ἀκερδῆ, ὧν ἐγώ τινας εἶδον ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρεσβευομένους τε καὶ διδόντας ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι, καὶ οὐ δεξάμενον βασιλέα ἄνδρας οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρησίμους ἐσομένους. ἔθνεσί τε ἄλλοις, ἀπείροις τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτοὶ διδόασι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεόμενοι· καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐνίοις προσαναλίσκουσιν, αἰδούμενοι καίπερ ἐπιζημίους ὄντας ἀποθέσθαι. τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐν

[Julius] Caesar having got the upper hand of his rivals possessed himself of the sovereignty, which he strengthened, systematised, and secured, and, while preserving the form and name of the republic, made himself the absolute ruler of all. In this way the government, from that time to this, has been a monarchy; but they do not call their rulers kings, out of respect, as I think, for the ancient oath. They call them imperators [emperors], that being the title also of those who formerly held the chief command of the armies for the time being. Yet they are very kings in fact.

7. From the advent of the emperors to the present time is nearly two hundred years more, in the course of which the city has been greatly embellished, its revenue much increased, and in the long reign of peace and security everything has moved towards a lasting prosperity. Some nations have been added to the empire by these emperors, and the revolts of others have been suppressed. Possessing the best part of the earth and sea they have, on the whole, aimed to preserve their empire by the exercise of prudence, rather than to extend their sway indefinitely over poverty-stricken and profitless tribes of barbarians, some of whom I have seen at Rome offering themselves, by their ambassadors, as its subjects, but the emperor would not accept them because they would be of no use to him. They give kings to a great many other nations whom they do not wish to have under their own government. On some of these subject nations they spend more than they receive from them, deeming it dishonourable to give them up even though they are costly. They surround the empire with great

κύκλῳ περικάθηνται μεγάλοις στρατοπέδοις, καὶ φυλάσσουσι τὴν τοσήνδε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ὥσπερ χωρίον.

8. Ἀρχή τε οὐδεμία προῆλθέ πω μέχρι νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο μεγέθους καὶ χρόνου. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τις ὁμοῦ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Θηβαίων, δυναστευσάντων παρὰ μέρος, ἀπὸ τῆς Δαρείου στρατείας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν συναγάγοι, πολλὰ ἂν ἔτη φανείη. οἵ τε ἀγῶνες αὐτοις ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς περικτήσει μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οἱ λαμπρότατοι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας πρὸς ἀρχὰς ἄλλας ἐπιούσας. οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς ἑτέρας ἐλπίδι προσέπταισαν· ἢ εἴ τις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διῆλθε, μικρὰ καὶ ὅδε δράσας εὐθὺς ἐπανήει. ὅλως τε ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ δύναμις, καίπερ ἐκθύμως ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὐ προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ δεινοὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο ἀδούλωτον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀήττητον κατασχεῖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἀπὸ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ πάνυ μοι δοκοῦσι πρᾶξαι κακῶς καὶ ἀναξίως αὑτῶν.

9. Ἥ τε τῆς Ἀσιας ἀρχὴ ἔργων μὲν πέρι καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδ' ἐς τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν Εὐρωπαίων παραβάλλεται δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν. καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσει καὶ ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ προϊοῦσα· ὀλίγαις γὰρ μάχαις Ῥωμαῖοι τοσούτων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθνῶν κατέσχον ὅσων ἔτι κρατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ὑπερμαχομένων, τὰ

armies and they garrison the whole stretch of land and sea like a single stronghold.

8. No empire down to the present time ever attained to such size and duration. As for the Greeks, even if we reckon as one the successive periods of Athenian, Spartan, and Theban supremacy, which followed that most glorious epoch of Greek history, the invasion of Darius, and further include with them the Greek hegemony of Philip, son of Amyntas, we see that their empire lasted comparatively but few years. Their wars were waged not so much for the sake of acquisition of empire, as out of mutual rivalry, and the most glorious of them were fought in defence of Greek freedom against the aggression of foreign powers. Those of them who invaded Sicily with the hope of extending their dominion failed, and whenever they marched into Asia they accomplished small results and speedily returned. In short the Greek power, ardent as it was in fighting for the hegemony, never established itself beyond the boundaries of Greece; and although they succeeded wonderfully in keeping their country unenslaved and undefeated for a long period, their history since the time of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander, the son of Philip, is in my opinion most inglorious and unworthy of them.

9. The empire of Asia is not to be compared, as to achievements and bravery, with that of the smallest of the countries of Europe, on account of the effeminacy and cowardice of the Asiatic peoples, as will be shown in the progress of this history. Such of the Asiatic nations as the Romans hold, they subdued in a few battles, though even the Macedonians joined

δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐξετρίφθησαν. Ἀσσυρίων τε αὖ καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, τριῶν τῶνδε μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, συντιθεμένων οὕτ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος ἐφίκοιτο τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἐτῶν, ὅσα ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, τό τε μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἐς ἥμισυ νομίζω τῆσδε τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἁπάντων, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπό τε δύσεων καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὠκεανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς ἄνω δι' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ τὸν ἑῷον ὠκεανὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ διεξέρχεται, καὶ ὅρος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ ὠκεανὸς ἀρχομένου τε καὶ δυομένου τοῦ θεοῦ, θαλάσσης τε πάσης ἡγεμονεύουσι τῆς ἐντὸς οὔσης καὶ νήσων ἁπασῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ Βρεττανῶν. Μήδοις δὲ καὶ Πέρσαις ἥ τε πλείστη θάλασσα ὁ Παμφύλιος κόλπος ἦν καὶ μία νῆσος ἡ Κύπρος ἤ τί που ἄλλο σμικρὸν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐν θαλάσσῃ· τοῦ τε Περσικοῦ κόλπου (καὶ γὰρ τοῦδε ἐκράτουν) πόσον τι καὶ τὸ τούτου πέλαγός ἐστιν;

10. Τὰ δὲ δὴ Μακεδόνων, τὰ μὲν πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ πάνυ σμικρὰ ἦν, καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ὑπήκουσαν· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου πόνου μὲν καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἔγεμεν οὐ μεμπτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρόσχωρα μόνα ἦν. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγέθει τε καὶ πλήθει καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ ταχυεργίᾳ διαλάμψασα ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐς ἄπειρον καὶ ἀμίμητον ἐλθοῦσα, διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ χρόνου προσέοικεν ἀστραπῇ λαμπρᾷ· ἥς γε καὶ διαλυθείσης ἐς πολλὰς σατραπείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέλαμπε τὰ μέρη. καὶ τοῖς

in the defence, while the conquest of Africa and of Europe was in many cases very exhausting. Again, the duration of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians taken together (the three greatest empires before Alexander), does not amount to nine hundred years, a period which that of Rome has already reached, and the size of their empire, I think, was not half that of the Romans, whose boundaries extend from the setting of the sun and the Western ocean to Mount Caucasus and the river Euphrates, and through Egypt up country to Ethiopia and through Arabia as far as the Eastern ocean, so that their boundary is the ocean both where the sun-god rises and where he sinks, while they control the entire Mediterranean, and all its islands as well as Britain in the ocean. But the greatest sea-power of the Medes and Persians included only the gulf of Pamphylia and the single island of Cyprus or perhaps some other small islets belonging to Ionia in the Mediterranean. They controlled the Persian gulf also, but how much of that is open sea?

10. Again, the history of Macedonia before Philip, the son of Amyntas, was of very small account; there was a time, indeed, when the Macedonians were a subject race. The reign of Philip himself was full of toil and struggles which were not contemptible, yet even his deeds concerned only Greece and the neighbouring country. The empire of Alexander was splendid in its magnitude, in its armies, in the success and rapidity of his conquests, and it wanted little of being boundless and unexampled, yet in its shortness of duration it was like a brilliant flash of lightning. Although broken into several satrapies even the parts were splendid. The kings of my own

ἐμοῖς βασιλεῦσι μόνοις ἦν στρατιά τε πεζῶν μυριάδες εἴκοσι καὶ μυριάδες ἱππέων τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολεμισταὶ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἅρματα ἐς μάχας δισχίλια, καὶ ὅπλα ἐς διαδοχὴν μυριάσι τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς πεζομαχίαν, ἐς δὲ ναυμαχίας κοντωτά, καὶ ὅσα σμικρότερα ἄλλα, δισχίλια, τριήρεις δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμιολίας μέχρι πεντήρους πεντακόσιαι καὶ χίλιαι, καὶ σκεύη τριηρετικὰ διπλότερα τούτων, θαλαμηγά τε χρυσόπρυμνα καὶ χρυσέμβολα ἐς πολέμου πομπήν, οἷς αὐτοὶ διαπλέοντες ἐπέβαινον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὀκτακόσια, χρημάτων δ' ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τέσσαρες καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδες ταλάντων Αἰγυπτίων. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτο παρασκευῆς τε καὶ στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀναγραφῶν φαίνεται προαγαγών τε καὶ καταλιπὼν ὁ δεύτερος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃς καὶ πορίσαι δεινότατος ἦν βασιλέων καὶ δαπανῆσαι λαμπρότατος καὶ κατασκευάσαι μεγαλουργότατος. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν οὐ πολὺ τούτων ἀποδέοντα. ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων αὐτῶν συνετρίφθη, στασιασάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους· ᾧ δὴ μόνῳ ἀρχαὶ μεγάλαι καταλύονται.

11. Τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν[1] ἔς τε τὴν περίκτησιν αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ καὶ φερεπονίᾳ καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πάντας ὑπερῆραν, οὔτε ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἐπαιρόμενοι μέχρι βεβαίως ἐκράτησαν, οὔτε συστελλόμενοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς· ὧν γε καὶ δύο μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐνίοτε μιᾶς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἑτέρας

[1] So Schw. for MSS. μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον.

country [Egypt] alone had an army consisting of 200,000 foot, 40,000 horse, 300 war elephants, and 2,000 armed chariots, and arms in reserve for 300,000 soldiers more. This was their force for land service. For naval service they had 2,000 barges propelled by poles, and other smaller craft, 1,500 galleys with from one and a half to five benches of oars each, and galley furniture for twice as many ships, 800 vessels provided with cabins, gilded on stem and stern for the pomp of war, with which the kings themselves were wont to go to naval combats; and money in their treasuries to the amount of 740,000 Egyptian talents.[1] Such was the state of preparedness for war shown by the royal accounts as recorded and left by the king[2] of Egypt second in succession after Alexander, a monarch remarkable for his skill in raising money, for the lavishness of his expenditure, and for the magnificence of his public works. It appears also that many of the other satrapies were not much inferior in these respects. Yet all these resources were wasted under their successors through civil war, by which alone great empires are destroyed.

11. Through prudence and good fortune has the empire of the Romans attained to greatness and duration; in gaining which they have excelled all others in bravery, patience, and hard labour. They were never elated by success until they had firmly secured their power, nor were they ever cast down by misfortune, although they sometimes lost 20,000

[1] The sum must be greatly exaggerated. Various attempts have been made to explain the error.

[2] Ptolemy Philadelphus, d. 247 B.C.

τέσσαρες, ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ ἄλλης πέντε. καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευον, καὶ λιμοί τε καὶ λοιμοὶ συνεχεῖς καὶ στάσεις, ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐπιπίπτοντα, οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἕως ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κακοπαθοῦντές τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τόδε προήγαγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὤναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβουλίαν.

12. Καὶ τάδε πολλοὶ μὲν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονικῆς, μεγίστης δὴ τῶν προτέρων οὔσης πολὺ μείζων. ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνοντά με, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐντελῆ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰδεῖν ἐθέλοντα, ἀπέφερεν ἡ γραφὴ πολλάκις ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἐπὶ Σικελίαν ἢ Μακεδονίαν ἢ ἐπὶ πρεσβείας ἢ συμμαχίας ἐς ἄλλα ἔθνη γενομένας, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνῆγεν ἢ Σικελίαν ὥσπερ ἀλώμενον, καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τούτων ἀτελῶν ἔτι ὄντων μετέφερεν, ἕως οὗ τὰ μέρη συνήγαγον ἐμαυτῷ, ὁσάκις ἐς Σικελίαν ἐστράτευσαν ἢ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἢ ὁτιοῦν ἔπραξαν ἐς Σικελίαν, μέχρι κατεστήσαντο αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν παρόντα, ὁσάκις τε αὖ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπολέμησαν ἢ ἐσπείσαντο, ἢ ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἢ πρεσβείας ἐδέξαντο παρ' ἐκείνων, ἢ ἔδρασαν ὁτιοῦν ἢ ἔπαθον πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἕως Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὸ Λιβύων ἔθνος προσέλαβον, καὶ αὖθις ᾤκισαν αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνα, καὶ Λιβύην κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα. καὶ τόδε μοι κατ' ἔθνος ἕκαστον ἐπράχθη, βουλομένῳ τὰ ἐς ἑκάστους ἔργα Ῥωμαίων καταμαθεῖν, ἵνα τὴν τῶν

men in a single day, at another time 40,000 and once 50,000, and although the city itself was often in danger. Neither famine, nor frequently recurring plague, nor sedition, nor all these falling upon them at once could abate their ardour; until, through the doubtful struggles and dangers of seven hundred years, they achieved their present greatness, and won prosperity as the reward of good counsel.

12. These things have been described by many writers, both Greek and Roman, and the history is even longer than that of the Macedonian empire, which was the longest history of earlier times. Being interested in it, and desiring to compare the Roman prowess carefully with that of every other nation, my history has often led me from Carthage to Spain, from Spain to Sicily or to Macedonia, or to join some embassy to foreign countries, or some alliance formed with them; thence back to Carthage or Sicily, like a wanderer, and again elsewhere, while the work was still unfinished. At last I have brought the parts together, showing how often the Romans sent armies or embassies into Sicily and what they did there until they brought it into its present condition; also how often they made war and peace with the Carthaginians, or sent embassies to them or received the same from them, and what damage they inflicted upon or suffered from them until they demolished Carthage and made Africa a Roman province, and how they rebuilt Carthage and brought Africa into its present condition. I have made this research also in respect to each of the other provinces, desiring to learn the Romans' relations to each, in order to understand the weakness of these nations or their power of

ἐθνῶν ἀσθένειαν ἢ φερεπονίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑλόντων ἀρετὴν ἢ εὐτυχίαν, ἢ εἴ τι αὖ ἄλλο συγκύρημα συνηνέχθη, καταμάθοιμι.

13. Νομίσας δ' ἄν τινα καὶ ἄλλον οὕτως ἐθελῆσαι μαθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, συγγράφω κατ' ἔθνος ἕκαστον· ὅσα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς ἑτέρους αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, ἐξαίρω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐκείνων μετατίθημι. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐπὶ μὲν πᾶσι περισσὸν ἡγούμην καταλέγειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκ διαστήματος ὑπομνήσω. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα Ῥωμαίοις πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἕν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ἑκάστῳ, μετὰ δὲ ἐγένοντο δύο· καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ καὶ τρίτον ἤρξατό τισιν ἐς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐκ πάθους ἢ ἀρετῆς προστίθεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τισὶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἦσαν ἐπικλήσεις. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔστι μὲν ὅπου καὶ πάντων ἐπιμνήσομαι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἐς γνώρισμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἃ κυριώτατα ἡγοῦνται, προσαγορεύσω.

14. Τριῶν δὲ βίβλων οὐσῶν αἳ τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄντα αὐτοῖς πολλὰ πεπραγμένα συνάγουσι, τὰς μὲν τρεῖς ἡγητέον εἶναι Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλικάς, διὰ δὲ πλῆθος ἔργον διῄρηνται. καὶ δηλοῦσιν ἡ μὲν πρώτη τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἑπτὰ γενομένων ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφω Ῥωμαϊκῶν βασιλικήν. ἡ δ' ἑξῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, χωρίς γε τῆς παρὰ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον· ἐς δὲ σύγκρισιν τῆς προτέρας ἥδε λέγεται ἡ ἑξῆς

endurance, as well as the bravery or good fortune of their conquerors or any other circumstance contributing to the result.

13. Thinking that the public would like to learn the history of the Romans in this way, I am going to write the part relating to each nation separately, omitting what happened to the others in the meantime, and taking it up in its proper place. It seems superfluous to put down the dates of everything, but I shall mention those of the most important events now and then. As to names, Roman citizens, like other people, formerly had only one each; afterwards they took a second, and not much later, for easier recognition, there was given to some of them a third derived from some personal incident or as a distinction for bravery, just as certain of the Greeks had surnames in addition to their ordinary names. For purposes of distinction I shall sometimes mention all the names, especially of illustrious men, but for the most part I shall call these and others by the names that are deemed most characteristic.

14. As there are three books which treat of the numerous exploits of the Romans in Italy, these three together must be considered the Italian-Roman history; but the division into books has been made on account of the great number of events which they contain. The first of these will show the events that took place in successive reigns while they had kings, of whom there were seven, and this I shall call the history of Rome under the kings. Next in order will be the history of the rest of Italy except the part along the Adriatic. This, by way of distinction from the

Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἰταλική. τελευταιῳ δὲ ἔθνει, Σαυνιταις, οἳ παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ᾤκηνται, μεγάλῳ τε καὶ χαλεπῷ ὀγδοηκοντα ἔτεσι συνεπλάκησαν, μέχρι καὶ τούσδε, καὶ ὅσα σφίσιν ἐγγὺς ἔθνη συνεμάχει, καὶ Ἕλληνας ὅσοι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσίν, ὑπηγάγοντο· καὶ ἔστιν ἥδε, τῶν προτέρων ἐς σύγκρισιν, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Σαυνιτική. τὰ δὲ λοιπά, τούτων ἑκάστη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιγράφονται, Ῥωμαϊκῶν Κελτική τε καὶ Σικελικὴ καὶ Ἰβηρικὴ καὶ Ἀννιβαϊκὴ καὶ Καρχηδονιακὴ καὶ Μακεδονικὴ καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. τέτακται δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλη μετ' ἄλλην ὡς ἑκάστῳ πολέμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸ ἑτέρου λαβεῖν συνέπεσεν, εἰ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῷ ἔθνει μετὰ πολλὰ ἕτερα γεγένηται. ὅσα δ' αὐτοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασάν τε καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἐμφύλια, φοβερώτερα σφίσι ταῦτα μάλιστα γενόμενα, ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν στάσεων διῄρηται, τὰ μὲν ἐς Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν, τὰ δ' ἐς Πομπήιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τὰ δ' ἐς Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ τὸν ἕτερον Καίσαρα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν ἐπίκλην, πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, τὰ δ' ἐς ἀλλήλους, αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος στασιασάντων. ᾧ τινὶ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐμφυλίων ὄντι καὶ Αἴγυπτος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς μοναρχίαν περιῆλθεν.

15. Ὧδε μὲν ἐς βίβλους ἕκαστα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἢ ἐς στρατηγοὺς τὰ ἐμφύλια, διῄρηται· ἡ δὲ τελευταία καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτῶν ὅσην ἔχουσιν, ἢ πρόσοδον ἣν καρποῦνται καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος, ἢ εἴ τι προσαναλίσκουσιν ἐς τὰς ἐπινείους φρουράς, ὅσα τε τοιουτότροπα ἄλλα, ἐπιδείξει. ἁρμόζει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἄρξασθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς

former, will be called the second Italian book of Roman history. With the last nation, the Samnites, who dwelt along the Adriatic, the Romans struggled eighty years under the greatest difficulties, but finally they subjugated them and the neighbours who were allied with them, and also the Greeks of southern Italy. This, by way of distinction from the former, will be called the Samnite Roman history. The rest will be named according to its subject, the Celtic, Sicilian, Spanish, Hannibalic, Carthaginian, Macedonian, and so on. The order of these histories with respect to each other is according to the time when the Romans began to be embroiled in war with each nation, even though many other things intervened before that nation came to its end. The internal seditions and civil wars of the Romans—to them the most calamitous of all—will be designated under the names of their chief actors, as the wars of Marius and Sulla, those of Pompey and Caesar, those of Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, against the murderers of the first Caesar, and those of Antony and Augustus against each other. At the end of this last of the civil wars Egypt passed under the Roman sway, and the Roman government itself became a monarchy.

15. Thus, the foreign wars have been divided into books according to the nations, and the civil wars according to the chief commanders. The last book will show the present military force of the Romans, the revenues they collect from each province, what they spend for the naval service, and other things of that kind. It is proper to begin with the origin of the people of whose prowess I am about to write.

αὐτῶν συγγράφοντα. τίς δὲ ὢν ταῦτα συνέγραψα, πολλοὶ μὲν ἴσασι καὶ αὐτὸς προέφηνα, σαφέστερον δ' εἰπεῖν, Ἀππιανὸς Ἀλεξανδρεύς, ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἥκων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ δίκαις ἐν Ῥώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἠξίωσαν. καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μαθεῖν, ἔστι μοι καὶ περὶ τούτου συγγραφή.

Who I am, who have written these things, many indeed know, and I have already indicated. To speak more plainly I am Appian of Alexandria, a man who have reached the highest place in my native country, and have been, in Rome, a pleader of causes before the emperors, until they deemed me worthy of being made their procurator. And if any one has a great desire to learn more about my affairs there is a special treatise of mine on that subject.[1]

[1] See Introduction.

BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

FRAGMENTS

Α

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ.

1

1. Ἄρχεται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ Αἰνείου τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τοῦ Κάπυος, ὃς ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ ἤκμαζε πολέμῳ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἔφυγε, καὶ μετὰ μακρὰν πλάνην κατέπλει ἔς τινα τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰγιαλόν, Λώρεντον ἐπικαλούμενον, ἔνθα καὶ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, καὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Τροίαν καλοῦσιν. ἦρχε τότε Ἀβοριγίνων τῶν τῇδε Ἰταλῶν Φαῦνος ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως, ὃς καὶ ζεύγνυσιν Αἰνείᾳ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Λαουινίαν, καὶ γῆν δίδωσιν ἐκ περιόδου σταδίων τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ πόλιν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Λαουίνιον ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει τοῦ Φαύνου τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Αἰνείας κατὰ τὸ κῆδος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀβοριγίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Λατίνου Φαύνου Λατίνους ἐπωνόμασε. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει πάλιν διὰ Λαουινίαν τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Ῥουτούλων τῶν Τυρρηνῶν, προμνηστευθεῖσαν αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀναιρεῖται πολέμου νόμῳ ὁ Αἰνείας, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Εὐρυλέων, Ἀσκάνιος μετονομασθείς, ὃς ἐγεννήθη

BOOK I

CONCERNING THE KINGS

I. From Photius

1. Appian begins his history with Aeneas, the son of Anchises, the son of Capys, who flourished in the Trojan war. After the capture of Troy he fled, and after long wandering arrived at a part of the Italian coast called Laurentum, where his camping-place is shown to this day, and the shore is called, after him, the Trojan beach. The aborigines of this part of Italy were then ruled by Faunus, the son of Mars, who gave to Aeneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and also a tract of land four hundred stades in circuit. Here Aeneas built a town, which he named after his wife Lavinium. Three years later, at the death of Faunus, Aeneas succeeded to the kingdom by virtue of his marriage relationship, and he called the aborigines Latins, from his father-in-law, Latinus Faunus. Three years later still, Aeneas was killed by the Rutuli, a Tuscan tribe, in a war begun on account of his wife Lavinia, who had been previously betrothed to their king. He was succeeded in the government by Euryleon, surnamed Ascanius,

τῷ Αἰνείᾳ ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Πριάμου, τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ γενομένης αὐτῷ γυναικός. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λαουινίας Ἀσκάνιον αὐτῷ γεννηθῆναί φασι, τὸν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

2. Ἀσκανίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἔτει τετάρτῳ μετὰ τὴν Ἄλβης οἴκισιν (καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἔκτισε πόλιν, Ἄλβην καλέσας, καὶ ἀπὸ Λαουινίου τὸν λαὸν μετῴκισεν) ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Σίλουιος. καὶ Σιλουίου παῖδα Αἰνείαν Σίλουιόν φασιν, Αἰνείου δὲ Λατῖνον Σίλουιον, τοῦ δὲ Κάπυν, Κάπυος δὲ Κάπετον γενέσθαι, Καπέτου δὲ Τιβερῖνον, τοῦ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμύλον. καὶ τόνδε μὲν βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ· οὗ γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἀουεντῖνον, Ἀουεντίνου δὲ Πρόκαν γενέσθαι. καὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν Σίλουιον ἐπώνυμον εἶναι. τῷ δὲ Πρόκᾳ δύο ἐγενέσθην υἱοί, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Νεμέτωρ, νεώτερος δὲ Ἀμούλιος. λαβόντος δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῶντος τὴν ἀρχήν, ὁ νεώτερος ὕβρει καὶ βίᾳ κατέσχεν ἀφελόμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν παῖδα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἔγεστον κτείνει, τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Ῥέαν Σιλουίαν ἱέρειαν, ἵνα ἄπαις διαμείνῃ, καθίστησι· τὸν μέντοι Νεμέτορα τῆς εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλῆς ἡ τῶν ἠθῶν ἐξεῖλε πραότης καὶ ἡ πολλὴ ἐπιείκεια. ἀλλ' ἡ Σιλουία ἔκυε παρὰ τὸν νόμον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμούλιος ἐπὶ κολάσει συνελάμβανε, δύο δὲ παῖδας ἐκ τῆσδε γενομένους ποιμέσιν ἔδωκεν, εἰς τὸν πλησίον ποταμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ βρέφη· Θύβρις ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ, Ῥῶμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμύλος οἱ παῖδες, ἐξ Αἰνείου ἕλκοντες μητρόθεν τὸ γένος· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ φύντος ἄδηλον. Phot. Biblioth. p. 16 b 4 Bekk.

the son of Aeneas and Creusa, a daughter of Priam, to whom he had been married in Troy. But some say that the Ascanius who succeeded to the government was the son of Aeneas and Lavinia.

2. Ascanius died four years after the founding of Alba (for he also built a city and gave it the name of Alba, and settled it with a colony from Lavinium), and Silvius succeeded to the throne. They say that this Silvius had a son named Aeneas Silvius, and he a son named Latinus Silvius, and he a son named Capys, and he a son named Capetus, and he a son named Tiberinus, and he a son named Agrippa, who was the father of the Romulus who was struck by lightning, and who left a son Aventinus, who was the father of Procas. All of these bore the surname of Silvius. Procas had two sons, the elder named Numitor, and the younger Amulius. When the elder succeeded to the throne on the death of the father, the younger took it away from him by force and violence. He also killed Ægestus, his brother's son, and he made Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, a vestal, so that she might remain childless. Notwithstanding a conspiracy against his life, Numitor himself was saved because of the gentleness and clemency of his character. Silvia having become pregnant contrary to law, Amulius cast her into prison by way of punishment, and when she had given birth to two sons he gave them to some shepherds with orders to throw the babes into the neighbouring stream called the river Tiber. These boys were Romulus and Remus. On their mother's side they were descended from Aeneas, while their paternal lineage was unknown.

II

Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τόμος τῶν ἑπτὰ βασιλέων, Ῥωμύλου, Νουμᾶ Πομπιλίου, Ἄγκου Ὀστιλίου καὶ Ἄγκου ἑτέρου τοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου, ἐπιγόνου Νουμᾶ, Ταρκυνίου, Σερουίου Τυλλίου, καὶ Ταρκυνίου Λευκίου τοῦ Ταρκυνίου, τούτων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔργα τε καὶ πράξεις περιέχει. ὧν ὁ πρῶτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστὴς γεγονώς, ἄρξας τε πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς, ὅμως ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἠφανίσθη. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος οὐδὲν ἧττον βεβασιλευκώς, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐτελεύτησε ζήσας . . . ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ὑπὸ ποιμένων ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ὁμοίως σφαγῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρανομῶν ἐξηλάθη· ἐξ οὗ τῆς βασιλείας καταλυθείσης εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς μετετέθη. id. p. 15 b 22.

III

Ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ὑπισχνεῖται Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον. Suid. vv. Τάτιος et φυλάξασα.

IV

Κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσὸν ἐς τὴν παῖδα ἐλίθαζον, ἔστε τιτρωσκομένη κατεχώσθη. Suid. v. λιθάζω.

II. From the Same

My first book contains the deeds of Rome's seven kings, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Ancus [1] Hostilius, Ancus Marcius (a descendant of Numa), Tarquinius, Servius Tullius, and Lucius Tarquinius, a son of the other Tarquinius. The first of these was the founder and builder of Rome, and although he governed it rather as a father than as an absolute monarch, he was nevertheless slain, or, as some think, translated. The second, not less kingly, but even more so than the first, died at the age of . . . The third was struck by lightning. The fourth died of a disease. The fifth was murdered by some shepherds. The sixth too was murdered. The seventh was expelled from the city and kingdom for violating the laws. From that time kingly rule came to an end, and the administration of government was transferred to consuls.

III From Suidas

Having kept careful watch against her father's return, she (Tarpeia) promises Tatius to betray the garrison.

IV. From the Same

At the command of Tatius they threw the gold at the girl until she succumbed to her wounds and was buried under the heap.

[1] An obvious error for 'Tullus.'

V

Ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμύλον Τατίου αἱ Ῥωμαίων γυναῖκες καὶ Σαβίνων θυγατέρες διῃτήσαν, αὐταὶ τῷ χάρακι τῶν γονέων προσελθοῦσαι, χεῖράς τε προτείνουσαι, καὶ βρέφη τὰ ἤδη σφίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύουσαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυροῦσαι μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἁμαρτεῖν. ἐδέοντό τε λαβεῖν τινὰ οἶκτον τοὺς Σαβίνους σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ κηδεστῶν καὶ ἐκγόνων καὶ θυγατέρων, καὶ φείσασθαι συγγενοῦς καὶ μιαροῦ πολέμου, ἢ πρώτας ἀνελεῖν αἳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε παρόντων ἀπορίᾳ καὶ οἴκτῳ τῶν γυναικῶν, συγγιγνώσκοντες ἤδη μὴ καθ' ὕβριν εἰργάσθαι ταῦτα Ρωμαίους ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χρείας, ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐνεδίδουν. καὶ συνελθόντες Ῥωμύλος τε καὶ Τάτιος ἐς τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἱερὰν γενομένην ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβησαν, βασιλεύειν μὲν ἄμφω, Τατίόν τε καὶ Ῥωμύλον, Σαβίνους δὲ τοὺς τότε τῷ Τατίῳ συστρατεύσαντας, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι τῶν Σαβίνων ἐθέλοιεν, ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων μετοικίζεσθαι ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ. U. (i. e. Ursin. Select. de legationibus) p. 334.

V. From "The Embassies"

When Tatius waged war against Romulus, the wives of the Romans, who were daughters of the Sabines, made peace between them. Advancing to the camp of the parents they held out their hands to them and showed the infant children already born to them and their husbands, and testified that their husbands had done them no wrong. They prayed that the Sabines would take pity on themselves, their sons-in-law, their grandchildren, and their daughters, and either put an end to this unholy war between relatives, or first kill them in whose behalf it was begun. The parents, moved partly by their own difficulties and partly by pity for the women, and perceiving that what the Romans had done was not from lust but necessity, entered into negotiations with them. For this purpose Romulus and Tatius met in the street which was named from this event *Via Sacra* and agreed upon these conditions: that both Romulus and Tatius should be kings, and that the Sabines who were then serving in the army under Tatius, and any others who might choose to come, should be allowed to settle in Rome on the same terms and under the same laws as the Romans themselves.

VI

Ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αἰσθόμενος παρ' ἰδιοξένων ἐξήγγειλεν Ὀστιλίῳ. Suid. v. ἰδιόξενος.

VII

Οἱ δὲ ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτὸν ὡς κακῶς ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἀνδράσι τὰ πάντα θέμενον. id. v. βλάσφημος.

VIII

Συμβάσεις ποιεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἂν Γάβιοι δικαιῶσιν. id. v. δικαιοῦν.

IX

Ὠνεῖται τὰ τρία βιβλία τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐννέα. Bekk. Anecd. p. 180, 15.

X

Ὁ δὲ Ὁράτιος λελωβημένος ἦν τὰ σκέλη, ὑπατείας τε οὐκ ἔτυχεν οὔτε ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὴν ἀχρηστίαν τῶν ποδῶν. Suid. vv. ἀχρηστία et Ὁράτιος.

XI

Οἱ ὕπατοι τὰ ὅρκια προύτεινον, καὶ ἐς πάντα ἔφασαν ἐνδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ταρκύνιον προσήσεσθαι. id. v. προσήσεσθαι.

VI. From Suidas

The general, learning this fact from one of his personal friends, communicated it to Hostilius.

VII. From the Same

Some blamed him [Tullus Hostilius] because he wrongly staked everything on the prowess of three men (the Horatii).

VIII. From the Same

[The Romans thought] that peace might be made [by Tarquinius] on such terms as the Gabini considered just.

IX. From the Anonymous Grammarian

[Tarquinius] bought the three books [from the Sibyl] at the price previously asked for the nine.

X. From Suidas

Horatius [Cocles] was a cripple. He failed of reaching the consulship, either in war or in peace, on account of his lameness.

XI. From the Same

The Consuls tendered the oaths [by which they bound themselves], and said that they would yield everything rather than take back Tarquinius.

XII

Ὅτι Ταρκύνιος Σαβίνους κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἠρέθιζε. Κλαύδιος δέ, ἀνὴρ Σαβῖνος ἐκ Ῥηγίλλου πόλεως δυνατός, οὐκ εἴα τοὺς Σαβίνους παρασπονδεῖν, ἕως κρινόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔφυγεν ἐς Ῥώμην μετὰ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων καὶ δούλων πεντακισχιλίων. οἷς πᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι χώραν ἐς οἰκίας ἔδοσαν καὶ γῆν ἐς γεωργίαν, καὶ πολίτας ἔθεντο. τὸν δὲ Κλαύδιον καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατέλεξαν, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἔργα λαμπρὰ κατὰ τῶν Σαβίνων· καὶ φυλὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέστησαν. Vales. Excerpt. ex collectan. Const. Porph. p. 546.

XIII

Λατῖνοι ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτούς . . . οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι ἐγκλήματα εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἐποιοῦντο τήν τε πάρεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄντας ἐνσπόνδους καὶ συγγενεῖς. Suid. vv. *ἔνσπονδος* et *πάρεσις*.

XII. From "Virtues and Vices"

Tarquinius incited the Sabines against the Roman people. Claudius, an influential Sabine of the town of Regillus, opposed any violation of the treaty, and being condemned for this action, he took refuge in Rome with his relatives, friends, and slaves to the number of five thousand. To all these the Romans gave a place of habitation, and land to cultivate, and the right of citizenship. Claudius, on account of his brilliant exploits against the Sabines, was chosen a member of the Senate, and a new tribe, the Claudian, was named after him. B.C. 504

XIII. From Suidas

The Latins, although allied to the Romans by treaty, nevertheless made war against them. They accused the Romans of despising them, although they were allied to them, and of the same blood. 493

BOOK II

CONCERNING ITALY

FRAGMENTS

B

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΙΤΑΛΙΚΗΣ

I

Οὐολοῦσκοι δὲ τοῖς πταίσμασι τῶν γειτόνων οὐ καταπλαγέντες ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς αὐτῶν κληρούχους. Suid. v. κληροῦχον.

II

Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τὸν Μάρκιον μετιόντα τὴν ὑπατείαν οὐκ ἐχειροτόνησεν, οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπαξιῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνημα δεδιὼς αὐτοῦ. id. v. ἀπαξιῶν.

III

Ο Μάρκιος πιμπράμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, φυγὴν καταδικασθείς, καὶ μικρὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶν ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἐτράπετο. id. v. πίμπραται.

IV

Ὅτι πατρίδα καὶ γένος ἀλλαξάμενος ἦκοι,[1] τὸ μηδὲν ἡγησάμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν Οὐολούσκων ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος αἱρήσεσθαι βουληθείς. id. v. ἀλλαξάμενος.

[1] So Küsker and Schw. for MSS. ᾖ.

BOOK II

CONCERNING ITALY

I. From Suidas

The Volsci, in nowise terrified by the misfortunes of their neighbours, made war against the Romans and laid siege to their colonies. B.C. 493

II. From the Same

The people refused to elect Marcius (Coriolanus) when he sought the consulship, not because they considered him unfit, but because they feared his domineering spirit. 491

III. From the Same

Marcius, being inflamed against the Romans when they banished him, went over to the Volsci, meditating no small revenge. 489

IV. From the Same

He said that he came having renounced country and kin, holding them of no account, and intending to side with the Volsci against his country. 488

V

1. Ὅτι τοῦ Μαρκίου φυγαδευθέντος καὶ ἐς Οὐολούσκους καταφυγόντος καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατεύσαντος καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἠπείλει τῇ βουλῇ παραδώσειν τὰ τείχη τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ μὴ πρεσβεύσοιντο περὶ διαλλαγῶν πρὸς Μάρκιον. ἡ δὲ μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοκράτορας εἰρήνης πέρι Ῥωμαίοις πρεπούσης, οἳ προελθόντες ἐς τὸ Οὐολούσκων στρατόπεδον Μαρκίῳ μετὰ Οὐολούσκων ἀκροωμένῳ προύτειναν ἀμνηστίαν καὶ κάθοδον, εἰ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς τε βουλῆς αὐτὸν ὑπεμίμνησκον ὡς οὐχ ἁμαρτούσης ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου κατηγορήσας περὶ ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ Οὐολούσκους ἐξημαρτήκεσαν, ἐπηγγέλλετο ὅμως Οὐολούσκους αὐτοῖς διαλλάξειν, ἂν ἧν τε γῆν ἔχουσι Οὐολούσκων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀποδῶσι, καὶ ποιήσωνται πολίτας ὥσπερ Λατίνους. ἕως δ' ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ τῶν κρατούντων οἱ κρατούμενοι, οὐχ ὁρᾶν τίνες αὐτοῖς ἔσονται διαλύσεις. ταῦτα μετοίσοντας ἀπέλυε τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν σκέψιν ἐδίδου. τραπεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λατίνους ἑπτὰ πόλεις αὐτῶν εἶλε ταῖς τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, καὶ ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν στρατόν, πέμψειν τοὺς συνθησομένους αὐτῷ τὰ πρέποντα. πάλιν δ' ἀντειπόντος ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους δέκα δεησομένους μηδὲν ἀνά-

V. From "The Embassies"

1. When Marcius had been banished, and had B.C. 488 taken refuge with the Volsci, and made war against the Romans, and was encamped at a distance of only forty stades from the city, the people threatened to betray the walls to the enemy unless the Senate would send an embassy to him to treat for peace. The Senate reluctantly sent plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace befitting the Roman nation. When they arrived at the camp of the Volsci and were brought into his presence and that of the Volscians, they offered him an amnesty and permission to return to the city if he would discontinue the war, and they reminded him that the Senate had never done him any wrong. He, while accusing the people of the many wrongs they had done to him and to the Volsci, promised nevertheless that he would bring the latter to terms with them if they would surrender the land and towns they had taken from the Volsci and admit them to citizenship on the same terms as the Latins. But if the vanquished were to keep what belonged to the victors, he did not see how peace could be made. Having named these conditions, he dismissed the ambassadors and gave them thirty days to consider. Then he turned against the remaining Latin towns, and having captured seven of them in the thirty days, he came back to receive the answer of the Romans.

2. They replied that if he would withdraw his army from the Roman territory they would send an embassy to him to conclude peace on fair terms. When he refused again, they sent ten others to beg

ξιον ποιεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀλλ' ἑκουσίους ἐὰν γίγνεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, αἰδούμενόν τε τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα τιμῶντα τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἁμαρτόντων. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, τριῶν ἄλλων ἡμερῶν ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους τι κάλλιον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἱερέας ἔπεμπον, ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐσταλμένους, ταὐτὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου δεησομένους· ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔφη δεῖν ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ποιεῖν, ἢ μηδ' αὖ ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐς οὖν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ βελῶν ὡς ἄνωθεν ἀμυνούμενοι Μάρκιον.

3. Οὐαλερία δ' ἡ Ποπλικόλα θυγάτηρ πολλὰς ἀγομένη γυναῖκας ἐπί τε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Μαρκίου Οὐετουρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Οὐολουμνίαν, πένθιμα ἠμφιεσμέναι πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδία ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπιφέρουσαι, συνεξελθεῖν αὐταῖς πρὸς Μάρκιον ἠξίουν αὐτάς, καὶ δεηθῆναι φείσασθαι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. αἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης ἐξῆσαν, μόναι γυναῖκες, ἐς ἐχθρῶν στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος θαυμάζων τῆς εὐτολμίας τὴν πόλιν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ γύναια, προσιούσαις ἀπήντα, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθῄρει καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας διὰ τὴν μητέρα, προσδραμών τε ἠσπάζετο, καὶ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Οὐολούσκων, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι χρῄζοι.

4. Ἡ δὲ συνηδικῆσθαι μὲν ἐξελαυνομένῳ τῆς πόλεως, μήτηρ οὖσα, ἔφη, ὁρᾶν δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπόνθασιν ἤδη καὶ τίσιν

him not to do anything unworthy of his native country, and to allow a treaty to be made, not by his command, but of their own free will, for he should regard the honour of his country and the reputation of his ancestors, who had never done him any wrong. He replied merely that he would give them three days more in order that they might think better of it. Then the Romans sent their priests to him wearing their sacred vestments to add their entreaties. To these he said that either they must obey his commands or they need not come to him again. Then the Romans prepared for a siege and piled up stones and missiles on the walls to drive off Marcius from above. B.C. 488

3. But Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, brought a company of women to Veturia, the mother of Marcius, and to Volumnia his wife. All these, clad in mourning garments and bringing their children to join in the supplication, implored that they would go out with them to meet Marcius, and beseech him to spare them and their country. Accordingly, by permission of the Senate, they went forth, women and alone, to the camp of the enemy. Marcius admiring the high courage of the city, where even the women-folk were inspired by it, advanced to meet them, sending away the rods and axes of the lictors, out of respect for his mother. He ran forward and embraced her, brought her into the council of the Volsci, and bade her say what she desired.

4. She said that, being his mother, she, as well as he, was wronged in his banishment from the city; but that she saw that the Romans had already suffered grievously at his hands, and had paid a

ἔτισαν ἱκανήν, ὧν χώρα τε τοσαύτη διέφθαρται καὶ πόλεις ἀπολώλασι πολλαί, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἔσχατον, παρακαλοῦσι καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν ὑπάτους καὶ ἱερέας καὶ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα, τό τε ἀδίκημα ἰῶνται ἀμνηστίᾳ καὶ καθόδῳ. "σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀνιάτῳ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ, μηδὲ συμφοραῖς ἐπιχείρει κοιναῖς αὐτοῦ τε σοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικούντων.[1] ποῖ φέρων οἴσεις τὸ πῦρ; μετὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν; μετὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν τὴν σήν; μετὰ τὴν ἑστίαν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά; δὸς χάριν, ὦ παῖ, κἀμοὶ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι παρακαλούσαις." ἡ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος οὐκ εἴα πατρίδα καλεῖν τὴν ἐκβαλοῦσαν ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑποδεδεγμένην· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι φίλιον, ἂν ἀδικῇ, οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸν εὖ ποιοῦν· καὶ τὸ τῶν παρόντων ἐκέλευεν ὁρᾶν, πίστιν τε δόντων αὐτῷ καὶ λαβόντων, καὶ πολίτην πεποιημένων καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφηνάντων καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐπιτρεψάντων. τιμάς τε ὅσων ἠξίωτο, καὶ ὅρκους οὓς ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεξῄει, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν μητέρα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τίθεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ φίλους.

5. Ἡ δὲ ἔτι λέγοντος ἀγανακτήσασα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχοῦσα, θεοὺς γενεθλίους ἐμαρτύρατο δύο μὲν ἤδη πρεσβείας γυναικῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐν μεγάλοις ἐστάλθαι κακοῖς, ἐπὶ Τατίου

[1] Suggested by Schw. in his app. crit. instead of the MSS. ἀδικουμένων.

sufficient penalty, so much of their territory had been laid waste and so many of their towns demolished; and that now they were reduced to the Roman's last resource, supplication, and were sending as ambassadors to him consuls and priests, and his own mother and wife, and seeking to remedy the wrong by amnesty and recall. "Do not," she said, "cure an evil by an incurable evil. Do not be the cause of calamities that will smite yourself as well as those who have wronged you. Whither do you carry the torch? From the fields to the city? From the city to your own hearthstone? From your own hearthstone to the temples of the gods? Have mercy, my son, on me and on your country as we plead." After she had thus spoken Marcius replied that the country which had cast him out was not his, but rather the land which had given him shelter. No man, he said, loved one that wronged him, or hated one that did him good. He told her to cast her eyes upon the men there present with whom he had exchanged the pledge of mutual fidelity, who had granted him citizenship, and chosen him their general, and had intrusted to him their private interests. He recounted the honours bestowed upon him and the oath he had sworn, and he urged his mother to consider their friends and enemies hers also. B.C. 488

5. While he was still speaking, she, in a burst of anger, and holding her hands up to heaven, invoked their family gods. "Two processions of women," said she, "have set forth from Rome in times of great distress, one in the time of King Tatius, the

βασιλέως καὶ Γαΐου Μαρκίου, τούτοιν δὲ Τάτιον μέν, ὄντα ξένον καὶ ἀληθῆ πολέμιον, ἐνδοῦναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἰδούμενον, Μάρκιον δ' ὑπερορᾶν πρεσβείας γυναικῶν τοσῶνδε, καὶ τῆς γεγαμημένης καὶ μητρὸς ἐπὶ ταύταις. "ἄλλη μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "μηδεμία μήτηρ, ἀτυχοῦσα παιδός, ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφίκοιτο προσπεσεῖν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑφίσταμαι· προκυλίσομαί σου." καὶ λέγουσα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἑαυτὴν ἐρρίπτει. ὁ δὲ ἐδάκρυσέ τε καὶ ἀνεπήδα καὶ ἀντείχετο αὐτῆς, ὑπό τε τοῦ πάθους ἐξεφώνησε, "νικᾷς, ὦ μῆτερ, ἀλλὰ νίκην ἐξ ἧς τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολεῖς." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσων Οὐολούσκοις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη συναλλάξων· ἐλπίς τε ἦν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα πείσει Οὐολούσκους. κατελεύσθη δὲ φθονούμενος παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀττίου. U. p. 335.

V[b]

Ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἀντιλέγειν μὲν πρὸς οὐδὲ ἓν αὐτῶν ἐδικαίου. Suid. v. ἐδικαίου.

VI

Ἐλεεινοὶ τοῦ πάθους, ἀξιέπαινοι τῆς ἀρετῆς γενόμενοι. μέγα γὰρ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις πάθος ἐγένετο καὶ πλήθους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀξιώματος εὐγενοῦς οἴκου καὶ πανωλεθρίας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφράδα τίθενται. Suid. vv. ἐλεεινός et ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι.

other in that of Gaius Marcius. Of these two Tatius, a stranger and downright enemy, had respect for the women and yielded to them. Marcius scorns so great a delegation of women, including his wife, and his mother besides. May no other mother, unblessed in her son, ever be reduced to the necessity of throwing herself at his feet. But I submit even to this: I will prostrate myself before you." So speaking she flung herself on the ground. He burst into tears, sprang up and caught hold of her, exclaiming with the deepest emotion: "Mother, you have gained the victory, but it is a victory by which you will undo your son." So saying he led back the army, in order to give his reasons to the Volsci and to make peace between the two nations. There was some hope that he might be able to persuade the Volsci even to do this, but on account of the jealousy of their leader Attius he was put to death. B.C. 488

V*b*. From Suidas

Marcius did not think proper to gainsay any of these [demands].

VI. From the Same

(The Fabii) were as much to be pitied for their misfortunes as they were worthy of praise for their bravery. For what befel them was a great misfortune to the Romans, on account of their number, the dignity of a noble house, and its total destruction. The day on which it happened was ever after considered unlucky. 479

VII

Τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ στρατὸς ἦν δυσπειθὴς ὑπὸ μνησικακίας, ἐθελοκάκως τε ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπιδησάμενοι τὰ σώματα ὡς τετρωμένοι, καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διέλυον, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, ἀπειρίαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τῷ στρατηγῷ. id. v. ἐθελοκάκως.

VIII

1. Ὅτι σημειων γενομενων ἐκ Διὸς ἀηδῶν μετὰ τὴν Οὐηιεντίας ἅλωσιν, οἱ μάντεις ἔλεγον ἐκλειφθῆναί τινα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀνήνεγκεν ὅτι τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας ἐκλάθοιτο τῷ θεῷ τῷ χρήσαντι περὶ τῆς λίμνης ἐξελέσθαι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τοὺς λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν ἐκ τῆς Οὐηιέντης ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτιμήσασθαι καθ' αὑτοὺς καὶ σὺν ὅρκῳ τὸ δέκατον εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑπὸ δὲ εὐσεβείας οὐκ ὤκνησε καὶ τῆς γῆς ἤδη πεπραμένης, ὡς λαφύρου, τὸ δέκατον ἀναθεῖναι. κρατήρ τε ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔκειτο χρύσεος ἐπὶ χαλκῆς βάσεως ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μασσαλιητῶν θησαυρῷ, μέχρι τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν Ὀνόμαρχος ἐν τῷ Φωκικῷ πολέμῳ κατεχώνευσε, κεῖται δ' ἡ βάσις.

2. Αὐτὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τις ἐδιωκεν ὡς αἴτιον γεγονότα τῇ πόλει φασμάτων καὶ τεράτων χαλεπῶν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκ πολλοῦ τὸν

VII. From the Same

The army showed a mutinous spirit towards the general (Appius Claudius), against whom they bore a grudge. They fought badly on purpose, and took to flight, putting bandages on their bodies as though they were wounded. They broke camp and tried to retreat, putting the blame on the unskilfulness of their commander. B.C. 471

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

1. Bad omens from Jupiter were observed after the capture of Veii. The soothsayers said that some religious duty had been neglected, and Camillus remembered that he had forgotten to appropriate a tenth of the spoils to the god who had given the oracle concerning the lake. Accordingly the Senate decreed that those who had taken anything from Veii should make an estimate, each one for himself, and bring in a tenth of it under oath. Their religious feeling was such that they did not hesitate to add to the votive offering a tenth of the produce of the land that had already been sold, as well as of the spoils. With the money thus obtained they sent to the temple of Delphi a golden bowl which stood on a pedestal of brass in the treasury of Rome and Massilia until Onomarchus melted down the gold during the Phocaean war. The pedestal is still standing. 895

2. Camillus was afterwards accused before the people of being himself the author of those bad omens and portents. The people, who had been for some 891

ἄνδρα ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐζημίωσε πεντήκοντα μυριάσιν, οὐκ ἐπικλασθεὶς οὐδ' ὅτι πρὸ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ παῖς ἐτεθνήκει. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οἱ φίλοι συνεισήνεγκαν, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρισθείη τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καμίλλου· αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν μετῴκησεν, εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχήν, ἐπιποθῆσαι Ῥωμαίους Κάμιλλον ἐν καιρῷ. καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον· Κελτῶν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Κάμιλλον κατέφυγε καὶ δικτάτορα αὖθις εἵλετο, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Κελτικαῖς πράξεσι συγγέγραπται. Val. p. 546.

IX

Ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος εὐπατρίδης, Κελτῶν ἐπελθόντων τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταύτην περιέσωσε καὶ τιμῶν μεγίστων ἠξιώθη. ὕστερον δὲ πρεσβύτην πολλάκις ἐστρατευμένον ἀγόμενον ἐς δουλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δανειστοῦ γνωρίσας, ἀπέδωκε τὸ χρέος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε εὐφημούμενος πᾶσιν ἠφίει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ χρήσταις τὰ ὀφλήματα. προϊὼν δὲ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἀπεδίδου. καὶ ταῖς δημοκοπίαις ἐπαιρόμενος ἐβούλευσεν ἤδη χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς κοινάς, ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἠξίου τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀποδοῦναι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοῦτο ἀποδόμενον ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον. Val. p. 549.

time set against him, fined him 500,000 sesterces,[1] B.C. having no pity for him although he had recently lost a son. His friends contributed the money in order that the person of Camillus might not be disgraced. In deep indignation he went into exile in the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles, that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus. And in fact this came to pass very soon, 389 for when the Gauls captured the city, the people fled for succour to Camillus and again chose him Dictator, as has been told in my Gallic history.

IX. From the Same

Marcus Manlius, the patrician, saved the city of Rome from a Gallic invasion, and received the highest honours. At a later period, when he saw an 384 old man, who had often fought for his country, reduced to servitude by a money-lender, he paid the debt for him. Being highly commended for this act, he released all his own debtors from their obligations. His glory being much increased thereby, he paid the debts of many others. Being much elated by the success of his demagogue tricks, he even proposed that all debts should be cancelled, or that the people should sell the lands that had not yet been distributed and apply the proceeds for the relief of debtors.

[1] Schw. observes that the number is exaggeratedly large, and the text undoubtedly corrupt.

BOOK III

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

FRAGMENTS

Γ'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΥΝΙΤΙΚΗΣ

I

1. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ Κορνήλιος καὶ Κορουῖνος, καὶ Δέκιος δημότης, Σαυνίτας νικήσαντες ὑπέλιπον Καμπανοῖς φύλακας πρὸς τὰς Σαυνιτῶν ἐπιδρομάς. οἱ δὲ φύλακες οἵδε Καμπανοῖς ἁβροδιαίτοις καὶ πολυτελέσιν οὖσι κοινωνοῦντες ἐφθείροντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ ἐφθόνουν ὧν ἔχουσιν ἀγαθῶν, αὐτοὶ πενόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρέα δεδιότες τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. τέλος δὲ ἐπεβούλευον τοὺς ξένους ἑαυτῶν ἀνελόντες ἕκαστοι τὴν περιουσίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς γάμον προσαγαγέσθαι. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔπραξαν αἰσχρὸν οὕτω μύσος, εἰ μὴ Μάμερκος,[1] ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας ὁδεύων ἔμαθε τὸ βούλευμα τῶν φυλάκων, καὶ ἐπικρύψας τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξώπλισε καὶ ἀφῆκεν οἷα κεκμηκότας, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτέρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπί τινα χρείαν ἐπείγεσθαι, χιλίαρχόν τε αὐτοῖς συνέπεμψεν, ᾧ εἴρητο ἀφανῶς αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν. ἑκάτεροι δ' ὑπώπτευον με-

[1] An error for Μάρκιος = C. Marcius Rutilus, cons. 342 B.C.

BOOK III

THE SAMNITE HISTORY

I. From "Virtues and Vices"

1. When the Roman generals Cornelius and Corvinus, and the plebeian Decius, had overcome the Samnites they left a military guard in Campania to ward off the Samnite incursions. These guards, partaking of the luxury and extravagance of the Campanians, were corrupted in their habits and began to envy the riches of these people, being themselves very poor and owing alarming debts in Rome. Finally they took counsel among themselves to kill their entertainers, seize their property, and marry their wives. This infamy would perhaps have been carried out had not another Roman general, Mamercus, who was marching against the Samnites, learned the design of the Roman guards. Concealing his intentions, he disarmed some of them and dismissed them, as soldiers entitled to discharge for long service. The more villainous of them he ordered to Rome on the pretence of important business, and he sent with them a military tribune with orders to keep a secret watch over them. Both parties of soldiers suspected that their design had been B.C 343

μηνῦσθαι, καὶ περὶ Ταρρακίνην ἀφίστανταί τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς δεδεμένους ἐκλύσαντες, καὶ ὁπλίσαντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἤλαυνον ἐς Ῥώμην ὁμοῦ δισμύριοι γεγονότες.

2. Ἔτι δ' αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπεχόντων ὑπήντα Κορουῖνος, καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀλβανῶν ἠρεμεί, περισκοπῶν τε τὸ ἔργον ἔτι, καὶ μέγα ἡγούμενος ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμίγνυντο ἀλλήλοις κρύφα, καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ καὶ δάκρυα τῶν φυλάκων ἦν ὡς ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις ἁμαρτεῖν μὲν ὁμολογούντων, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐς τὰ χρέα φερόντων τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. ὧν ὁ Κορουῖνος αἰσθανόμενος, καὶ ὀκνῶν ἅψασθαι πολιτικοῦ καὶ τοσούτου φόνου, συνεβούλευσε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ χρέα τοῖς ἀνδράσι μεθεῖναι, τόν τε πόλεμον ἐξαίρων ἐπὶ μέγα, εἰ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν δύναιτο κρατῆσαι μαχομένων ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως, καὶ τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμιξίας ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενος, μὴ οὐδ' ὁ ἴδιος αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐς πάντα ᾖ πιστός, ἅτε συγγενεῖς ὄντες ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτῶν αἰτιώμενοι τὰ χρέα. σφαλέντα δὲ κινδυνεύσειν ἔφη περὶ μειζόνων· καὶ τὴν νίκην, εἰ κρατήσειεν, ἀτυχεστάτην ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει κατ' οἰκείων τοσῶνδε. οἷς ἡ βουλὴ πεισθεῖσα τὰς μὲν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐψηφίσατο πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς δὲ τότε ἐχθροῖς καὶ ἄδειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέμενοι κατῄεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Val. p. 549.

disclosed and they broke away from the tribune near the town of Terracina. They set free all those who were working in the fields, in the slave-prisons, armed them as well as they could, and marched on Rome to the number of 20,000 in all. B.C. 343

2. About one day's march from the city they were met by Corvinus, who went into camp near them on the Alban mount. He remained quietly in his camp, watching the course of events and did not consider it wise to attack. However, the two bodies of men mingled with each other privately, and the guards acknowledged with groans and tears, as among relatives and friends, that they were to blame, but declared that the cause of it all was the debts they owed at Rome. When Corvinus understood this he shrank from the responsibility of so much civil bloodshed and advised the Senate to release these men from debt. He exaggerated the difficulty of the war, questioning whether he had the power to overcome such a large body of men, who would fight with the energy of despair. He had strong suspicions also of the result of the meetings and conferences, fearing lest his own army, who were relatives of these men and not less oppressed with debt, should be to some extent lacking in fidelity. If he should be defeated he said that the dangers would be greatly increased; if victorious, the victory itself would be most lamentable to the commonwealth, being gained over so many of their own people. The Senate was moved by his arguments and decreed a cancellation of debts to all Romans, and immunity also to these revolters, who then laid down their arms and returned to the city. 342

II

Ὅτι Μάλλιος Τορκουάτος ὁ ὕπατος τοιοῦτος ἦν τὴν ἀρετήν. τούτῳ πατὴρ ἐγεγένητο μικρολόγος καὶ ἀμελὴς ἐς αὐτόν. καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς αὐτὸν εἶχε, μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐργαζόμενόν τε καὶ τρεφόμενον. γραψαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀδικήμασι Πομπωνίου δημάρχου, καὶ μέλλοντος ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν παῖδα κακώσεως, ὁ παῖς ὅδε Μάλλιος ἦκεν, ἐπικρύπτων ξιφίδιον, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δημάρχου, καὶ τυχεῖν ἠξίωσεν αὐτοῦ μόνου ὡς δή τι λέξων χρήσιμον ἐς τὴν δίκην. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ἐπέκλεισε τὰς θύρας, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἠπείλει τῷ δημάρχῳ κτενεῖν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὀμόσειεν ὅτι λύσει τῷ πατρὶ τὴν δίκην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤμοσε καὶ διέλυσεν, ἐκθέμενος τῷ δήμῳ τὸ συμβάν· ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἐξ ἐκείνου λαμπρὸς ἦν, ἐπαινούμενος ὅτι τοιόσδε ἐς τοιόνδε πατέρα ἐγεγένητο. id. p. 550.

III

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς μονομαχίαν προυκαλεῖτο, σκώπτων ἐς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεῖχε, μετὰ δέ, οὐ φέρων ἔτι τὸ ἐρέθισμα, ἀντίλασε τὸν ἵππον. Suid. v. *ἐρέθισμα.*

IV

1. *Ὅτι Σαυνῖται ἐς τὴν Φρεγελλανῶν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρθουν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Δαυνίων ὀγδοήκοντα κώμας καὶ μίαν εἷλον, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐξ*

II. From the Same

Hear now the bravery of the consul Manlius Torquatus. His father was a miser, and did not care for him, but kept him at work with slaves in the fields and left him to partake of their fare. When the tribune Pomponius prosecuted him for numerous misdeeds and intended to mention among others his bad treatment of his son, young Manlius, concealing a dagger under his clothes, went to the house of the tribune and asked to see him privately, as he had something of importance to say about the trial. Being admitted, and just as he was beginning to speak, he fastened the door and threatened the tribune with death if he did not take an oath that he would withdraw the accusation against his father. The latter took the oath, dismissed the accusation, and explained to the people what had happened. Manlius acquired great distinction from this affair, and was praised for being such a son to such a father. B.C. 340

III. From Suidas

With jeers he challenged him to single combat. The other [Manlius, the consul's son] restrained himself for a while; but when he could no longer endure the provocation, he charged at him.

IV. From "The Embassies"

1. While the Samnites were raiding and plundering the territory of Fregellae, the Romans captured eighty-one villages belonging to the Samnites and 322

αὐτῶν χιλίους καὶ δισμυρίους ἀνελόντες ἀπανέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρεγέλλης. καὶ πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπρέσβευον οἱ Σαυνῖται, νεκρὰ σώματα ἀνδρῶν φέροντες ὡς αἰτίους τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότας ἀνῃρηκότες, καὶ χρυσίον ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων περιουσίας πεπορισμένον. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ πάνυ νομίζουσα τετρῦσθαι, προσεδόκα κακοπαθοῦντας ἐνδώσειν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδέχοντο, καὶ εἴ τι καὶ ἀντέλεγον, ἢ παρῃτοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἢ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀνετίθεντο· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι πάλιν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, οὐκ ἐκδωσόμενοι δὴ τὰς πόλεις ἔφασαν ἥκειν, ἀλλ' ἐς φιλίαν συνάξοντες. λυσάμενοι δὴ τοῦ χρυσίου τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπῇσαν ὀργῇ, καὶ τὴν πεῖραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

2. Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐψηφίζοντο μηδὲ πρεσβείας ἔτι παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν προσίεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἕως κατὰ κράτος ἐξέλωσι, θεὸς δ' ἐνεμέσησε τῆς μεγαληγορίας, καὶ ὕστερον ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤχθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐς γὰρ στενώτατον χῶρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες οἱ Σαυνῖται τοῦ Ποντίου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ στρατηγοὶ σφῶν πρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Πόντιον καταθέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις χάριν, ἣν οὐ πολλοὶ παρέχουσι καιροί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ δεῖν μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ

the Daunii, slew 21,000 of their men, and drove them out of the Fregellian country. Again the Samnites sent ambassadors to Rome bringing the dead bodies of some men whom they had executed as guilty of causing the war, and also gold said to be taken from their store. Wherefore the Senate, thinking that they had been utterly crushed, expected that a people who had been so sorely afflicted would concede the supremacy of Italy. The Samnites accepted the other conditions, and, in so far as they had any objections to make, they made them in a tone of remonstrance and appeal, or proposed to refer the matter to their cities. But as to the supremacy, they would not endure even to hear anything more on that subject, because, they said, they had not come to surrender their towns, but to cultivate friendship. Accordingly they used their gold in redeeming prisoners, and went away angry and resolved to make trial for the supremacy hereafter. B.C. 322

2. Thereupon the Romans voted to receive no more embassies from the Samnites, but to wage irreconcilable and implacable war against them until they were subjugated by force. Heaven, however, resented this haughty spirit, for soon afterwards the Romans were defeated by the Samnites and compelled to pass under the yoke. The Samnites, under their general Pontius, having shut the Romans up in a defile where they were oppressed by hunger, the consuls sent messengers to him and begged that he should win such gratitude of the Romans as opportunity rarely offered. He replied that they need not send any more messengers to him at all unless they were prepared to surrender their arms 321

ὅπλα καὶ αὐτοὺς παραδοῖεν. θρῆνος οὖν ἦν οἷα πόλεως ἁλούσης. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέτριψαν μὲν ἔτι ἄλλας ἡμέρας, ὀκνοῦντες ἀνάξιόν τι τῆς πόλεως ἐργάσασθαι· ὡς δ' οὔτε μηχανὴ σωτηρίας ἐφαίνετο, ὅ τε λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν αὐτούς, καὶ νεότης ἦν πέντε μυριάδων, ἣν ὤκνουν φθειρομένην ὑπερ-ιδεῖν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Ποντίῳ, καὶ παρεκ-άλουν, εἴτε κτείνειν εἴτε πωλεῖν εἴτε φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἔλοιτο, μηδὲν ἐς σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀτυχούντων ὑβρίσαι.

3. Ὁ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συνεβουλεύετο, μεταπεμψά-μενος αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Καυδίου, φερόμενον ὑπὸ γήρως ἀμάξῃ. καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἔφη, "ἓν ἔστιν, ὦ παῖ, μεγάλης ἔχθρας φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἢ κολά-σεως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλήσ-σουσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται. ἴσθι νίκην τήνδε πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην, θησαυρίζειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν· καὶ πάντας ἀπόλυσον ἀπαθεῖς, μήτ' ἐνυβρίσας μήτ' ἀφελόμενος μηδέν, ἵνα σῶον ᾖ σοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. εἰσὶ δ', ὡς ἀκούω, φιλοτιμότατοι. ἀλλὰ μόναις εὐεργεσίαις ἡττώμε-νοι διαγωνιοῦνταί σοι περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος. ἔχεις ἐνέχυρον τήνδε τὴν εὐεργεσίαν εἰρήνης ἀθανάτου λαβεῖν. ἢν δέ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθῃ, κτεῖνον ἅπαντας ὁμαλῶς, μηδ' ἄγγελον ὑπολιπών. λέγω δ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν αἱρούμενος, ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖα. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ὁτιοῦν ὑβρισθέντες ἀμυνοῦνταί σε πάντως· ἀμυνεῖσθαι δὲ μέλλοντας αὐτοὺς προκατάβλαπτε. μεῖζον δ' οὐκ ἂν εὕροις βλάβος νέων ὁμοῦ πέντε μυριάδων."

and their persons. Thereupon a lamentation was raised as though a city had been captured, and the consuls delayed several days longer, hesitating to do an act unworthy of Rome. But when no means of rescue appeared and famine became severe, there being 50,000 young men in the defile whom they could not bear to see perish, they surrendered to Pontius and begged him, whether he elected to kill them, or to sell them into slavery, or to keep them for ransom, not to put any stigma of shame upon the persons of the unfortunate. B.C. 321

3. Pontius took counsel with his father, sending to Caudium to fetch him in a carriage on account of his age. The old man said to him: "My son, for a great enmity there is but one cure,—either extreme generosity or extreme severity. Severity terrifies, generosity conciliates. Know that the first and greatest of all victories is to treasure up success. Release them all without punishment, without shame, without loss of any kind, so as to secure for yourself the debt of a great benefit conferred. I hear that they are very sensitive on the subject of their honour. Vanquished by benefits only, they will strive to surpass you in respect of this deed of kindness. It is in your power to make this benefit a security for everlasting peace. If this does not suit you, then kill them to the last man, not sparing one to carry the news. I advise as my choice the former, otherwise the latter is a necessity. The Romans will avenge themselves inevitably for any shame you put upon them. In that case you should strike the first blow, and you will never deal them a heavier one than the slaughter of 50,000 of their young men at one time."

4. Ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἀντέλεξεν· "ὅτι μέν, ὦ πάτερ, ἐναντιώτατα εἶπας ἀλλήλοις, οὐ θαυμάζω· προεῖπας γὰρ ἐρεῖν ὑπερβολὰς ἑκατέρων. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κτενῶ μὲν ἄνδρας τοσούτους, νέμεσίν τε θεοῦ φυλασσόμενος καὶ φθόνον ἀνθρώπων αἰδούμενος, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐλπίδας οὐκ ἀφαιρήσομαι δι' ἀνηκέστου κακοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀφέσεως οὐδ' αὐτῷ μέν μοι δοκεῖ, Ῥωμαίων πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δεδρακότων ἡμᾶς, καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἡμετέρας ἔτι νῦν ἐχόντων, τούσδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἀπολύειν παντὸς ἀπαθεῖς. οὐ ποιήσω· ἐμπληξία γὰρ ἡ ἄλογος φιλανθρωπία. ἐπισκόπει δέ, παρεὶς ἐμέ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν· ὧν παῖδες καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τεθνᾶσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀφῃρημένοι χρῄζουσι παραμυθίας· φύσει δὲ γαῦρον ὁ νενικηκώς, καὶ τὰ κέρδη περιβλέπονται. τίς οὖν ἀνέξεταί μου τούσδε μὴ κτείνειν μηδὲ πωλεῖν μηδὲ ζημιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὡς εὐεργέτας ἀπαθεῖς προπέμπειν; διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παρῶμεν τὰς ὑπερβολάς, ἐπεὶ τῆς μὲν οὐ κύριος ἐγώ, τῆς δ' ἀπανθρωποτέρας οὐκ ἀνέχομαι· ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τι τοῦ φρονήματος περιέλοιμι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδιάβλητος εἴην, ὅπλα μὲν αὐτούς, οἷς ἐχρήσαντο ἀεὶ καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀφαιρήσομαι καὶ χρήματα (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχουσι παρ' ἡμῶν), ἐκπέμψω δ' ὑπὸ ζυγὸν σώους, ᾗ τινὶ αἰσχύνῃ

4. When he had thus spoken his son answered: B.C. 321
"I do not wonder, father, that you have suggested two plans absolutely opposed to each other, for you said in the beginning that you should propose extreme measures of one kind or the other. But I cannot put such a large number of men to death. I should fear the vengeance of heaven and the opprobrium of mankind. Nor can I take away from the two nations all hope of mutual accommodation by doing an irreparable wrong. As to releasing them I myself do not approve of that. After the Romans have inflicted so many evils upon us and while they hold so many of our fields and towns in their possession to this day, it is impossible to let these captives go scot free. I will not do it. Thoughtless leniency is insanity. Now look at this matter from the Samnites' point of view, leaving me out of the account. The Samnites, whose sons, fathers, and brothers have been slain by the Romans, and who have lost their goods and money, want satisfaction. A victor is naturally a haughty creature and our men are greedy of gain. Who then will endure that I should neither kill, nor sell, nor even fine these prisoners, but dismiss them unharmed as though they were benefactors? Therefore let us discard the two extremes—the one because it is not in my power, the other because I cannot be guilty of such inhumanity. Yet, in order to humble the pride of the Romans to some extent, and to avoid the censure of the world, I will take away the arms they have always used against us, and also their money (for even their money they get from us). Then I will make them pass safe and sound under the yoke, this being the mark of shame they are accustomed

καὶ αὐτοὶ κατ' ἄλλων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ εἰρήνην εἶναι τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνθήσομαι, τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐπιλέξομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ὅμηρα τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἕως ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐπιψηφίσῃ. καὶ τάδε ποιῶν ἡγοῦμαι νενικηκότος τε ἔργα ποιήσειν καὶ φιλανθρώπου, Ῥωμαίους τε ἀγαπήσειν ὅσα καὶ αὐτοί, φάσκοντες ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, πολλάκις ἐς ἄλλους ἔδρασαν."

5. Ταῦτα τοῦ Ποντίου λέγοντος ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐδάκρυσέ τε, καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς ἀπήνης ἐς τὸ Καύδιον ἀπήλαυνεν. ὁ δὲ Πόντιος τοὺς πρέσβεις καλέσας ἤρετο εἴ τις εἰρηνοδίκης αὐτοῖς παρείη. τοῖς δὲ παρὴν οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐπὶ ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πόλεμον ἐστρατευκόσι. τοῖς οὖν ὑπάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ παντὶ τῷ πλήθει λέγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις, " ἡμεῖς ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐσπενδόμεθα φιλίαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ διελύσατε, Σιδικηνοῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς συμμαχοῦντες. εἶτ' αὖθις αὖ φιλίας ἡμῖν γενομένης, Νεαπολίταις ἐπολεμεῖτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις γείτοσιν. καὶ οὐκ ἠγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ταῦτ' ἦν ὑμῖν παρασκευὴ πλεονεξίας ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔν τε ταῖς προτέραις μάχαις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν προλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἐπεδείξασθε μέτριον ἐς ἡμᾶς, οὐδ' ἠρκεῖσθε τὴν χώραν πορθοῦντες καὶ χωρία καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες ἀλλοτρίας, καὶ κληρούχους ἐς αὐτὰ πέμποντες, ἀλλὰ

to put upon others. Then I will establish peace between the two nations and select the most illustrious of their knights as hostages for its observance, until the entire people ratify it. In this way I think I shall have acted in a way worthy of a victor and a humane man. I think also that the Romans themselves will be content with these terms, which they, who lay claim to such excellence of character, have often imposed upon others."

B.C 321

5. While Pontius was speaking the old man burst into tears, then seated himself in his carriage and went back to Caudium. Pontius then summoned the Roman envoys and asked them if they had any fetial priest[1] with them. None, however, was present, because the army had marched to undertake an irreconcilable, implacable war. Accordingly he commanded the envoys to make this announcement to the consuls and other officers of the army and to the whole multitude: "We lived in perpetual friendship with the Romans, a friendship which you yourselves violated by giving aid to the Sidicini, our enemies. When peace was concluded again, you made war upon the Neapolitans, our neighbours. Nor did it escape us that these things were part of a plan of yours to seize the dominion of all Italy. In the first battles, where you gained the advantage on account of the unskilfulness of our generals, you showed us no moderation. Not content with devastating our country and occupying positions and towns not your own, and planting colonies in them, you, further, on two occasions, when we sent

[1] The *fetiales* were a Roman college of priests, who sanctioned treaties when concluded, and who demanded satisfaction of an enemy before a declaration of war.

καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων ἡμῶν δὶς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ πολλὰ συγχωρούντων, ὑπερήφανα ἡμῖν ἄλλα ἐπετάσσετε, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ὥσπερ οὐ σπενδομένους ἀλλ' ἁλωκότας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἐψηφίσασθε, κατ' ἀνδρῶν ποτὲ φίλων, κατὰ Σαβίνων ἐκγόνων τῶν ὑμῖν συνοικούντων. ἕνεκα μὲν οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πλεονεξίας ἔδει καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἄσπονδα εἶναι. ἐγὼ νέμεσίν τε θεῶν αἰδούμενος, ἣν ὑμεῖς ὑπερείδεσθε, καὶ συγγενείας καὶ φιλίας τῆς ποτὲ μνημονεύων, δίδωμι ἕκαστον ὑμῶν σὺν ἱματίῳ σῶον ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἣν ὁμόσητε τήν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ χωρία πάνθ' ἡμῖν ἀποδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπάξειν, καὶ μηδέ ποτ' ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας στρατεύσειν."

6. Ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν καὶ θρῆνος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον· θανάτου γὰρ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι χείρονα τὴν ὕβριν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῷ. ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπύθοντο, αὖθις ἐθρήνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας αὐτὰ ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ὤμνυον ὅ τε Πόντιος καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατοι, δύο ὄντες Ποστούμιός τε καὶ Οὐετούριος, καὶ ταμίαι δύο καὶ ταξιάρχαι τέσσαρες καὶ χιλίαρχοι δώδεκα, σύμπαντες ὅσοι μετὰ τοὺς διεφθαρμένους ἦρχον. γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων ὁ μὲν Πόντιος παραλύσας τι τοῦ διατειχίσματος, καὶ δυσὶ δόρασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐμπεπηγόσιν ἐπικάρσιον ἄλλο ἐπιθείς, ἐξέπεμπε Ῥωμαίων ἕκαστον ὑπὸ τούτῳ. καί τινα ὑποζύγια ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας,

embassies to you and made concessions, arrogantly B.C. 321
increased your claims, demanding that we should surrender our entire empire, and acknowledge your allegiance. You treated us as a conquered race, not as a nation with whom you were negotiating. Thereupon you decreed this irreconcilable, implacable war against your former friends, descendants of the Sabines whom you made your fellow-citizens. On account of your insatiable cupidity we ought not to make a treaty with you. But I, having regard for the divine wrath (which you depised), and mindful of our former relationship and friendship, will permit each one of you to pass under the yoke safe and sound with one garment, if you swear to give up all of our lands and strongholds and withdraw your colonies from the same, and never wage war against the Samnites again."

6. When these terms were communicated to the camp there was wailing and lamentation, long and loud, for they considered the disgrace of passing under the yoke worse than death. Afterwards, when they heard about the knights who were to be held as hostages, there was another long lament. Yet they were compelled by want to accept the conditions. Accordingly they took the oaths, Pontius on the one side, and the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, on the other, together with two quaestors, four division commanders, and twelve tribunes,—all the surviving officers. When the oaths had been taken, Pontius opened part of the barricade, and having fixed two spears in the ground and laid another across the top, caused the Romans to go under it as they passed out, one by one. He also gave them some animals to carry their sick, and

καὶ τροφήν, ἄχρι τῆς Ῥώμης φέρεσθαι. δύναται δ', ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀφέσεως, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ τῇδε ζυγόν, ὀνειδίζειν ὡς δοριαλώτοις.

7. Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰμωγὴ καὶ θρῆνος ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐκόπτοντο τοὺς αἰσχρῶς περισεσωσμένους ὡς ἀποθανόντας, ἥ τε βουλὴ τὴν ἐπιπόρφυρον ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο, καὶ θυσίαι καὶ γάμοι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα, ἐπέσχετο ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἕως τὴν συμφορὰν ἀνέλαβον. τῶν δὲ ἀφειμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς διέφευγον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήεσαν· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες ἡμέρας μὲν ἐσῆλθον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ἔπρασσον δὲ οὐδέν. U. p. 338.

V

Δεντάτῳ κατὰ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς εἵπετο νεων λογάδων πλῆθος ὀκτακοσίων, ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἕτοιμοι. καὶ βαρὺς ἦν τῇ βουλῇ παρὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. Suid. v. ζῆλος.

VI

1. Ὅτι Κελτῶν Σενόνων πολὺ πλῆθος Τυρρηνοῖς συνεμάχουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούσδε τοὺς πρέσβεις Βριτόμαρις μετὰ τῶν κηρυκείων καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς στολῆς κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλὰ

provisions sufficient to bring them to Rome. This B.C. 321
method of dismissing prisoners, which the Romans call sending under the yoke, seems to me to convey the reproach of having been captured in battle.

7. When the news of this calamity reached the city there was wailing and lamentation like a public mourning. The women mourned for those who had been saved in this ignominious way as for the dead. The senators discarded their purple-striped tunics. Feasts, marriages, and everything of that kind were prohibited for a whole year, until the calamity was retrieved. Some of the returning soldiers took refuge in the fields for shame, others stole into the city by night. The consuls entered by day, as the law compelled them, and wore their usual insignia, but they exercised no further authority

V. From Suidas

On account of admiration for his bravery a 290
multitude of chosen youths numbering eight hundred were in the habit of following Dentatus, ready for anything. This was an embarrassment to the Senate at their meetings.

VI. From "The Embassies"

1. Once a great number of the Senones, a Celtic 283
tribe, aided the Etruscans in war against the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to the towns of the Senones and complained that, while they were under treaty stipulations, they were serving as mercenaries against the Romans. Although they bore the herald's staff, and wore the garments of their office, Britomaris cut them in pieces and

καὶ διέρριψεν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πολεμῶν ἀνῄρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος τοῦ μύσους ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος τὰ μὲν Τυρρηνῶν εἴασεν, ἐς δὲ τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν πάντα καθῄρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἠνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἥβῶντας πάντας ἔκτεινε, πλὴν Βριτομάριος, ὃν δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος ἦγεν ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον.

2. Οἱ δὲ Σενόνων, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ, πυθόμενοι[1] ἀνῃρῆσθαι, Τυρρηνοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. καὶ πολλῶν μεταξὺ γενομένων οἱ Σένονες, οὔτε πατρίδας ἔχοντες ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσιν, ὀργιζόμενοί τε τῶν γεγονότων, ἐνέπιπτον τῷ Δομιτίῳ καὶ διεφθάρησαν πολλοί. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἥδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 343.

VII

1. Ὅτι Κορνήλιος ἐπὶ καταφράκτων δεκα νεῶν ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μεγάλην Ἑλλάδα, καί τις ἐν Τάραντι δημαγωγὸς Φιλόχαρις, αἰσχρῶς τε βεβιωκὼς καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο καλούμενος Θαΐς, παλαιῶν τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἀνεμίμνησκε συνθηκῶν, μὴ πλεῖν Ῥωμαίους πρόσω Λακινίας ἄκρας, παροξύνας τε ἔπεισεν ἐπαναχθῆναι τῷ Κορνηλίῳ. καὶ τέσσαρας μὲν αὐτοῦ ναῦς κατέδυσαν οἱ Ταραντῖνοι,

[1] Something has probably fallen out after πυθόμενοι.

flung the parts away, alleging that his own father had been slain by the Romans while he was waging war in Etruria. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, abandoned his campaign against the Etruscans, dashed with great rapidity by way of the Sabine country and Picenum against the towns of the Senones, and devastated them with fire and sword. He carried their women and children into slavery, and killed all the adult youths except a son of Britomaris, whom he tortured terribly and led in his triumph. B.C. 283

2. When the Senones who were in Etruria heard of this calamity, they joined with the Etruscans and marched against Rome. After various mishaps these Senones, having no homes to return to, and being in a state of frenzy over their misfortunes, fell upon Domitius [the other consul], by whom most of them were destroyed. The rest slew themselves in despair. Such was the punishment meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

VII. From the Same.

1. Cornelius went on a voyage of inspection along the coast of Magna Graecia with ten decked ships. At Tarentum there was a demagogue named Philocharis, a man of obscene life, who was for that reason nicknamed Thais. He reminded the Tarentines of an old treaty by which the Romans had bound themselves not to sail beyond the promontory of Lacinium, and so stirred their passion that he persuaded them to put out to sea and attack Cornelius, of whose ships they 282

μίαν δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἔς τε Θουρίους ἐγκλήματα ποιούμενοι ὅτι Ἕλληνες ὄντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγον ἀντὶ σφῶν, καὶ παρελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπέκεινα αἴτιοι μάλιστα ἐγεγένηντο, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς αὐτῶν ἐξέβαλον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν.

2. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τούτων πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐς Ταραντα πέμπουσι, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους κελεύοντες, οὓς οὐ πολεμοῦντας ἀλλὰ θεωμένους ἔλαβον, ἀποδοῦναι, Θουρίων δ' οὓς ἐξέβαλον, εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταγαγεῖν, ἅ τε διηρπάκεσαν αὐτούς, ἢ τὴν ζημίαν τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἀποτῖσαι, σφίσι δ' ἐκδοῦναι τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς παρανομίας, εἰ Ῥωμαίων ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις μόλις ποτὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπήγαγον, καὶ ἐπελθόντας ἐχλεύαζον εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἑλληνίσειαν· ἔσκωπτον δὲ καὶ τὴν στολὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιπόρφυρον. Φιλωνίδης δέ τις, ἀνὴρ γελοῖος καὶ φιλοσκώμμων, Ποστουμίῳ τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀπεστράφη τε, καὶ ἐπικύψας τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀνεσύρατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ κατησχημόνησεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν θέατρον ἔπαιζεν ὡς ἐπὶ γελοίῳ, Ποστούμιος δὲ προτείνας τὸ μεμολυσμένον, "ἐκπλυνεῖτε," ἔφη, "τοῦτο αἵματι πολλῷ, τοιούτοις ἀρεσκόμενοι γέλωσιν." καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν Ταραντίνων ἀποκριναμένων ἀπῆλθον οἱ πρέσβεις. ὁ δὲ Ποστούμιος τὴν ὕβριν ἐκ τῆς ἐσθῆτος οὐκ ἀποπλύνας ἐπέδειξε Ῥωμαίοις, (3) καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν Αἰμιλίῳ πολεμοῦντι Σαυνίταις ἐπέστειλε

sank four and captured one with all on board. They also accused the Thurini of preferring the Romans to the Tarentines although they were Greeks, and held them chiefly to blame for the Romans overpassing the limits. Then they expelled the noblest citizens of Thurii, sacked the city, and dismissed the Roman garrison under a flag of truce. B.C. 282

2. When the Romans learned of these events, they sent an embassy to Tarentum to demand that the prisoners who had been taken, not in war, but as mere sight-seers, should be surrendered; that the citizens of Thurii who had been expelled should be brought back to their homes; that the property that had been plundered, or the value of what had been lost, should be restored; and finally, that they should surrender the authors of these crimes, if they wished to continue on good terms with the Romans. The Tarentines made difficulties about admitting the embassy to their council at all, and when they had received them jeered at them whenever they made a slip in their Greek, and made fun of their togas and of the purple stripe on them. But a certain Philonides, a fellow fond of jest and ribaldry, going up to Postumius, the chief of the embassy, turned his back to him, drew up his dress and polluted him with filth. This spectacle was received with laughter by the bystanders. Postumius, holding out his soiled garment, said: "You will wash out this defilement with much blood—you who take pleasure in this kind of joke." As the Tarentines made no answer the embassy departed. Postumius carried the soiled garment just as it was, and showed it to the Romans.

3. The people, deeply incensed, sent orders to Aemilius, who was waging war against the Samnites,

τὰ μὲν Σαυνιτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐᾶν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ταραντίνων εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς διαλλαγὰς προκαλέσασθαι, ἂν δ' ἀπειθῶσι, πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε προύτεινε τοῖς Ταραντίνοις, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐγέλων ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ' ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς γνώμαις ἀγχώμαλοι, μέχρι τις ἀποροῦσι καὶ βουλευομένοις ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ἐκδοῦναί τινας ἤδη δεδουλωμένων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ πολεμεῖν μόνους ἐπισφαλές. "εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐγκρατῶς ἐξόμεθα καὶ πολεμήσομεν ἐξ ἴσου, Πύρρον ἐξ Ἠπείρου τὸν βασιλέα καλῶμεν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποφήνωμεν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου." ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. U. p. 343.

VIII

Οτι μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου ἐς τὸν Τάραντα κατήγετο, καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τότε μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσοικιζομένους τε παρὰ σφᾶς βίᾳ, καὶ φανερῶς ἐνυβρίζοντας ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια σφῶν ὁ Πύρρος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνόδους καὶ διατριβὰς ὡς οὐ πρεπούσας πολέμῳ διέλυε, γυμνάσιά τε ἔνοπλα ἔτασσεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ θάνατον τοῖς ἀμελοῦσιν ὥριζε, τότε δὴ καὶ πάμπαν ἀήθεσιν ἔργοις καὶ ἐπιτάγμασι κάμνοντες οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀπεδίδρασκον. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς θύρας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐφίστη. καὶ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τῆς ἀβουλίας σφῶν ᾐσθάνοντο σαφῶς. Val. p. 553.

to suspend operations for the present and invade the territory of the Tarentines, and offer them the same terms that the late embassy had proposed, and if they did not agree, to wage war against them with all his might. He made them the offer accordingly. This time they did not laugh, for they saw the army. They were about equally divided in opinion until one of their number said to them as they doubted and disputed: "To surrender citizens is the act of a people already enslaved, yet to fight without allies is hazardous. If we wish to defend our liberty stoutly and to fight on equal terms, let us call on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and make him our leader in this war." This was done. B.C. 282

VIII. From "Virtues and Vices"

After the shipwreck, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, arrived at the harbour of Tarentum. The Tarentines were very much put out with the king's officers, who quartered themselves upon the citizens by force, and openly abused their wives and children. Afterwards Pyrrhus put an end to their revels and other social gatherings and amusements as incompatible with a state of war, and ordered the citizens to severe military exercise, under penalty of death if they disobeyed. Then the Tarentines, utterly worn out by exercises and tasks to which they were unaccustomed, fled the city as though it were a foreign government and took refuge in the fields. Then the king closed the gates and placed guards over them. In this way the Tarentines gained a clear perception of their own folly. 281

IX

1. Ὅτι ὅσοι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως, μή τι πάθοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, παρέμενον, αὐτοί τε καὶ Δέκιος ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῶν, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν Ῥηγίνων φθονήσαντες, καὶ φυλάξαντες αὐτοὺς εὐωχουμένους ἐν ἑορτῇ διέφθειραν, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀκουσίαις συνῆσαν. πρόφασιν δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ἔφερον ὅτι Ῥηγῖνοι τὴν φρουρὰν προεδίδοσαν Πύρρῳ. καὶ Δέκιος μὲν ἀντὶ φρουράρχου τύραννος ἦν, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθετο Μαμερτίνοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ κατῳκημένοις, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κἀκείνοις ἐς ἰδίους ξένους ὅμοια δεδρακόσιν.

2. Ἀλγήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγίῳ ἰατροῖς ἀπιστοῦντα, μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐθεράπευε Ῥηγῖνος ἀνήρ, μετῳκηκὼς ἐς Μεσσήνην πρὸ πολλοῦ, ὅτι Ῥηγῖνος ἦν ἀγνοούμενος. οὗτος αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ συντόμῳ φαρμάκων ἀνασχέσθαι θερμῶν, καὶ χρίσας τοῖς κατακαίουσι καὶ δαπανῶσιν ἐκέλευσεν ἀνασχέσθαι τοῦ πόνου μέχρι αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι, καὶ λαθὼν ἔπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην. ὁ δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς ὀδύνης ἀνασχόμενος ἀπενίψατο, καὶ εὗρε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδαπανημένους.

3. Φαβρίκιος δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶνδε πεμφθεὶς τήν τε πόλιν τοῖς ἔτι Ῥηγίνοις λοιποῖς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν τοὺς αἰτίους

IX. From the Same

1. Some Roman soldiers were stationed in B.C. 280
Rhegium for the safety and protection of the city against enemies. They, and their leader Decius, envying the good fortune of the inhabitants and seizing an opportunity when they were feasting on a holiday, slew them and violated their wives. They offered an excuse for this crime, that the citizens of Rhegium were about to betray the garrison to Pyrrhus. So Decius became supreme ruler instead of a prefect of the guard, and he contracted an alliance with the Mamertines, who dwelt on the other side of the strait of Sicily, and who had perpetrated the same kind of outrage on their hosts not long before.

2. Suffering from an affection of the eyes and distrusting the physicians of Rhegium, Decius sent for a medical man who had migrated from Rhegium to Messana so long before that it was forgotten that he was a Rhegian. The latter persuaded him that, if he wished speedy relief, he should use certain hot drugs. Having applied a burning and corrosive ointment to his eyes, he told him to bear the pain till he should come again. Then he secretly returned to Messana. Decius, after enduring the pain a long time, washed off the ointment and found that he had lost his eyesight.

3. Fabricius was sent by the Romans to re-establish order. He restored the city to those Rhegians who still remained, and sent the ringleaders in the mutiny

τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἳ μαστιγωθέντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ ἐξερρίφησαν ἄταφοι. Δέκιος δὲ φυλασσόμενος ἀμελῶς,[1] οἷα πηρός, ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. id. ib.

X

1. Ὅτι ὁ Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἠπείρου, νικήσας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν χρήζων τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ μάχης εὐτόνου, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων ἐς διαλύσεις τότε μάλιστα ἐνδώσειν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Κινέαν τὸν Θεσσαλόν, δόξαν ἐπὶ λόγοις ἔχοντα μιμεῖσθαι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀρετήν. καὶ παρελθὼν ὁ Κινέας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄλλα τε πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσεμνολόγει, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι μετριοπάθειαν κατελογίζετο, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλάσαντος μήτ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἡσσημένον στρατόπεδον· ἐδίδου δ' αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Πύρρον, εἰ Ταραντίνους μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συμπεριλάβοιεν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐῷεν, Λευκανοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαυνίταις καὶ Δαυνίοις καὶ Βρεττίοις ἀποδοῖεν ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχουσι πολέμῳ λαβόντες. καὶ γιγνομένων ἔφη τούτων Πύρρον ἀποδώσειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων.

2. Οἱ δ' ἐνεδοίαζον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, τῇ τε δόξῃ τοῦ Πύρρου καὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι πάθει καταπλαγέντες, ἕως Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος, ὁ Καῖκος ἐπίκλησιν, ἤδη τετυφλωμένος, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν κελεύσας, "ἠχθόμην,"

[1] MSS. ἐπιμελῶς, which can hardly be right.

back to Rome. They were beaten with rods in the forum, then beheaded, and their bodies cast away unburied. Decius, who, being blind, was negligently guarded, killed himself. B.C 280

X. From "The Embassies"

1. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, having gained a victory over the Romans and desiring to recuperate his forces after the severe engagement, and expecting that the Romans would then be particularly desirous of coming to terms, sent to the city Cineas, a Thessalian, who was so renowned for eloquence that he had been compared with Demosthenes. When he was admitted to the senate-chamber, he extolled the king for a variety of reasons, laying stress on his moderation after the victory, in that he had neither marched directly against the city nor attacked the camp of the vanquished. He offered them peace, friendship, and an alliance with Pyrrhus, provided that they included the Tarentines in the same treaty, left the other Greeks dwelling in Italy free under their own laws, and restored to the Lucanians, Samnites, Daunii, and Bruttians whatever they had taken from them in war. If they would do this, he said that Pyrrhus would restore all his prisoners without ransom.

2. The Romans hesitated a long time, being much intimidated by the prestige of Pyrrhus and by the calamity that had befallen them. Finally Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind (because he had lost his eyesight from old age), commanded his sons to lead him into the senate-chamber, where he said:

εἶπεν, "ὅτι μὴ βλέπω· νῦν δ' ὅτι ἀκούω. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ὑμῶν βουλεύματα ἠξίουν μήθ' ὁρᾶν μήτ' ἀκούειν, οἳ δι' ἓν ἀτύχημα ἀθρόως οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐκλέλησθε, καὶ τὸν τοῦτο δράσαντα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπαγαγομένους αὐτὸν βουλεύεσθε φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων θέσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων κτήματα Λευκανοῖς καὶ Βρεττίοις δοῦναι. τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ Μακεδόσι γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτά τινες εἰρήνην ἀντὶ δουλείας τολμῶσιν ὀνομάζειν." ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὅμοια τούτοις ὁ Ἄππιος εἰπὼν καὶ ἐρεθίσας, ἐσηγήσατο Πύρρον, εἰ δέοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀπελθόντα πρεσβεύειν, παρόντα δὲ μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε σύμμαχον μήτε Ῥωμαίοις δικαστὴν ἢ διαιτητήν.

3. Καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταῦθ' ἅπερ καὶ Ἄππιος εἶπεν ἀπεκρίνατο Κινέᾳ. Λαιουίνῳ δ' ἄλλα δύο τέλη καταλέγοντες ἐκήρυξαν οὕτως, εἴ τις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων αὐτὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν, ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπογράφεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κινέας ἔτι παρών, καὶ θεώμενος αὐτοὺς ὠθουμένους ἐς τὰς ἀπογραφάς, λέγεται πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον ἐπανελθὼν εἰπεῖν ὅτι πρὸς ὕδραν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. οἱ δὲ οὐ Κινέαν ἀλλὰ Πύρρον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, ἰδόντα τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῆς προτέρας πλείονα· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος τῷ Λαιουίνῳ Κορουγκάνιος ἦκεν ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεθ' ἧς εἶχε παρασκευῆς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τἆλλα περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης πυνθανομένῳ Πύρρῳ Κινέας εἰπεῖν ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ὅλη, καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου θαυμάσαντος μεταλαβὼν φάναι, "βασιλέων μᾶλλον

"I was grieved at the loss of my sight; now I B.C. 280
regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see or hear deliberations of this kind from you. Has a single misfortune made you in a moment so forget yourselves as to take the man who brought it upon you, and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give the heritage of your fathers to the Lucanians and Bruttians? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude!" Many other things in the like sense did Appius urge to arouse their spirit. If Pyrrhus wanted peace and the friendship of the Romans, let him withdraw from Italy and then send his embassy. As long as he remained let him be considered neither friend nor ally, neither judge nor arbitrator of the Romans.

3. The Senate made answer to Cineas in the very words of Appius. They decreed the levying of two legions for Laevinus, and made proclamation that whoever would volunteer in place of those who had been lost should put their names on the army roll. Cineas, who was still present and saw the multitude jostling each other in their eagerness to be enrolled, is reported to have said to Pyrrhus on his return: "We are waging war against a hydra." Others say that not Cineas, but Pyrrhus himself said this when he saw the new Roman army larger than the former one; for the other consul, Coruncanius, came from Etruria and joined his forces with those of Laevinus. It is said also that when Pyrrhus made some further inquiries about Rome, Cineas replied that it was a city of generals; and when Pyrrhus wondered at this, he corrected himself, and said, kings rather

ἡ στρατηγῶν." Πύρρος δ', ὡς οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖόν οἱ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήντησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, πάντα δῃῶν. καὶ φθάνει μὲν ἐς πόλιν Ἀναγνίαν, βαρεῖαν δ' ἔχων ἤδη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπὸ λείας καὶ πλήθους αἰχμαλώτων, ἀναθέμενος μάχην ἀνέστρεφεν ἐπὶ Καμπανίας, ἡγουμένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς χειμασίαν κατὰ πόλεις διῄρει.

4. Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις αὐτὸν ἠξίουν λῦσαι τῇ πόλει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἢ ἀντιλαβεῖν ὅσους ἔχουσι Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ σπενδομένοις μὲν ἔφη, καθάπερ προεῖπε Κινέας, χαριεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πολεμοῦσι δ' οὐ δώσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἄνδρας τοιούτους καὶ τοσούτους. ἐξένιζε δ' αὐτοὺς βασιλικῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς πρεσβείας ἡγούμενον Φαβρίκιον πυνθανόμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγα δύνασθαι καὶ δεινῶς πένεσθαι καθωμίλει, λέγων, εἰ πράξειεν αὐτῷ τὰς διαλύσεις, ὑποστράτηγον καὶ κοινωνὸν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάξειν ἐς Ἤπειρον. χρήματά τε αὐτὸν λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη παρεκάλει, πρόφασιν ὡς δώσοντα τοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐργασαμένοις. ἐπιγελάσας δ' ὁ Φαβρίκιος περὶ μὲν τῶν κοινῶν οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "τὴν δ' ἐμήν," ἔφη, "παρρησίαν οὔτε τῶν σῶν φίλων οὐδεὶς οὔτε αὐτὸς οἴσεις σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ· καὶ τὴν πενίαν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μακαρίζω μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τῶν τυράννων πλοῦτον ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον." οἱ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω φασὶν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μου τῆς φύσεως Ἠπειρῶται μεταλαβόντες ἐμὲ σοῦ προθήσουσιν.

than generals. When Pyrrhus saw that there was no B.C. expectation of peace from the Senate, he pressed on 280 towards Rome, laying everything waste on his way. When he had come as far as the town of Anagnia, finding his army encumbered with booty and a host of prisoners, he decided to postpone the battle. Accordingly he turned back to Campania, sending his elephants in advance, and distributed his army in winter quarters among the towns.

4. Hither came Roman ambassadors proposing either to ransom the prisoners or to exchange them for Tarentines and such others of his allies as they had taken. He replied that if they were ready for peace, he would, as Cineas had said in his proclamation, release the prisoners gratuitously, but if the war was to continue, he would not give up such a large number of valiant men to fight against him. However, he entertained them in a kingly way and hearing that Fabricius, the chief of the embassy, had great influence in the city, and also that he was a very poor man, he approached him and said that if he would bring about a treaty of peace, he would take him to Epirus, and make him his chief officer and the sharer of all his possessions; and he asked him to accept a present of money then and there, on the pretext that he was to give it to those who arranged the treaty. Fabricius burst out laughing. He made no answer at all as to public matters, but said: "Neither your friends nor you, O King, can take away my independence. I consider my poverty more blessed than all the riches of kings if conjoined with fear." Others report the conversation differently, saying that Fabricius replied: "Beware lest the Epirotes share my nature and prefer me to you."

5. Ὁποτέρως δ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο, θαυμάσας αὐτὸν τοῦ φρονήματος ὁ Πύρρος ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς ἐπενόει, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τῶν Κροτώνων τὴν ἑορτὴν ἔπεμπεν ἄνευ φυλάκων, ἐφ' ᾧ, δεχομένης μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἃ ὁ Πύρρος προτείνει, μένειν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολελύσθαι, μὴ δεχομένης δὲ ἑορτάσαντας ἐπανήκειν ἐς αὐτόν. τούτους ἡ βουλή, πάνυ παρακαλοῦντας καὶ ἐνάγοντας ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις, ἐκέλευσεν ἑορτάσαντας Πύρρῳ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ, καὶ θάνατον ἐπέταξε τοῖς ἀπολειφθεῖσι τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν ἅπαντες ἐφύλαξαν, καὶ Πύρρῳ πολεμητέα πάντως αὖθις ἐδόκει. U. p. 345.

XI

1. Ὅτι τὸν Πύρρον ἤδη μὲν τὰ Ῥωμαίων κατέπλησσεν, ἐτάρασσε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Μολοσσοῖς θορυβούμενα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς τε, ἄρχων Σικελίας, ἄρτι ἐτεθνήκει, οὗ θυγατέρα Λάνασσαν ἔχων ὁ Πύρρος ἐν ταῖς γυναιξί, τὴν νῆσον οἰκείαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιεβλέπετο. ὤκνει δ' ὅμως ἔτι τοὺς ἐπικαλέσαντας ἄνευ τινὸς εἰρήνης καταλιπεῖν. ἄσμενος οὖν τῆς προφάσεως τῆς περὶ τὸν αὐτόμολον ἐπιβὰς ἐμαρτύρει τοῖς ὑπάτοις, καὶ Κινέαν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην χάριν ὁμολογήσοντα τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀμοιβὴν ἄγοντα, εἰρήνην τε ὅπῃ δύναιτο πράξοντα. δῶρα δ' ὁ Κινέας ἔφερε πολλὰ μὲν ἀνδράσι

5. Whichever answer he made, Pyrrhus admired his high spirit. He then tried another plan for procuring peace. He allowed the prisoners to go home without guards to attend the festival of Saturn, on the condition that if the city accepted the terms offered by him they should be free, but if not that they should return to him at the end of the festival. Although the prisoners earnestly besought and urged the Senate to accept the terms, the latter ordered them, at the conclusion of the festival, to deliver themselves up to Pyrrhus on a day specified, and decreed the death penalty to those who should linger beyond that time. This order was observed by all. In this way Pyrrhus again thought that war was unavoidable. B.C. 280

XI. From the Same

1. While Pyrrhus was perplexed by the Roman complication he was also disturbed by an uprising of the Molossians. At this time too Agathocles, the king of Sicily, had just died, and as Pyrrhus had married his daughter Lanassa, he began to look upon Sicily, rather than Italy, as his natural possession. Still he was loath to abandon those who had summoned him to their aid, without some kind of arrangement for peace. Seizing eagerly the occasion of the sending back of the traitor who had deserted from him, he testified his gratitude to the consuls for thus saving his life, and also sent Cineas to Rome to make the same acknowledgments, and to surrender the prisoners by way of recompense, instructing him to procure peace in whatever way he could. Cineas brought a large number of presents both for men and 278

πολλὰ δὲ γυναιξί, φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλόδωρον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν πυθόμενος, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰσχύειν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ.

2. Οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν δώρων ἐνεκελεύσαντο ἀλλήλοις· καί φασιν οὐδένα λαβεῖν οὐδέν, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα. ἀπεκρίναντο δ' αὐτῷ, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον, ἀπελθόντα Πύρρον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πρεσβεύειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ δώρων· ἀπορήσειν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν δικαίων. τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτοὶ πολυτελῶς ἐξένιζον, καὶ Πύρρῳ τοὺς Ταραντίνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ συμμάχων αἰχμαλώτους ἀντέπεμπον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει μετά τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων . . .[1] καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἱππέων, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας. id. p. 348.

XII

1. Ὅτι Πύρρος μετὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλει, ὑποσχόμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπανήξειν ἐς Ἰταλίαν. καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ἔτει τρίτῳ, Καρχηδονίων αὐτὸν ἐξελασάντων ἐκ Σικελίας, ἤδη καὶ τοῖς Σικελιώταις βαρὺν ἐπί τε ξενίαις καὶ χορηγίαις καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ἐσφοραῖς γενόμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πλούσιος ἐν τῶνδε γεγονὼς ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διέπλει ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν, φορτίσι δὲ καὶ ὁλκάσι πολὺ πλείοσιν· οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι διαναυμαχήσαντες αὐτῷ κατέδυσαν ναῦς ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἄπλους ἐποίησαν, πλὴν

[1] The text appears to be defective here.

women, hearing that the people were fond of money and gifts, and that women had had large influence among the Romans from the earliest times. B.C. 278

2. But they warned each other against the gifts, and it is said that no man or woman accepted anything. They gave Cineas the same answer as before. If Pyrrhus would withdraw from Italy and send an embassy to them without gifts, they would agree to fair terms in all respects. They treated the embassy, however, in a sumptuous manner, and in their turn sent back to Pyrrhus in exchange all the Tarentines and others of his allies whom they held as prisoners. Thereupon Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily with his elephants and 8,000 horse, promising his allies that he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, for the Carthaginians had driven him out of Sicily.

XII. From "Virtues and Vices"

1. After the battle and the armistice with the Romans, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily, promising he would return to Italy. Three years later he returned, having been driven out of Sicily by the Carthaginians, and having been a grievous burden to the Sicilians themselves by reason of the lodging and supplying of his troops, the garrisons and the tribute he had imposed on them. Enriched by these exactions he set sail for Rhegium with 110 decked ships, besides a much larger number of merchant vessels and ships of burthen. But the Carthaginians made a naval attack upon him, sank seventy of his ships, and disabled all the rest except 276

δώδεκα μόνων, αἷς ὁ Πύρρος διαφυγὼν ἐτίννυτο Λοκροὺς τοὺς ἐπιζεφυρίους, ὅτι φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον αὐτῆς, ὑβρίσαντας ἐς αὐτούς, ἀνῃρήκεσαν. ὠμῶς δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ πικρῶς κτείνων τε καὶ συλῶν ὁ Πύρρος οὐδὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῆς Περσεφόνης ἀπέσχετο, ἐπισκώψας τὴν ἄκαιρον θεοσέβειαν εἶναι δεισιδαιμονίαν, τὸ δὲ συλλέξαι πλοῦτον ἄπονον εὐβουλίαν.

2. Ἀναχθέντα δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν σύλων χειμὼν ὑπέλαβε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε καὶ διέφθειρεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξέρριψεν. τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ πάντα σῶα ὁ κλύδων ἐς τοὺς Λοκρῶν λιμένας ἐπανήγαγεν, ὥστε καὶ Πύρρον ὀψὲ τῆς ἀσεβείας αἰσθόμενον ἀναθεῖναί τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Περσεφόνῃ, καὶ θυσίαις ἱλάσκεσθαι τὴν θεὸν πολλαῖς. τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν οὐκ ἀπαντώντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσαντας ἢ λέγοντι συνθεμένους, ἢ διακονησαμένους τὸ ἔργον, ἔκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύρρος οὕτως ἐπεπράχει κακῶς. Val. p. 554.

twelve. Escaping with these he took vengeance on the Italian Locrians who had put to death his garrison and their commanding officer, because of outrages committed upon the inhabitants. He massacred and plundered them with savage cruelty, not even sparing the temple gifts of Proserpina, saying jestingly that unseasonable piety was no better than superstition, and that it was good policy to obtain wealth without labour. B.C. 276

2. He put to sea laden with his spoils, and was overtaken by a storm, which sank some of his ships with their crews, and cast the others ashore. But all the sacred things the waves brought back safe into the harbours of the Locrians. Wherefore Pyrrhus, perceiving too late the consequences of his impiety, restored them to the temple of Proserpina and sought to propitiate the goddess with numerous sacrifices. As the victims were unpropitious he became still more furious, and put to death all those who had advised the temple-robbing, or had assented to it, or had taken part in it. Such is the story of Pyrrhus' disaster.

BOOK IV

THE GALLIC HISTORY

FRAGMENTS

Δ

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΛΤΙΚΗΣ

I

1. Κελτοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεχείρησαν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην εἷλον ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, καὶ ἐμπεπρήκασιν. Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐξήλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθόντας αὖθις ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη. καὶ τρίτη δὲ Κελτῶν στρατιὰ ἐμβέβληκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεφθάρκασιν ὑφ' ἡγεμόνι Τίτῳ Κοιντίῳ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιοί, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον, ἐπῆλθε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ αὐτοῖς Γάϊος Σουλπίκιος δικτάτωρ μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀπήντα, ὅς τις καὶ στρατηγήματι τοιούτῳ χρήσασθαι λέγεται· ἐκέλευσε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τεταγμένους ἐξακοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ συγκαθίσαι τάχιστα, μέχρι βάλωσιν οἱ δεύτεροι καὶ τρίτοι καὶ τέταρτοι, τοὺς δ' ἀφιέντας ἀεὶ συνίζειν, ἵνα μὴ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνεχθείη τὰ δόρατα· βαλόντων δὲ τῶν ὑστάτων ἀναπηδᾶν ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ, καὶ σὺν βοῇ τάχιστα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι· καταπλήξειν

BOOK IV

FROM THE GALLIC HISTORY

I. An Epitome of Appian's Book "De Rebus Gallicis"

1. The Gauls took the initiative by attacking the Romans. They took Rome itself, except the Capitol, and burned it. Camillus, however, overcame and expelled them. At a later period, when they had made a second invasion, he overcame them again and enjoyed a triumph in consequence, being then in his eighty-first year. A third army of Gauls which invaded Italy was in its turn destroyed by the Romans under Titus Quintius. Afterwards the Boii, the most savage of the Gallic tribes, attacked the Romans. Gaius Sulpicius, the dictator, marched against them, and is said to have used the following stratagem. He commanded those who were in the front line to discharge their javelins, and immediately crouch low; then the second, third, and fourth lines to discharge theirs, each crouching in turn so that they should not be struck by the spears thrown from the rear; then when the last line had hurled their javelins, all were to spring up together, and with a cheer close speedily with the

B.C. 390
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361
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γὰρ ὧδε τοὺς πολεμίους τοσῶνδε δοράτων ἄφεσιν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ταχεῖαν ἐπιχείρησιν. τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἦν οὐκ ἀπεοικότα ἀκοντίοις· ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν ὑσσούς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦδε καὶ μαλακοῦ χωρίς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς. καὶ οἱ Βοιοὶ οὖν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τότε ἐφθάρησαν πανστρατιᾷ.

2. Ἄλλους δὲ πάλιν Κελτοὺς ἐνίκα Ποπίλλιος, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον τοὺς αὐτοὺς Κάμιλλος ὁ τοῦ Καμίλλου υἱός. ἔστησε δὲ κατὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Πάππος Αἰμίλιος τρόπαια. πρὸ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Μαρίου ὑπατειῶν πλεῖστόν τι καὶ μαχιμώτατον, τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ μάλιστα φοβερώτατον χρῆμα Κελτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐσέβαλε, καί τινας ὑπάτους Ῥωμαίων ἐνίκησε καὶ στρατόπεδα κατέκοψεν· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Μάριος ἀποσταλεὶς ἅπαντας διέφθειρε. τελευταῖα δὲ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐς Γαλάτας Ῥωμαίοις πεπραγμένων ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι στρατηγοῦντι γενόμενα. μυριάσι τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀγρίων, ἐν τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἐν οἷς ἐστρατήγησεν, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, εἴ τις ὑφ' ἓν τὰ μέρη συναγάγοι, τετρακοσίων πλείοσι, καὶ τούτων ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐζώγρησαν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἐν τῷ πόνῳ κατέκανον. ἔθνη δὲ τετρακόσια καὶ πόλεις ὑπὲρ ὀκτακοσίας, τὰ μὲν ἀφιστάμενα σφῶν, τὰ δὲ προσεπιλαμβάνοντες, ἐκρατύναντο. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰμιλιανός, ὀλίγην κομιδῇ στρατιὰν ἔχων, ἐπολέμησε τοῖς Κελτοῖς, καὶ δώδεκα μυριάδας αὐτῶν ἐν μιᾷ μάχῃ κατέκανε, πεντεκαίδεκα μόνους τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλών. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἔπραξε πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τραύματος ὑπογυίου, καὶ τὰ τάγματα ἐπιὼν καὶ παραθαρ-

enemy. The hurling of so many missiles, followed by an immediate charge, would terrify their adversaries. The Gauls used spears not unlike javelins, pila, as the Romans call them, four-sided, half of wood and half of iron, which was soft except for the pointed end. In this way the army of the Boii was completely destroyed by the Romans. B.C. 389

2. Another Gallic force was defeated by Popillius, 350
and after this Camillus, son of the former Camillus, 349
defeated the same tribe. Afterwards Aemilius 225
Pappus won some trophies from the Gauls. Shortly 105
before the consulships of Marius a most numerous and warlike horde of Celtic tribes, most formidable in bodily strength, made incursions into both Italy and Gaul, and defeated some of the Roman consuls, and cut their armies in pieces. Marius was sent against them and he destroyed them all. The latest and greatest war of the Romans against the 58
Gauls was that waged under the command of Caesar, for, in the ten years that he held command there, they fought with more than 4,000,000 barbarians, taken all together. Of these 1,000,000 were captured and as many more slain in battle. They reduced to subjection 400 tribes and more than 800 towns, which had either revolted from their allegiance or were conquered for the first time. Even before Marius, Fabius Maximus Aemilianus 121
with a very small army waged war against the Gauls and killed 120,000 of them in one battle, losing only fifteen of his own men; and he did this although suffering from a recent wound, passing down the

ρύνων, καὶ διδάσκων ὅπως τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμητέον, τὰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀπήνης φερόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ βάδην χειραγωγούμενος.

3. Καῖσαρ δὲ πολεμήσας αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλουητίους καὶ Τιγυρίους ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὄντας ἐνίκησεν. οἱ Τιγύριοι δ' αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἔμπροσθεν Πίσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἑλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπεπόμφεσαν, ὡς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Τιγυρίους ὑποστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Λαβιηνὸς ἐνίκησε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ Τρικούρους ἀμύνοντας σφίσιν, ἔπειτα τοὺς μετ' Ἀριοουίστου Γερμανούς, οἳ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη μείζους τῶν μεγίστων ὑπῆρχον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἄγριοι καὶ τὴν τόλμαν θρασύτατοι, καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως, καὶ κρύος ὁμοίως ἔφερον θάλπει, καὶ πόᾳ ἐχρῶντο παρὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τροφῇ, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ξύλοις. ἦσαν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ φερέπονοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, οὐδὲ λογισμῷ ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ τινὶ ἀλλὰ θυμῷ χρώμενοι καθάπερ θηρία, διὸ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστήμης καὶ φερεπονίας ἠσσῶντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ ὁρμῆς βαρυτάτης ἐπεπήδων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅλην ὁμοῦ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνεώθουν· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει, καὶ κατεστρατήγουν αὐτούς, καὶ ὀκτακισμυρίους αὐτῶν τελευτῶντες ἀπέκτειναν.

4. Μετὰ τούτους ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς καλουμένοις Βέλγαις ἐπιπεσὼν ποταμόν τινα περῶσι, τοσούτους ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περᾶσαι. Νέρβιοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτρέψαντο, ἄρτι στρατόπεδον ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας κατασκευάζοντι αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ παμπόλλους ἐφόνευσαν,

ranks and encouraging his troops, and showing them B.C.
how to fight barbarians, now borne on a litter and
now hobbling on foot leaning on the arms of others.

3. Caesar began his war against them by gaining 58
a victory over some 200,000 of the Helvetii and
Tigurini. The latter at an earlier period had
captured a Roman army commanded by Piso and
Cassius and sent them under the yoke, as is related
in the annals of Paulus Claudius. The Tigurini
were now overcome by Labienus, Caesar's lieutenant,
and the others by Caesar himself, together with the
Tricorii, who were aiding them. He also overcame
the Germans under Ariovistus, a people who
excelled all others, even the largest men, in size;
savage, the bravest of the brave, despising death
because they believe they shall live hereafter,
bearing heat and cold with equal patience, living on
herbs in time of scarcity, and their horses browsing
on trees. But it seems that they were without
patient endurance in their battles, and fought under
the guidance, not of intellect and science, but of
passion, like wild beasts, for which reason they were
overcome by Roman science and endurance. For,
although the Germans charged them with tremendous
force and pushed the whole of the legions back a
short distance, the Romans kept their ranks unbroken,
out-manœuvred them, and eventually slew 80,000 of
them.

4. Afterwards Caesar fell upon the so-called Belgae 57
as they were crossing a river, and killed so many of
them that he crossed the stream on a bridge of
their bodies. The Nervii, however, defeated him by
falling suddenly upon his army as it was getting itself
into camp after a march. They made a very great

τοὺς δὲ ταξιάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἅπαντας· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐς λόφον τινὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν πεφευγότα περιέσχον κύκλῳ. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δεκάτου τάγματος αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐφθάρησαν, ἑξακισμύριοι ὄντες. ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι. ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ Ἀλλοβρίγων ὁ Καῖσαρ. Οὐσιπετῶν δὲ καὶ Ταγχαρέων τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, στρατεύσιμοί τε καὶ ἀστράτευτοι, συνεκόπησαν. Σούκαμβροι δὲ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἱππεῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔτρεψαν, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν ἡττηθέντες μετὰ ταῦτα.

5. Ἐπέρασε καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίδα νῆσον, ἠπείρου τε μείζονα οὖσαν μεγίστης καὶ τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ἄγνωστον ἔτι. ἐπέρασε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀμπώτεως· ἄρτι γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἥπτετο τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐσαλεύετο, ἠρέμα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὀξύτερον, μέχρι σὺν βιαίῳ τάχει διέπλευσεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν.

II

Ὅτι Ὀλυμπιάδων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα γεγενημένων, τῆς γῆς τῶν Κελτῶν οὐκ ἀρκούσης αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀνίσταται μοῖρα Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἱκανὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἑτέρας γῆς· οἳ τό τε Ἄλπειον ὄρος ὑπερέβησαν, καὶ Κλουσίνιοι, εὐδαίμονα γῆν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνῶν, ἐπολέμουν. οὐ πάλαι δὲ οἱ Κλουσῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἔνσπονδοι γεγονότες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κατέφυγον. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις συνέπεμψαν αὐτοῖς, Φαβί-

slaughter, killing all of his tribunes and centurions. B.C. 57
Caesar himself took refuge on a hill with his body-guard, where the enemy surrounded him ; but, being assailed in the rear by the tenth legion, they were destroyed, although they were 60,000 in number. The Nervii were the descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones. Caesar conquered the Allobroges also. He slaughtered 400,000 of the Usipetes and Tencteri, 55
armed and unarmed together. The Sigambri with 500 horse put to flight 5,000 of Caesar's horse, falling upon them unexpectedly. They subsequently paid the penalty for this in a defeat.

5. Caesar was also the first of the Romans to cross the Rhine. He also passed over to Britain, an 55
island larger than a very large continent, and still unknown to the men of Rome. He crossed by taking advantage of the ebb tide. For as it began to affect the sea, the fleet was impelled by the waves, slowly at first, then more rapidly, until finally Caesar was carried with great swiftness to Britain.

II. From "The Embassies"

In the 97th Olympiad, according to the Greek 391
calendar, a considerable part of the Gauls who dwelt on both banks of the Rhine moved off in search of new land, that which they occupied being insufficient for their numbers. Having scaled the Alps they fell upon the territory of Clusium, a fertile part of Etruria. The Clusians had made a league with the Romans not long before, and now applied to them for aid. So the three Fabii were sent with the Clusians as

ους τρεῖς, οἳ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἔμελλον προαγορεύσειν ἀνίστασθαι τῆς γῆς ὡς Ῥωμαίων φίλης, καὶ ἀπειλήσειν ἀπειθοῦσιν. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν ὅτι ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα δεδίασιν οὔτε ἀπειλοῦντα σφίσιν οὔτε πολεμοῦντα, χρήζοντες δὲ γῆς οὔπω τὰ Ῥωμαίων πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ Φάβιοι τοὺς Κλουσίνους ἐνῆγον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦσιν ἀπερισκέπτως. καὶ συνεκδημοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν Κελτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἐν προνομῇ, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὴς Κόιντος Φάβιος ἀνεῖλέ τε καὶ ἐσκύλευσε, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα φορῶν ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Κλούσιον. U. p. 349.

III

Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Κελτῶν βασιλεὺς Βρέννος, τῶν Φαβίων τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων Κελτῶν, μὴ δεξάμενος τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέσβεις ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐς κατάπληξιν, οἳ Κελτῶν ἁπάντων μεγάλων τὰ σώματα ὄντων ὑπερέβαλλον, ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, αἰτιώμενος τοὺς Φαβίους ὅτι πρεσβεύοντες παρὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς νόμους ἐπολέμησαν. ἤτει τε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς δίκην ἐκδότους οἱ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ θέλουσι Ῥωμαῖοι κοινὸν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεγίγνωσκον μὲν τοὺς Φαβίους ἁμαρτεῖν, αἰδοῖ δὲ οἴκου διαφέροντος χρήματα τοὺς Κελτοὺς πράξασθαι παρὰ σφῶν παρεκάλουν. οὐ πειθομένων δὲ χειροτονοῦσι τοὺς Φαβίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχὴν χιλιάρ-

ambassadors to the Gauls to order them to vacate a country that was in alliance with Rome, and to threaten them if they did not obey. The Gauls replied that they feared neither the threats nor the arms of any man, that they were in need of land, and that they had not yet meddled with the affairs of the Romans. The Fabii, who had come as ambassadors, urged the Clusians to make an attack upon the Gauls while they were heedlessly plundering the country. They took part in the expedition themselves and slew an immense number of the Gauls whom they caught foraging. Quintus Fabius, one of the Roman embassy, himself killed the chief of that band, stripped his body, and carried his arms back to Clusium. B.C. 391

III. From the Same

After the Fabii had slain this large number of Gauls, Brennus, their king, refused to receive the Roman embassy, and subsequently, for the purpose of intimidating the Romans, selected as ambassadors to them certain Gauls who exceeded all the others in bodily size as much as the Gauls exceeded other peoples, and sent them to Rome to complain that the Fabii, while serving as ambassadors, had joined in war against him, contrary to the law of nations. He demanded that they should be given up to him for punishment unless the Romans wished to make the crime their own. The Romans acknowledged that the Fabii had done wrong, but having great respect for that distinguished family, they urged the Gauls to accept a pecuniary compensation from them. As the latter refused, they elected the Fabii

χους, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι τῶν Κελτῶν ἔφασαν οὐ δύνασθαι νῦν οὐδὲν ἐς τοὺς Φαβίους ἄρχοντας ἤδη. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ἥκειν αὐτούς, ἂν ἔτι μηνίωσιν, ἐκέλευον. Βρέννος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Κελτῶν ἦσαν ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ, νομίσαντες ὑβρίσθαι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Κελτοὺς περιέπεμπον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς συνεφάψασθαι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ πολλῶν ἀφικομένων ἄραντες ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. id. p. 350.

IV

Ὁ δὲ ὑφίσταται γράμματα διοίσειν διὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Suid. v. ὑφίσταται.

V

Ὅτι Καιδίκιος γράμμα φέρων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς περὶ τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς, παρεκάλει τὸν Κάμιλλον μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μηνῖσαι τῇ πατρίδι τῆς ζημίας. ὁ δὲ ἐπισχὼν αὐτὸν ἔτι λέγοντα εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν ηὐξάμην ἐπιποθῆσαί με Ῥωμαίους, εἰ τοιαύτην ἤλπισα τὴν ἐπιπόθησιν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δὲ δικαιοτέραν εὐχὴν εὔχομαι, γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθοῦ ἐς ὅσον κακοῦ περιελήλυθεν." Val. p. 557.

VI

Ὅτι Κελτοὶ μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ δυνηθέντες ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἠρέμουν ὡς λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον παραστησόμενοι. καί τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

military tribunes for that year, and then said to the Gallic ambassadors that they could not do anything to the Fabii now because they were holding office, but told them to come again next year if they were still angry. Brennus and the Gauls under him considered this an outrage, and, being indignant at it, they sent around to the other Gauls asking them to make common cause with them in the war. When a large number had collected in obedience to this summons they broke camp and marched against Rome. B.C. 391

IV. From Suidas

He (Caedicius) promised to carry letters through the enemy's ranks to the Capitol. 390

V. From "Virtues and Vices"

When Caedicius bore the decree of the Senate to Camillus, by which he was made consul, he exhorted him not to cherish anger against his country on account of the harm it had done him. The latter, interrupting him, said: "I could not have prayed to the gods that the Romans might some time long for me, if I had known what that longing was to mean to them. Now I pray the nobler prayer that I may render my country a service equal to the calamity that has befallen her."

VI. From the Same

When the Gauls could find no means for scaling the Capitol they remained quietly in camp in order to reduce the defenders by famine. A certain priest

κατέβαινεν ἱερεύς, ὄνομα Δόρσων, ἐπὶ ἐτήσιον δή τινα ἱερουργίαν ἐς τὸν τῆς Ἑστίας νεὼν στέλλων τὰ ἱερὰ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων, αἰδεσθέντων ἢ καταπλαγέντων αὐτοῦ τὴν τόλμαν ἢ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἱερὰν οὖσαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἑλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσώζετο τῶν ἱερῶν. καὶ τόδε φησὶν ὧδε γενέσθαι Κάσσιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος. id. ib.

VII

Τοῦ δὲ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδην ἐνεπίμπλαντο οἱ Κελτοί, τήν τε φύσιν ὄντες ἀκρατεῖς, καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς δημητριακοὺς καρπούς, τῶν ἄλλων ἄγονον καὶ ἀφυᾶ. τά τε σώματα αὐτοῖς μεγάλα ὄντα καὶ τρυφηλὰ καὶ σαρκῶν ὑγρῶν μεστὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας καὶ μέθης ἐς ὄγκον καὶ βάρος ἐξεχεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς δρόμους καὶ πόνους ἀδύνατα πάμπαν ἐγίγνετο· ὑπό τε ἱδρῶτος καὶ ἄσθματος, ὅπου τι δέοι κάμνειν, ἐξελύοντο ταχέως. id. ib. et hinc Suid. v. ἄδην.

VIII

Οὓς γυμνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε Ῥωμαίοις, "οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν βοὴν βαρεῖαν ἱέντες ὑμῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγοῦντες καὶ ξίφη μακρὰ καὶ κόμας αἰωροῦντες. ὧν τὸ ἄτολμον ὁρῶντες, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μαλακὸν καὶ ἄτονον, προσίεσθε τῷ ἔργῳ." Suid. v. ἱέντες.

named Dorso went down from the Capitol to make a certain yearly sacrifice in the temple of Vesta, and passed with the sacred utensils through the ranks of the enemy, who were either awed by his courage or had respect for his piety and the sanctity of his appearance. Thus he who had incurred danger for the sake of his holy office was saved by it. That this event occurred, as related, the Roman writer Cassius tells us. B.C. 390

VII. From the Same

The Gauls filled themselves to repletion with wine and other luxuries, being intemperate by nature, and inhabiting a country which yielded only cereals, and was unfruitful and destitute of other produce. Thus their bodies, being large and delicate and full of flabby flesh, grew, by reason of excessive eating and drinking, heavy and corpulent, and quite incapable of running or hardship; and when any exertion was required of them they speedily became exhausted by perspiration and shortness of breath.

VIII. From Suidas

He (Camillus) showed them naked to the Romans and said: "These are the creatures who assail you with such terrible shouts in battle, and clash their arms and shake their long swords and toss their hair. Behold their lack of hardihood, their softness and flabbiness of body, and gird yourselves to your work."

IX

Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρᾶν, καὶ τοῖς πονουμένοις ἑτέρους νεαλεῖς ἐπιπέμπειν ἀεί. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως. id. v. νεαλής.

X

Ὁ δὲ Κελτὸς ἀγανακτῶν καὶ λιφαιμῶν ἐδιωκε τὸν Οὐαλέριον, συγκαταπεσεῖν ἐπειγόμενος· ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἀναχωροῦντος ἀεὶ τοῦ Οὐαλερίου κατέπεσε πρηνὴς ὁ Κελτός. καὶ δεύτερον τοῦτο μονομάχιον ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς ἐμεγαλαύχουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. id. v. λιφαιμεῖ.

XI

Ὅτι τὸ τῶν Σενόνων ἔθνος ἔνσπονδον ἦν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἐμισθοφόρουν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν ἐγκαλέσοντας ὅτι ὄντες ἔνσπονδοι μισθοφοροῦσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. τούτους Βριτόμαρις ὁ Κελτός, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς ὅτι συμμαχῶν Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ διέφθαρτο, τά τε κηρύκεια φέροντας καὶ τὴν ἄσυλον ἐσθῆτα περικειμένους κατέτεμεν ἐς πολλά, καὶ τὰ μέρη τῶν σωμάτων διέρριψεν ἐς τὰ πεδία. καὶ τοῦ μύσους ὁ Κορνήλιος ἐν ὁδῷ πυθόμενος, ἐς τὰς Σενόνων πόλεις συντόνῳ σπουδῇ διὰ Σαβίνων καὶ Πικεντίνων ἐσβαλὼν ἅπαντα καθῄρει καὶ ἐνεπίμπρη, τῶν τε

IX. From the Same

The people beheld the battle from the walls, and B.C. 36
constantly sent fresh troops to support those who were growing weary. But the tired Gauls, having thus to engage with opponents who were fresh, took to disorderly flight.

X. From the Same

The Gaul, furious and exhausted with loss of 349
blood, pursued Valerius, eager to grapple and fall with him. But, as Valerius kept continuously retiring, the Gaul at last fell headlong. The Romans felicitated themselves on this second single combat with the Gauls.

XI. From "The Embassies"

The Senones, although they had a treaty with the 283
Romans, nevertheless furnished mercenaries against them, and accordingly the Senate sent an embassy to them to remonstrate against this infraction of the treaty. Britomaris, the Gaul, being incensed against them on account of his father, who had been killed by the Romans while fighting on the side of the Etruscans in this very war, slew the ambassadors while they held the herald's staff in their hands, and wore the inviolable garments of their office. He then cut their bodies in small pieces and scattered them in the fields. The consul Cornelius, learning of this abominable deed while he was on the march, made a forced march against the towns of the Senones by way of the Sabine country and Picenum, and ravaged them all with fire and sword.

ἀνθρώπων τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἠνδραποδίζετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἥβῃ πάντας ἔκτεινεν ὁμαλῶς, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως καὶ ἄοικον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποίει. Βριτόμαριν δὲ μόνον ἦγεν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπὶ λύμῃ. ὕστερον δὲ Σένονες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔτι πατρίδας ἐς ἃς διαφύγωσι, συνέπεσον ἐς χεῖρας ὑπὸ τόλμης τῷ Δομετίῳ, καὶ ἡττώμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ὀργῆς διεχρῶντο μανικῶς. καὶ δίκη μὲν ἥδε παρανομίας ἐς πρέσβεις ἐγένετο Σένοσιν. U. p. 350.

XII

Ὅτι οἱ Σαλύων δυνάσται, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἐς Ἀλλόβριγας κατέφυγον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαιτοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγας οὐκ ἐκδιδόντας, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Γναίου Δομετίου. ᾧ παροδεύοντι τὴν τῶν Σαλύων ἐντυγχάνει πρεσβευτὴς Βιτοίτου βασιλέως τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, ἐσκευασμένος τε πολυτελῶς, καὶ δορυφόροι παρείποντο αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ κύνες· δορυφοροῦνται γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρὸς κυνῶν οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι. μουσικός τε ἀνὴρ εἵπετο, βαρβάρῳ μουσικῇ τὸν βασιλέα Βιτοῖτον, εἶτ' Ἀλλόβριγας, εἶτα τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτὸν ἔς τε γένος καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ περιουσίαν ὑμνῶν· οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἕνεκα αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπάγονται. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν συγγνώμην αἰτῶν τοῖς Σαλύων δυνάσταις ἀπέτυχεν. id. p. 351.

He reduced the women and children to slavery, B.C. 283
killed all the adult males without exception, devastated the country in every possible way, and made it uninhabitable for the future. Britomaris alone he took with him as a prisoner for torture. A little later the Senones, having no longer any homes to escape to, fell boldly upon the consul Domitius, and being defeated by him killed themselves in despair. Such punishment was meted out to the Senones for their crime against the ambassadors.

XII. From the Same

The chiefs of the Salyi, a nation vanquished by 121
the Romans, took refuge with the Allobroges. When the Romans asked for their surrender and it was refused, they made war on the Allobroges, under the leadership of Cnaeus Domitius. When he was passing through the territory of the Salyi, an ambassador of Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, met him, arrayed magnificently and followed by attendants also adorned, and by dogs; for the barbarians of this region use dogs also as bodyguards. A musician too was in the train who sang in barbarous fashion the praises of King Bituitus, and then of the Allobroges, and then of the ambassador himself, celebrating his birth, his bravery, and his wealth; and it is for this reason chiefly that ambassadors of distinction take such persons along with them. But this one, although he begged pardon for the chiefs of the Salyi, accomplished nothing.

XIII

Ὅτι τῶν Τευτόνων μοῖρα λῃστεύουσα πολύανδρος ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν Νωρικῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Παπίριος Κάρβων δείσας μὴ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλοιεν, ἐφήδρευε τοῖς Ἀλπείοις, ᾗ μάλιστά ἐστιν ἡ διάβασις στενωτάτη. οὐκ ἐπιχειρούντων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς, αἰτιώμενος ἐς Νωρικοὺς ἐσβαλεῖν, Ῥωμαίων ξένους ὄντας· ἐποιοῦντο δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξένους, οἷς ἐδίδοσαν μὲν εἶναι φίλοις, ἀνάγκη δ' οὐκ ἐπῆν ὡς φίλοις ἐπαμύνειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Τεύτονες πλησιάζοντι τῷ Κάρβωνι προσέπεμπον ἀγνοῆσαί τε τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀφέξεσθαι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁδῶν ἡγεμόνας, κρύφα τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ἐνετείλατο μακροτέραν αὐτοὺς περιάγειν. τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς διαδραμών, ἀδοκήτως ἀναπαυομένοις ἔτι τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπεσών, ἔδωκε δίκην ἀπιστίας, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλών. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ἀπώλεσεν, εἰ μὴ ζόφος καὶ ὄμβρος καὶ βρονταὶ βαρεῖαι, τῆς μάχης ἔτι συνεστώσης ἐπιπεσοῦσαι, διέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐκπλήξεως διελύθη. σποράδες δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς ὕλας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυγόντες, τρίτῃ μόλις ἡμέρᾳ συνῆλθον. καὶ Τεύτονες ἐς Γαλάτας ἐχώρουν. id. p. 352.

XIII. From the Same

A numerous band of the Teutones bent on plunder invaded the territory of Noricum. The Roman consul, Papirius Carbo, fearing lest they should make an incursion into Italy, occupied the Alps at a place where the pass is narrowest. As they made no movement in this direction he marched against them himself, complaining that they had invaded the people of Noricum, who were foreign friends [1] of the Romans. It was the practice of the Romans to make foreign friends of any people for whom they wanted to intervene on the score of friendship, without being obliged to defend them as allies. As Carbo was approaching, the Teutones sent word to him that they had not known anything about this relationship between Rome and Noricum, and that for the future they would abstain from molesting them. He praised the ambassadors, and gave them guides for their homeward journey, but privately charged the guides to take them by a longer route. He himself then cut across by the shorter, and fell unexpectedly upon the Teutones, who were still resting, but he suffered severely for his perfidy, and lost a large part of his army. He would probably have perished with his whole force had not darkness and a tremendous thunder-storm fallen upon them while the fight was in progress, separating the combatants and putting an end to the battle by sheer terror from heaven. Even as it was, the Romans only escaped in small bands into the woods and came together with difficulty three days later. The Teutones passed into Gaul.

A.D. 113

[1] i.e. *amici*, as opposed to *socii*. See Heitland's *Roman Republic*, vol. ii, section 428.

XIV

Ὁ δὲ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν Κίμβρων ἀψαυστεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἕως ἡμέρα γένηται, πολύχρυσα εἶναι δοκῶν. Suid. vv. ἀψαύστως et Κίμβρος.

XV

Ὅτι ἔθνη δύο Τιγύριοι καὶ Ἑλουήτιοι ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων Κελτικὴν ἐσέβαλον, καὶ τούτων τὸν στόλον ὁ Καῖσαρ Γάϊος πυθόμενος διετείχισεν ὅσα περὶ Ῥοδανόν ἐστι ποταμὸν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα. καὶ πρεσβευσαμένοις ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ σπονδῶν ἐκέλευεν ὅμηρα δοῦναι καὶ χρήματα. ἀποκρινομένων δ' εἰθίσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνειν, οὐ διδόναι, βουλόμενος φθάσαι τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Τιγυρίους ἐλάσσους ὄντας ἔπεμπε Λαβιηνόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλουητίους ἐχώρει, προσλαβὼν Γαλατῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐς δισμυρίους. καὶ γίγνεται Λαβιηνῷ τὸ ἔργον εὐμαρές, ἀδοκήτοις Τιγυρίοις περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιπεσόντι, καὶ τρεψαμένῳ καὶ σκεδάσαντι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἀσυνταξίᾳ. U. p. 352.

XVI

Ὅτι Ἀριόυιστος, Γερμανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπὲρ Ῥῆνον, ἐπιβαίνων τῆς πέραν Αἰδούοις ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπολέμει φίλοις οὖσι Ῥωμαίων. τότε μὲν δή, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κελεύουσι πεισθείς, ἀνέζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰδούων, καὶ φίλος ἠξίωσε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο, ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ψηφισαμένου. id. p. 353.

XIV. From Suidas

He ordered them to leave the bodies of the Cimbri intact till daylight because he believed they were adorned with gold. B.C. 113

XV. From "The Embassies"

Two nations, the Tigurini and the Helvetii, made an incursion into the Roman province of Gaul. When Caesar heard of this movement, he built a wall along the river Rhone about a hundred and fifty stades in length to intercept them. When they sent ambassadors to him to endeavour to make a treaty, he ordered them to give him hostages and money. They replied that they were accustomed to receive these things, not to give them. As he wished to prevent them from forming a junction he sent Labienus against the Tigurini, who were the weaker, while he himself marched against the Helvetii, taking with him about 20,000 Gallic mountaineers. The work was easy to Labienus, who fell upon the Tigurini unawares on the river bank, defeated them, and scattered the greater part of them in disorderly flight. 58

XVI. From the Same

Ariovistus, the king of the Germans beyond the Rhine, crossed to this side before Caesar's arrival and made war against the Aedui, who were friends of the Romans. But when the Romans commanded him to desist, he obeyed and moved away from the Aedui and desired to be accounted a friend of the Roman people also, and this was granted, Caesar being himself consul and voting for it. 59

XVII

Ὅτι Ἀριόουιστος ὁ Γερμανῶν βασιλεύς, φίλος γενόμενος Ῥωμαίων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ διαχωρισθέντων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὖθις συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους ἠξίωσεν. τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐ συνελθόντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας Γαλατῶν ἀποστείλαντος, ἔδησε τοὺς πρέσβεις. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐστράτευεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετ' ἀπειλῆς. δέος δ' ἐμπίπτει τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ κλέος τῶν Γερμανῶν. id. ib.

XVIII

Ὅτι Οὐσιπέται, ἔθνος Γερμανικόν, καὶ Ταγχρέαι δοκοῦσι πρύτεροι σφετέροις ἱππεῦσιν ὀκτακοσίοις τρέψασθαι τῶν Καίσαρος ἱππέων ἐς πεντακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι, τοὺς πρέσβεις κατασχών, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκείνοις ἐς τέλος αἰφνίδιον οὕτω συνενεχθῆναι ὡς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας τούτων συγκοπῆναι. Κάτωνά τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν τις συγγραφέων φησὶ γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν Καίσαρα ὡς ἐναγὲς ἔργον ἐς διαπρεσβευσαμένους ἐργασάμενον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων φησὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας καὶ Ταγχρέας κελευομένους ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σφῶν, φάναι πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας Σουήβους ἀπεσταλκέναι καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις αὐτῶν ἀναμένειν, καὶ ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διαπρεσβεύσεσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ τρέψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεντακισχιλίους. ἐπιπρεσβευομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ

XVII. From the Same

Ariovistus, the king of the Germans, who had been voted a friend of the Roman people, came to Caesar to hold a colloquy. After they had separated he wished to have another. Caesar refused it, but sent some of the leading men of the Gauls to meet him. Ariovistus cast them into chains, and therefore Caesar threatened him and led his army against him; but fear fell upon the army on account of the military reputation of the Germans. B.C. 59

XVIII. From the Same

It is believed that the Usipetes, a German tribe, and the Tencteri, with 800 of their own horse, put to flight without provocation about 5,000 of Caesar's horse: that Caesar detained the ambassadors whom they subsequently sent: and that what befel resulted for them in so sudden and complete a disaster that 400,000 of them were cut to pieces. One writer says that Cato in the Roman Senate proposed that Caesar should be surrendered to the barbarians for this deed of blood perpetrated while negotiations were pending. But Caesar in his own diary says that when the Usipetes and Tencteri were ordered to go back forthwith to their former homes, they replied that they had sent ambassadors to the Suevi, who had driven them away, and that they were waiting for their answer; that while these negotiations were pending, they set upon his men with 800 of their horse, and by the suddenness of the attack put to flight his 5,000; and that when they 55

τοῦ παρασπονδήματος ἀπολογουμένων, ὑποτοπήσας ἐνέδραν ὁμοίαν, ἐπιθέσθαι πρὸ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. id. ib.

XIX

Εὐθὺς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς παρορκῆσαι, ἔγκλημα ἔχοντας ὅτι σπονδῶν σφίσι γενομένων ἔτι παρῆν τὸ στρατόπεδον. Suid. v. παρορκῆσαι.

XX

Δείσας ὁ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῷ Κικέρωνι ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς τοὐπίσω. id. v. δείσαντες.

XXI

Ὅτι ὁ Βριτόρης διέφθειρεν Αἰδούους Ῥωμαίων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὀνειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς φιλίαν ἔφασαν παλαιὰν ἐφθακέναι. Mai, Scriptorum veterum nov. collect. t. 2 p. 367.

sent another embassy to explain this violation of good faith he suspected a similar deception, and made his attack before giving his answer. B.C. 55

XIX. From Suidas

Straightway they stirred up the Britons to violate the oath, complaining that while a treaty with them was in force the army was still present.

XX. From the Same

Caesar apprehending an attack on [Quintus] Cicero turned back. 54

XXI. From the Vatican MSS. of Cardinal Mai

Britores seduced the Aedui from their Roman allegiance. When Caesar reproached them for this, they said that an ancient alliance had the precedence.

BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

FRAGMENTS

Ε'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΙΩΤΙΚΗΣ

I

Ὅτι ἀπορούντες Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι χρημάτων, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐναυπήγουν, τετρυμένοι διὰ τὰς ἐσφοράς, ἀλλὰ πεζὴν στρατιὰν καταλέγοντες ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐς Πτολεμαῖον ἐπρεσβεύοντο, τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου, δισχίλια τάλαντα κιχρώμενοι. τῷ δ' ἦν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Καρχηδονίους φιλία, καὶ συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀλλήλοις. οὐ δυνηθεὶς δ' ἔφη χρῆναι φίλοις κατ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχεῖν, οὐ κατὰ φίλων. U. p. 354.

II

1. *Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δὶς ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ δὶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ παθόντες, ἐν ᾗ δὴ καὶ πάνυ προύχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ χρημάτων ἀπορούντες ἤδη καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ᾔτουν ἀνοχὰς παρὰ τοῦ Λουτατίου, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπὶ βραχυτέροις, συνέπεμπόν τε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον τὸν*

BOOK V

OF SICILY AND THE OTHER ISLANDS

I. From "The Embassies"

Both Romans and Carthaginians were destitute of money; and the Romans could no longer build ships, being exhausted by taxes, yet they levied foot soldiers and sent them to Africa and Sicily from year to year, while the Carthaginians sent an embassy to Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, seeking to borrow 2000 talents. He was on terms of friendship with both Romans and Carthaginians, and he sought to bring about peace between them; but as he was not able to accomplish this, he said: "It behoves one to assist friends against enemies, but not against friends." B.C. 252

II. From the Same

1. When the Carthaginians had met with two disasters on land at the same time, and two at sea, where they had considered themselves much the superior, and were already short of money, ships, and men, they sought an armistice from Lutatius and having obtained it sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a treaty on certain limited conditions. With their own embassy they sent Atilius 242

ὕπατον, αἰχμάλωτον ὄντα σφῶν, δεησόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἦκε μὲν ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἐσταλμένος φοινικικῶς, ὑπολειφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τετρῦσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐδήλου, καὶ παρήνεσεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνθέσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἑκόντα ἐπανελθόντα ἔκτειναν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σανίσιν ἐνηρμοσμένα πάντοθεν ἑστῶτι περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμόσε δύναιτο ἐπικλίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ πλείοσι συνέθεντο.

2. Καὶ ἦν ἐφ' οἷς συνέθεντο, τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, ὅσοι παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις εἰσί, Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀποστῆναι καὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων νήσων ὅσαι περὶ Σικελίαν, Συρακοσίοις δὲ ἢ Ἱέρωνι τῷ Συρακουσῶν τυράννῳ πολέμου Καρχηδονίους μὴ κατάρχειν, μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ξενολογεῖν, ποινὴν δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεγκεῖν τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ δισχίλια ἐν ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι, τὸ μέρος ἑκάστου ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντας. ἔχει δὲ τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον Ἀλεξανδρείους δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμος, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσιν αὐτοῖς γενόμενος, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ἀπώλοντο νῆες ἐν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων ἑπτακόσιαι, Καρχηδονίων δὲ πεντακόσιαι. Σικελίας δὲ οὕτω τοῦ πλέονος Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, ὅσου Καρχηδόνιοι κατεῖχον· φόρους τε

Regulus, the consul, who was their prisoner, to urge his countrymen to agree to the terms. When he came into the senate-chamber, clad as a prisoner in Punic garments, and the Carthaginian ambassadors had retired, he exposed to the Senate the desperate state of Carthaginian affairs, and advised that either the war should be prosecuted vigorously, or that more satisfactory conditions of peace should be insisted on. For this reason, after he had returned voluntarily to Carthage, the Carthaginians put him to death by enclosing him in a standing posture in a box the planks of which were stuck full of iron spikes so that he could not possibly lie down. Nevertheless peace was made on conditions more satisfactory to the Romans. B.C. 242

2. The conditions were these: All Roman prisoners and deserters held by the Carthaginians were to be delivered up; Sicily and the small neighbouring islands to be surrendered to the Romans; the Carthaginians not to initiate any war against Syracuse or its ruler, Hiero, nor to recruit mercenaries in any part of Italy; the Carthaginians to pay the Romans a war indemnity of 2000 Euboic talents in twenty years, in yearly instalments payable at Rome. (The Euboic talent is equal to 7000 Alexandrine drachmas.)[1] So ended the first war between the Romans and the Carthaginians for the possession of Sicily, having lasted twenty-four years, in which the Romans lost 700 ships and the Carthaginians 500. In this way the chief part of Sicily (all of it that had been held by the Carthaginians) passed into the possession of the Romans. The latter levied tribute on the

[1] The Euboic talent is equal to about seven-tenths of the Aeginetan.

αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ τέλη τὰ θαλάσσια ταῖς πόλεσι μερισάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον ἔπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν. Ἱέρωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακοσίων τύραννον, ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον συνεπεπράχει, φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ἔθεντο.

3. Καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε, Κελτοὶ Καρχηδονίους τόν τε μισθὸν ἤτουν τὸν ἔτι ὀφειλόμενον σφίσιν ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ δωρεὰς ὅσας ὑπέσχητο αὐτοῖς δώσειν Ἀμίλχας. ἤτουν δὲ καὶ Λίβυες, ὑπήκοοι μὲν ὄντες οἵδε Καρχηδονίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατείας ἐπὶ φρονήματος γεγονότες καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὁρῶντες· ἐχαλέπαινόν τε αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῶν τρισχιλίων, οὓς ἐσταυρώκεσαν τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταβολῆς οὕνεκα. διωθουμένων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἑκατέρους, κατέλαβον ἄμφω Τύνητα πόλιν καὶ Ἰτύκην, ἣ μεγίστη Λιβύης ἐστὶ μετὰ Καρχηδόνα· ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τήν τε ἄλλην ἀφίστανον καὶ τῶν Νομάδων τινὰς ἔπειθον καὶ δούλων πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποδιδρασκόντων ὑπεδέχοντο, τά τε Καρχηδονίων πάντα ἐλεηλάτουν. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμούμενοι συμμάχους ἐπὶ τοὺς Λίβυας Ῥωμαίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιὰν μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην, εἰ δύναιντο διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον· οἱ ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐγκρατῶς εἶχοντο τοῦ πολέμου. id. ib.

Sicilians, and apportioned certain naval charges among their towns, and sent a praetor each year to govern them. On the other hand Hiero, the ruler of Syracuse, who had cooperated with them in this war, was declared to be their friend and ally. B.C. 242

3. When this war was ended the Gallic mercenaries demanded of the Carthaginians the pay still due to them for their service in Sicily, together with the presents that Hamilcar had promised to give them. The African soldiers, although they were Carthaginian subjects, made the same demands, on account of their service in Sicily, and they did so the more arrogantly since they saw that the Carthaginians were weakened and humbled; they were angry also on account of the killing of 3000 of their own number whom the Carthaginians had crucified for deserting to the Romans. But when the Carthaginians refused their demands, both Gauls and Africans joined together and seized the city of Tunis, and also Utica, the largest city in Africa after Carthage. Making this their base, they began to stir a revolt in the rest of Africa, brought over to their side some Numidians, and received into their ranks a vast number of fugitive slaves, and pillaged the Carthaginian possessions in every direction. Being thus pressed by enemies on all sides the Carthaginians appealed to the Romans for aid against the Africans. The Romans did not send them a military force, but allowed them to draw supplies from Italy and Sicily, and to recruit mercenaries in Italy for this war only. They also sent deputies to Africa to arrange peace if they could, but they returned without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians prosecuted the war vigorously.

III

Ὅτι Ἱπποκράτης καὶ Ἐπικύδης, ἀδελφὼ μὲν ἀλλήλων, στρατηγὼ δὲ Συρακοσίων, Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ πολλοῦ δυσχεραίνοντες, ἐπεὶ τὰς Συρακούσας οὐκ ἴσχυον ἐκπολεμῶσαι, κατέφυγον ἐς Λεοντίνους διαφερομένους τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ κατηγόρουν τῆς πατρίδος ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς Ἱέρωνος ἐφ' ὅλῃ Σικελίᾳ πεποιημένου μόνοι Συρακόσιοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαινίσειαν. οἱ δὲ ἠρεθίζοντο. καὶ Συρακόσιοι μὲν ἐπεκήρυσσον, εἴ τις Ἱπποκράτους ἢ Ἐπικύδους κομίσειε τὴν κεφαλήν, ἰσόσταθμον αὐτῷ χρυσίον ἀντιδώσειν, Λεοντῖνοι δὲ αὐτῶν Ἱπποκράτη στρατηγὸν ᾑροῦντο. Val. p. 558 et hinc Suid. v. Ἐπικύδης.

IV

Ὅτι Σικελοὶ καὶ τέως ἀγανακτοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ ὠμότητι Μαρκέλλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, μᾶλλόν τι καὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ συνεταράσσοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ προδοσίαν ἐς Συρακούσας ἐσῆλθεν. καὶ πρὸς Ἱπποκράτη μετετίθεντο, καὶ συνώμνυντο μὴ διαλύσασθαι χωρὶς ἀλλήλων, ἀγοράν τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον, ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους. Val. ib.

V

Ὅτι διαβεβλημένῳ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ οὐκ ἐπίστευον χωρὶς ὅρκων. διὸ καὶ Ταυρομενίων προσχωρούντων οἱ, συνέθετο καὶ ὤμοσε μήτε φρουρήσειν τὴν πόλιν μήτε στρατολογήσειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς. id. ib.

III. From "Virtues and Vices"

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers, were generals of the Syracusans. They had been for a long time incensed against the Romans, and when they could not stir up their fellow-countrymen to war, they went over to the Leontines, who had some differences with the Syracusans, and accused their countrymen of renewing a separate league with the Romans, although Hiero had made one to include the whole of Sicily. The Leontines were much stirred up by this. The Syracusans made proclamation that if anybody would bring them the head of Hippocrates or of Epicydes, they would give him its weight in gold. But the Leontines chose Hippocrates as their general. B.C. 214

IV. From the Same

The Sicilians, who had been for a long time embittered against the Roman general Marcellus, on account of his severity, were still more excited against him because he had gained entrance to Syracuse by treachery. For this reason they joined themselves to Hippocrates, and took an oath together that none of them would make peace without the others, and sent him supplies and an army of 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. 212

V. From the Same

Marcellus was in such bad odour that nobody would trust him except under oath, for which reason, when the Tauromenians gave themselves up to him, he made an agreement and confirmed it with an oath, that he would not station any guard in their city nor require the inhabitants to serve as soldiers.

VI

1. Ὅτι Κρήτη ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει Μιθριδάτῃ βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθοφορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λῃσταῖς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι σαφῶς διωκομένοις ὑπὸ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου. πρεσβευσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ πολεμῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε Ἀντώνιος, καὶ οὐ πρᾶξαι καλῶς, χρηματίσαι δ' ὅμως διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Κρητικός. καὶ ἦν ὅδε πατὴρ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ὕστερον Καίσαρι τῷ κληθέντι Σεβαστῷ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρῆτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐκδοῦναί τε αὐτοῖς Λασθένη τὸν πολεμήσαντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ λῃστικὰ πάντα παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχον αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅμηρα τριακόσια καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τετρακισχίλια.

2. Οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταῦτα Κρητῶν ἠρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μέτελλος. καὶ νικᾷ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Λασθένη, καὶ φυγόντος ἐς Κνωσσὸν Πανάρης Μετέλλῳ τὴν Κυδωνίαν παρέδωκεν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ, μηδὲν παθεῖν αὐτός. Μετέλλου δὲ Κνωσσὸν περικαθημένου, ὁ Λασθένης τὴν οἰκίαν χρημάτων πλήσας κατέφλεξε, καὶ διέφυγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κνωσσοῦ. καὶ οἱ Κρῆτες ἐς Πομπήιον

VI. From "The Embassies"

1. The island of Crete seemed to be favourably disposed towards Mithradates, king of Pontus, from the beginning, and it was said that the Cretans furnished him mercenaries when he was at war with the Romans. It was believed also that, in order to gratify Mithridates, they supported the pirates who then infested the sea, and openly assisted them when they were pursued by Marcus Antonius. When Antonius sent legates to them on this subject, they made light of the matter and gave him a disdainful answer. Antonius forthwith made war against them, and although he did not accomplish much, he gained the title of Creticus for his work. He was the father of the Mark Antony who, at a later period, fought against Caesar Augustus at Actium. When the Romans declared war against the Cretans, on account of these things, the latter sent an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. The Romans ordered them to surrender Lasthenes, who had carried on war against Antonius, and to deliver up all their pirate ships and all the Roman prisoners in their hands, together with 300 hostages, and to pay 4000 talents of silver. B.C. 74

2. As the Cretans would not accept these conditions, Metellus was chosen general against them. He gained a victory over Lasthenes at Cydonia. The latter fled to Cnossus, and Panares delivered over Cydonia to Metellus on condition of his own safety. While Metellus was besieging Cnossus, Lasthenes set fire to his own house there, which he had filled with money, and escaped from the place. Then the Cretans sent word to Pompey the Great, 69

Μάγνον, στρατηγοῦντα τοῦ λῃστικοῦ καὶ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, πέμψαντες ἔφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντι ἐπιτρέψειν. ὁ δὲ ἀσχόλως τότε ἔχων ἐκέλευε τὸν Μέτελλον, ὡς οὐ δέον ἔτι πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, ἐξανίστασθαι τῆς νήσου· παραλήψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἐπελθών. ὁ δὲ οὐ φροντίσας ἐπέμεινε τῷ πολέμῳ, μέχρι ὑπηγάγετο αὐτήν, Λασθένει συνθέμενος ὅμοια Πανάρει. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὅδε δικαιότερον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος. U. p. 371.

VII

Ὅτι Κλώδιος ὁ πατρίκιος, ὁ πούλχερ ἐπίκλην, τοῦτ' ἔστιν εὐπρεπής, τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος γυναικὸς ἦρα. καὶ ἁρμόσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐς γυναῖκα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς ἄκρους πόδας, ἔτι ὄντα ἀγένειον, καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Γαΐου παρελθεῖν οἷα γυναῖκα νυκτός, ὅτε μόναις γυναιξὶν ἐξῆν ἐσελθεῖν, μυστηρίων ἀγομένων. πλανηθέντα δὲ τῆς ὁδηγούσης, κατάφωρον ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς γενόμενον ἐξελαθῆναι. Val. p. 558.

who was conducting the war against the pirates, and against Mithradates, that if he would come they would surrender themselves to him. As he was then busy with other things, he commanded Metellus to withdraw from the island, as it was not seemly to continue a war against those who offered to give themselves up, and he said that he would come to receive the surrender of the island later. Metellus paid no attention to this order, but pushed on the war until the island was subdued, making the same terms with Lasthenes as he had made with Panares. Metellus was awarded a triumph and the title of Creticus with more justice than Antonius, for he actually subjugated the island. B.C. 69

VII. From "Virtues and Vices"

The patrician Clodius, surnamed Pulcher, which means handsome, was in love with Caesar's wife. He arrayed himself in woman's clothes from head to foot, being still without a beard, and gained admission to Caesar's house as a woman in the night, at a time when the mysteries [of the Bona Dea] were celebrated, to which only women were admitted. Having lost his guide, and being detected by others by the sound of his voice, he was hustled out. 62

BOOK VI

THE WARS IN SPAIN

Z

ΙΒΗΡΙΚΗ

I

CAP. I

1. Ορος ἐστὶ Πυρήνη διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ἕω Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται, πρὸς δὲ δύσεων Ἰβηρές τε καὶ Κελτίβηρες, ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ πελάγους, περιιόντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν. οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ Ἰβηρία περίκλυστος, ὅτι μὴ τῇ Πυρήνῃ μόνῃ, μεγίστῳ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων ὀρῶν καὶ ἰθυτάτῳ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων· τοῦ δὲ περίπλου τοῦδε τὸ μὲν Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους, τὸν δ' ἑσπέριον καὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν οὐ περῶσιν, ὅτι μὴ πορθμεύεσθαι μόνον ἐπὶ Βρεττανούς, καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς ἀμπώτεσι τοῦ πελάγους συμφερόμενοι· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ διάπλους ἥμισυ ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πειρῶνται τοῦδε τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. μέγεθος δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τῆς Ἱσπανίας νῦν ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀντὶ Ἰβηρίας λεγομένης, ἐστὶ πολὺ καὶ ἄπιστον ὡς ἐν χώρᾳ μιᾷ, ὅπου τὸ πλάτος μυρίους σταδίους

BOOK VI

THE WARS IN SPAIN

I

CHAP. I

Boundaries of Spain

1. The Pyrenees mountains extend from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Northern ocean. The eastern part is inhabited by Celts, who are now called Galatians or Gauls, the western part by the Iberians and Celtiberians, beginning at the Tyrrhenian sea and extending in a circle by way of the Pillars of Hercules to the Northern ocean. Thus the whole of Iberia is sea-girt, except the part bordered by the Pyrenees, the largest and perhaps the most precipitous mountains in Europe. Of this circuit they use for sailing the Tyrrhenian sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules. They do not traverse the Western and Northern ocean, except in crossing over to Britain, and this they accomplish by availing themselves of the tides, as it is only half a day's journey.[1] For the rest, neither the Romans nor any of the subject peoples navigate that ocean. The size of Iberia (now called Hispania by some) is almost incredible for a single country. Its breadth is reckoned at ten thousand stades, and its length

[1] The time is incredibly short. The error may be accounted for by the mistaken ideas of the ancients as to the relative positions of Spain and the British Isles. See Tacitus, *Agr.* 24.

CAP. 1 ἀριθμοῦσι, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὸ πλάτος ἀντὶ μήκους. ἔθνη τε πολλὰ καὶ πολυώνυμα αὐτὴν οἰκεῖ, καὶ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ ῥέουσι ναυσίποροι.

2. Οἵ τινες δ' αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι πρῶτοι νομίζονται, καὶ οἳ μετ' ἐκείνους κατέσχον, οὐ πάνυ μοι ταῦτα φροντίζειν ἀρέσκει, μόνα τὰ Ῥωμαίων συγγράφοντι, πλὴν ὅτι Κελτοί μοι δοκοῦσί ποτε, τὴν Πυρήνην ὑπερβάντες, αὐτοῖς συνοικῆσαι, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ Κελτιβήρων ὄνομα ἐρρύη. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Φοίνικες, ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐκ πολλοῦ θαμινὰ ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ διαπλέοντες, οἰκῆσαί τινα τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Ἕλληνές τε ὁμοίως, ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα πλέοντες, ἐμμεῖναι καὶ τῶνδέ τινες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀργανθωνίου βασιλεία ἐν Ἴβηρσιν ἦν. καὶ Ταρτησσός μοι δοκεῖ τότε εἶναι πόλις ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ἣ νῦν Καρπησσὸς ὀνομάζεται. τό τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν στήλαις Φοίνικές μοι δοκοῦσιν ἱδρύσασθαι· καὶ θρησκεύεται νῦν ἔτι φοινικικῶς, ὅ τε θεὸς αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ὁ Τυρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παλαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω.

3. Τὴν δὲ γῆν τήνδε εὐδαίμονα οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέμουσαν Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸ Ῥωμαίων ἤρξαντο πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν εἶχον ἤδη, τὸ δ' ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐκβαλόντες, ἃ μὲν εἶχον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἔσχον αὐτίκα, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σὺν χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ πόνῳ λαμβανόμενά τε ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ πολλάκις ἀφιστάμενα χειρωσάμενοι διεῖλον ἐς τρία, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ πέμπουσι τρεῖς. ὅπως δ' εἶλον ἕκαστα, καὶ ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίους Ἴβηρσι

is equal to its breadth. Many nations of various names inhabit it, and many navigable rivers flow through it.

2. What nations occupied it first, and who came after them, it is not my purpose to enquire closely, as I am writing only Roman history. However, I think that the Celts, passing over the Pyrenees at some former time, mingled with the natives, and that the name Celtiberia originated in that way. I think also that from an early time the Phoenicians frequented Spain for purposes of trade, and occupied certain places there. In like manner the Greeks visited Tartessus and its king Arganthonius, and some of them settled in Spain; for the kingdom of Arganthonius was in Spain. It is my opinion that Tartessus was then the city on the seashore which is now called Carpessus. I think also that the Phoenicians built the temple of Hercules which stands at the straits. The religious rites performed there are still of Phoenician type, and their god is the Tyrian, not the Theban, Hercules. But I will leave these matters to the antiquarians.

King Arganthonius

3. This favoured land, abounding in all good things, the Carthaginians began to exploit before the Romans. A part of it they already occupied and another part they plundered, until the Romans expelled them from the part they held, and immediately occupied it themselves. The remainder the Romans acquired with much toil, extending over a long period of time, and in spite of frequent revolts they eventually subdued it and divided it into three parts and appointed a praetor over each. How they subdued each one, and how they contended with the Carthaginians for the possession of them, and after-

Early Carthaginian occupation

CAP. I καὶ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐπολέμησαν, δηλώσει τόδε τὸ βιβλίον, μοῖραν μὲν ἐς Καρχηδονίους τὴν πρώτην ἔχον· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἦν, ἀνάγκη μοι συνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρικὴν συγγραφὴν ἐγένετο, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενόμενα, ἀρξάμενα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Σικελίαν παρόδου τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Σικελικὴν συνενήνεκται γραφήν.

4. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ Καρχηδονίους Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἔκδημος περὶ Σικελίας ἐν αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ δεύτερος ὅδε περὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀλλήλων μεγάλοις στρατοῖς διαπλέοντες οἱ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην ἐπόρθουν. ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας μάλιστα, ὅτε τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν αἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ σφίσιν ἦσαν γενόμεναι. ἔλυσαν δ' ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως.

Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Βάρκας ἐπίκλησιν, ὅτε περ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐστρατήγει, Κελτοῖς τότε μισθοφοροῦσίν οἱ καὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχοῦσι πολλὰς δωρεὰς ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, ἅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Λιβύην, ἀπαιτούντων ἐκείνων ὁ Λιβυκὸς Καρχηδονίοις ἐξῆπτο πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν Λιβύων ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, Σαρδόνα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοσαν ποινὴν ὧν ἐς τοὺς ἐμπόρους αὐτῶν ἡμαρτήκεσαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ Λιβυκῷ πολέμῳ. ὑπαγόντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὸν Βάρκαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς κρίσιν ὡς αἴτιον τῇ πατρίδι τοσῶνδε συμφορῶν γενόμενον, θεραπεύσας ὁ Βάρκας τοὺς πολιτευομένους, ὧν ἦν δημοκοπικώτατος Ἀσδρούβας ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ Βάρκα θυγατέρα

wards with the Iberians and Celtiberians, this book will show, the first part containing matters relating to the Carthaginians, since it was necessary for me to introduce their relations with Spain in my Spanish history. For the same reason the relations between the Romans and Carthaginians in respect to Sicily from the beginning of the Roman invasion and rule of that island are embraced in the Sicilian history. CHAP. I

4. The first war which the Romans waged against the Carthaginians was a foreign war for the possession of Sicily, and was fought in Sicily itself. In like manner this second war concerning Spain was waged in Spain, although in the course of it the combatants invaded and devasted both Italy and Africa with large armies. This war began about the 140th Olympiad by the infraction of the treaty which had been made at the end of the Sicilian war. The grounds for the infraction were as follows. B.C. 218

Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, while commanding the Carthaginian forces in Sicily, had promised large rewards to his Celtic mercenaries and African allies, which they demanded after he returned to Africa; and thereupon the African war was kindled. In this war the Carthaginians suffered severely at the hands of the Africans, and also ceded Sardinia to the Romans as compensation for injuries they had inflicted upon Roman merchants during this African war. When Hamilcar was brought to trial for these things by his enemies, who charged him with being the author of all the calamities of his country, he secured the favour of the chief men in the state (of whom the most popular was Hasdrubal, who had married Barca's daughter), by which means he both managed to evade punishment and also, when a Hamilcar Barca

CAP. I ἔχων, τάς τε δίκας διεκρούετο, καὶ Νομάδων τινὸς κινήματος γενομένου στρατηγὸς ἔπραξεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἱρεθῆναι μετ' Ἄννωνος τοῦ μεγάλου λεγομένου, ἔτι τὰς εὐθύνας τῆς προτέρας στρατηγίας ὀφείλων.

5. Παυομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ἄννωνος ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς ἐς Καρχηδόνα μεταπέμπτου γενομένου, μόνος ὢν ἐπὶ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸν κηδεστὴν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔχων οἱ συνόντα, διῆλθεν ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν περάσας ἐλεηλάτει τὰ Ἰβήρων οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, ἀφορμὴν αὐτῷ ποιούμενος ἀποδημίας τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ δημοκοπίας (ὅσα γὰρ λάβοι διῄρει, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἀνάλισκεν, ἵνα προθυμότερον αὐτῷ συναδικοῖεν, τὰ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ἔπεμπε Καρχηδόνα, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πολιτευομένοις διεδίδου), μέχρι Ἰβήρων αὐτὸν οἵ τε βασιλεῖς συστάντες οἱ κατὰ μέρος, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι δυνατοί, κτείνουσιν ὧδε. ξύλων ἁμάξας ἄγοντες, αἷς βοῦς ὑπέζευξαν, εἵποντο ταῖς ἁμάξαις ὡπλισμένοι. τοῖς δὲ Λίβυσιν ἰδοῦσιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνέπιπτε γέλως, οὐ συνιεῖσι τοῦ στρατηγήματος· ὡς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Ἴβηρες αὐταῖς βουσὶν ἐξῆψαν τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ ἐξώτρυναν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, τὸ δὲ πῦρ σκιδναμένων τῶν βοῶν πάντῃ φερόμενον ἐτάρασσε τοὺς Λίβυας. καὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλυθείσης, οἱ Ἴβηρες αὐτοῖς ἐπιδραμόντες αὐτόν τε τὸν Βάρκαν καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμυνομένων ἐπ' αὐτῷ διέφθειραν.

disturbance with the Numidians broke out, secured the command of the Carthaginian forces in conjunction with Hanno the Great, although he had not yet rendered an account of his former generalship. CHAP. I

5. At the end of this war, Hanno was recalled to answer certain charges against him in Carthage, and Hamilcar was left in sole command of the army. He associated his son-in-law Hasdrubal with him, crossed the straits to Gades and began to plunder the territory of the Spaniards, although they had done him no wrong. Thus he made for himself an occasion for being away from home, and also for performing exploits and acquiring popularity. For whatever property he took he divided, giving one part to the soldiers, to stimulate their zeal for future plundering with him. Another part he sent to the treasury of Carthage, and a third he distributed to the chiefs of his own faction there. This continued until certain Spanish kings and other chieftains gradually united and put him to death in the following manner. Taking a number of wagons loaded with wood, they yoked oxen to them, and themselves followed in arms. When the Africans saw this they fell to laughing, not perceiving the stratagem. But when they came to close quarters the Spaniards set fire to the wagons, with the oxen still yoked to them, and drove them against the enemy. The fire, being carried in every direction by the fleeing oxen, threw the Africans into confusion. Their ranks being thus broken the Spaniards dashed among them and killed Hamilcar himself and a great many others who came to his aid. B.C. 238 B.C. 229 Death of Hamilcar

II

CAP. II 6. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῖς κέρδεσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἀρεσκόμενοι, στρατιὰν ἄλλην ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἁπάντων ἀπέφηναν Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν τοῦ Βάρκα κηδεστήν, ὄντα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὸν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀοίδιμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις, παῖδά τε ὄντα τοῦ Βάρκα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς οἱ γιγνόμενον ἀδελφὸν ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, νέον ὄντα καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστράτηγον ἀπέφηνεν. καὶ τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας τὰ πολλὰ πειθοῖ προσήγετο, πιθανὸς ὢν ὁμιλῆσαι, ἔς τε τὰ βίας δεόμενα τῷ μειρακίῳ χρώμενος προῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπερίου θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, ὃς μέσην που μάλιστα τέμνων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης ἀφεστὼς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐξίησιν ἐς τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανόν.

7. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἄποικοι Ζακυνθίων, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τε Πυρήνης καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἴβηρού ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες περί τε τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον καὶ εἴ πῃ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ᾤκουν ἀλλαχοῦ, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἐθέλουσα τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ἀμφότεροι ὅρον εἶναι Καρχηδονίοις τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν, καὶ μήτε Ῥωμαίους τοῖς πέραν τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, Καρχηδονίων ὑπη-

II

CHAP. II

Hasdrubal succeeds Hamilcar

6. The Carthaginians, enjoying the gains they had received from Spain, sent another army thither and appointed Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, who was still in Spain, commander of all their forces there. He had with him in Spain Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar and brother of his own wife, a young man zealous in war, beloved by the army, and destined soon after to become famous for his military exploits. Him he appointed his lieutenant-general. Hasdrubal won over most of the Spanish tribes by persuasion, for he had a winning manner, and where force was needed he made use of the young man. In this way he pushed forward from the Western ocean to the interior as far as the river Ebro, which divides Spain about in the centre, and flows into the Northern ocean at a distance of five days' journey from the Pyrenees.

7. The Saguntines, a colony of the island of Zacynthus, who lived about midway between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro,[1] and all the other Greeks who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Emporiae and in other parts of Spain, having apprehensions for their safety, sent ambassadors to Rome. The Senate, who were unwilling to see the Carthaginian power augmented, sent an embassy to Carthage. It was agreed between them that the limit of the Carthaginian power in Spain should be the river Ebro; that beyond that river the Romans should not carry war against the subjects of Carthage, nor should the

[1] A curious error. Saguntum is considerably south of the Ebro.

CAP. II κόοις οὖσι, μήτε Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολέμῳ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβαίνειν, Ζακανθαίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ἕλληνας αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι. καὶ τάδε ταῖς συνθήκαις ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων προσεγράφη.

8. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Ἰβηρίαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις καθιστάμενον ἀνὴρ δοῦλος, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ὠμῶς διεφθάρκει, λαθὼν ἐν κυνηγεσίοις ἀναιρεῖ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐλεγχθέντα δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος διέφθειρεν· ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καίπερ ὄντα κομιδῇ νέον, ἀρέσκοντα δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων βουλὴ συνέθετο. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Βάρκα διαπολῖται τὴν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα δύναμιν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς τεθνεῶτας, Ἀννίβα κατεφρόνουν ὡς νέου, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους τε καὶ στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγκλήμασιν. ὅ τε δῆμος ἅμα τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν ἐγίγνετο, μνησικακῶν τοῖς διωκομένοις τῆς βαρύτητος τῆς ἐπὶ Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβα· καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἐκέλευον αὐτούς, ὅσας μεγάλας Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Βάρκας αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόμφεσαν, ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν ὡς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων πεπορισμένας. οἱ δὲ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, σφίσι τε ἐπικουρεῖν δεόμενοι, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσοιτο τοῖς πατρῴοις ἐχθροῖς εὐκαταφρόνητος, εἰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι συνεργεῖν αὐτῷ δυναμένους ὑπερίδοι.

9. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προεώρα, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν οὖσαν ἐπιβουλῆς· οὐδ' ἠξίου τὴν ἔχθραν, ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ κηδεστής, ἐσαεὶ καὶ μετὰ φόβου διαφέρειν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ

Carthaginians cross it in arms; and that the Saguntines and the other Greeks in Spain should remain free and autonomous. And these agreements were added to the treaties between Rome and Carthage. CHAP. II

8. Some time later, while Hasdrubal was governing that part of Spain belonging to Carthage, a slave whose master he had cruelly put to death killed him secretly during a hunting expedition. Hannibal convicted him of this crime and put him to death with dreadful tortures. Then the army proclaimed Hannibal, who, although still very young, was greatly beloved of the soldiers, their general, and the Carthaginian Senate confirmed the appointment. But those of the opposite faction, who had feared the power of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, when they learned of their death, despised Hannibal on account of his youth and prosecuted their friends and partisans on the old charges. The people took sides with the accusers, bearing a grudge against those now prosecuted, because they remembered the old severities of the times of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, and ordered them to bring into the public treasury the large gifts that Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had bestowed upon them, as being enemy's spoils. The prosecuted parties sent messages to Hannibal, asking him to assist them, and admonished him that, if he should neglect those who were able to assist him at home, he himself too would become an object of contempt to his father's enemies. B.C. 220 Rise of Hannibal

9. He had foreseen all this and he knew that the prosecution of his friends was the beginning of a plot against himself. He determined that he would not endure this enmity as a perpetual menace, as his father and brother-in-law had done, nor for ever be

CAP. 11 Καρχηδονίων κουφόνῳ μέχρι παντὸς εἶναι, ῥᾳδίως ἐς εὐεργέτας πρὸς ἀχαριστίαν τρεπομένων. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παῖς ὢν ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁρκωθῆναι ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων ἄσπειστος ἐχθρὸς ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτε ἐς πολιτείαν παρέλθοι. διὰ δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπενόει μεγάλοις καὶ χρονίοις πράγμασι τὴν πατρίδα περιβαλών, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς ἀσχολίας καὶ φόβους, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐν ἀδεεῖ θέσθαι. Λιβύην μὲν οὖν εὐσταθοῦσαν ἑώρα, καὶ Ἰβήρων ὅσα ὑπήκοα ἦν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον αὖθις ἀναρριπίσειεν, οὗ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμει, ἐδόκει Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐν φροντίσι καὶ φόβοις ἔσεσθαι μακροῖς, αὐτὸς δέ, εἴτε κατορθώσειεν, ἐπὶ κλέους ἀθανάτου γενήσεσθαι, τὴν πατρίδα τῆς οἰκουμένης γῆς ἄρχουσαν ἀποφήνας (οὐ γὰρ εἶναί τινας ἀντιμάχους αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις), εἴτε καὶ πταίσειε, μεγάλην καὶ ὡς τὸ ἐγχείρημα αὐτῷ δόξαν οἴσειν.

10. Ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι λαμπρὰν εἰ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβαίη, Τορβολήτας, οἳ γείτονές εἰσι Ζακανθαίων, ἀνέπεισε τῶν Ζακανθαίων παρὰ οἷ καταβοᾶν ὡς τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρεχόντων καὶ πολλὰ σφᾶς ἄλλα ἀδικούντων. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο. καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτός τε ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔγραφε Ῥωμαίους τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν ἀναπείθειν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ Ζακανθαίους Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτα συμπράσσειν. ὅλως τε τῆς ἀπάτης οὐ μεθίει, πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστέλλων, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ πράσσειν ἐς Ζακανθαίους ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ δὲ

at the mercy of the fickleness of the Carthaginians, who without scruple repaid benefits with ingratitude. It was said also that when he was a boy he had taken an oath upon the altar, at his father's instance, that when he should arrive at man's estate he would be the implacable enemy of Rome. For these reasons he thought that, if he could involve his country in arduous and protracted undertakings and plunge it into embarrassments and fears, he would place himself and his friends in a secure position. He beheld Africa, however, and the subject parts of Spain at peace. But if he could stir up a fresh war with Rome, which he strongly desired, he thought that the Carthaginians would have enough to think about and to be afraid of, and that if he should be successful, he would reap immortal glory by gaining for his country the empire of the world (for when the Romans were conquered there would be no other rivals), and even if he should fail, the attempt itself would bring him glory. CHAP II

10. Considering then that to cross the Ebro would constitute a brilliant beginning, he persuaded the Turbuletes, who are neighbours of the Saguntines, to make complaints to him that the latter were overrunning their country and doing them many other wrongs. They made this complaint. Then Hannibal sent their ambassadors to Carthage, and wrote private letters saying that the Romans were inciting Carthaginian Spain to revolt, and that the Saguntines were cooperating with the Romans for this purpose. Nor did he desist from this deception, but kept sending messages of this kind, until the Carthaginian Senate authorized him to deal with the Saguntines as he saw fit. And when he got the

CAP. II ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐλάβετο, Τορβολήτας αὖθις ἔπραξεν ἐντυχεῖν οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ζακανθαίων, καὶ μετεπέμπετο πρέσβεις. οἱ δὲ ἀφίκοντο μέν, κελεύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου λέγειν ἑκατέρους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, Ῥωμαίοις ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν τὴν δίκην. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβὰς τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τῇ πόλει μηχανήματα ἐφίστη. ἑλεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀπετάφρευε καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐπεφοίτα.

11. Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκαταγγέλτῳ κακῷ συμπεσόντες ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπε πρέσβεις, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἔμελλον ὑπομνήσειν τῶν συγκειμένων, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα πλευσεῖσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ· τούτοις τοῖς πρέσβεσι πλεύσασιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ προσιέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Ζακανθαίων, καὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀνεμίμνησκον αὐτούς. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ᾐτιῶντο τοὺς Ζακανθαίους πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἀδικεῖν. καὶ Ζακανθαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς δίκην αὐτοὺς προυκαλοῦντο ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων κριτῶν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῄζειν δίκης, ἀμύνεσθαι δυνάμενοι. ὧν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπαγγελθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον ἤδη συμμαχεῖν τοῖς Ζακανθαίοις, οἱ δ' ἐπεῖχον ἔτι, λέγοντες οὐ συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις σφῶν ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀναγεγράφθαι, ἐλευθέρους δ' ἔτι

opportunity, he arranged that the Turbuletes should come again to make complaints against the Saguntines, and invited the latter to send ambassadors. On their arrival he invited both sides to state their differences in his presence; but the Saguntines replied that they should refer the matter to Rome. Hannibal thereupon ordered them out of his camp, and the next night crossed the Ebro with his whole army, laid waste the Saguntine territory, and planted engines against their city. Not being able to take it, he surrounded it with a wall and ditch, stationed numerous guards, and pushed the siege at intervals.

CHAP. II

Hannibal attacks Saguntum

B.C. 21

11. The Saguntines, oppressed by this sudden and unheralded attack, sent an embassy to Rome. The Senate commissioned its own ambassadors to go with them. They were instructed first to remind Hannibal of the agreement, and if he should not obey to proceed to Carthage and complain against him. When they arrived in Spain and were approaching his camp from the sea, Hannibal forbade their coming. Accordingly they sailed for Carthage with the Saguntine ambassadors, and reminded the Carthaginians of the agreement. The latter accused the Saguntines of repeatedly wronging their subjects. When the Saguntines offered to submit the whole question to the Romans as arbitrators, the Carthaginians replied that they did not need an arbitration because they were able to avenge themselves. When this reply was brought to Rome some advised sending aid to the Saguntines. Others favoured delay, saying that the Saguntines were not inscribed as allies in the agreement with them, but merely as free and autonomous, and that people in

The Saguntines appeal to Rome

CAP. II καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους εἶναι. καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη.

12. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ ὁ λιμὸς σφᾶς ἐπίεζε καὶ Ἀννίβας περιεκάθητο συνεχῶς (εὐδαίμονα γὰρ καὶ πολύχρυσον ἀκούων εἶναι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀνίει τῆς πολιορκίας), τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσος ἦν δημόσιός τε καὶ ἰδιωτικός, ἀπὸ κηρύγματος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ μολύβδῳ καὶ χαλκῷ συνεχώνευσαν ὡς ἀχρεῖον Ἀννίβᾳ γενέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἑλόμενοί τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐξέδραμον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ τῶν Λιβύων, ἀναπαυομένων ἔτι καὶ οὐδέν τοιοῦτον ὑπονοούντων· ὅθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους τε ἐξ εὐνῆς καὶ σὺν θορύβῳ μόλις ὁπλιζομένους, ἔστι δ' οὓς ἤδη καὶ μαχομένους, διέφθειρον. μακροῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος γενομένου, Λιβύων μὲν ἀπώλοντο πολλοί, Ζακανθαῖοι δὲ παντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὁρῶσαι τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτὰς κατὰ τῶν τειχῶν, αἱ δ' ἀνήρτων, αἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέκνα προκατέσφαζον. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν Ζακανθαίοις, πόλει μεγάλῃ τε καὶ δυνατῇ γενομένῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὑπολοίπους καὶ ἔτι ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν αἰκιζόμενος διέφθειρεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐπιθάλασσόν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος οὐ μακράν, καὶ χώρας ἄρχουσαν ἀγαθῆς, ᾤκιζεν αὖθις καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἄποικον ἀπέφαινεν· ἣν νῦν οἶμαι Καρχηδόνα καλεῖσθαι τὴν Σπαρταγενῆ.

a state of siege were still free. The latter opinion prevailed. CHAP. II

12. The Saguntines, when they despaired of help from Rome, and when famine weighed heavily upon them, and Hannibal kept up the blockade without intermission (for he had heard that the city was very prosperous and wealthy, and for this reason did not relax the siege), issued an edict to bring all the silver and gold, public and private, to the forum, where they melted it down with lead and brass, so that it should be useless to Hannibal. Then, thinking that it was better to die fighting than starve to death, they made a sally by night upon the lines of the besiegers while they were still asleep, not expecting an attack, and killed some as they were getting out of bed, and arming themselves with difficulty in the confusion, and others in actual conflict. The battle continued until many of the Africans and all the Saguntines were slain. When the women witnessed the slaughter of their husbands from the walls, some of them threw themselves from the housetops, others hanged themselves, and others slew their children and then themselves. Such was the end of Saguntum, once a great and powerful city. When Hannibal learned what had been done with the gold he was furious, and put all the surviving adults to death with torture. Observing that the city was on the sea, and not far from Carthage, with good land in the neighbourhood, he re-populated it and made it a Carthaginian colony, and I think it is now called Spartarian Carthage.[1] Fall of Saguntum

[1] Appian here, as elsewhere (p. 169), confuses Saguntum with New Carthage. We know from Pliny that New Carthage was called 'Spartaria' from the abundance of Esparto grass in the neighbourhood.

III

CAP. III

13. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, οἷς εἴρητο ἐξαιτεῖν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἐς τὰς συνθήκας ἁμαρτόντα, εἰ μὴ κοινὸν ἡγοῦνται τὸ ἔργον· ἢν δὲ μὴ διδῶσιν, εὐθέως αὐτοῖς πόλεμον προαγορεύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔπραξαν ὧδε, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκδιδοῦσι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπήγγειλαν· λέγεται δ' οὕτω γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν πρεσβευτὴς αὐτοῖς γελώμενος ἔφη, τὸν κόλπον ἐπιδεικνύς, "ἐνταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον φέρω· ὑμεῖς δ' ὁπότερα αἱρεῖσθε λάβετε." οἱ δ' ἔφασαν, "σὺ μὲν οὖν ἃ βούλει δίδου." προτείναντος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐξεβόησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, "δεχόμεθα." καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπέστελλον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πᾶσαν ἤδη τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀδεῶς ἐπιτρέχειν ὡς τῶν σπονδῶν λελυμένων. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα ἐπιὼν ὑπήγετο, ἢ πείθων ἢ δεδιττόμενος ἢ καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν συνέλεγε, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐχ ὑποδεικνύς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν ἐμβαλεῖν. Γαλάταις τε διεπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὰς διόδους τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν κατεσκέπτετο. καὶ διῆλθεν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ . . .

14. . . . ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ σφίσι καὶ Λιβύῃ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ Λίβυές ποτε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσιν, οὐδ' ὑπενόουν), Τιβέριον μὲν Σεμπρώνιον Λόγγον ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα σὺν δυοῖν στρατοῦ τέλεσιν ἐς Λιβύην ἐξέπεμπον (καὶ ὅσα Λόγγος τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων

III

13. The Romans now sent ambassadors to Carthage to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them as a violator of the treaty unless they wished to assume the responsibility. If they would not give him up, war was to be declared forthwith. The ambassadors obeyed their instructions, and when the Carthaginians refused to give up Hannibal they declared war. It is said that it was done in the following manner. The chief of the embassy, pointing to the fold of his toga and smiling, said: "Here, Carthaginians, I bring you peace or war, you may take whichever you choose." They replied: "No: do you give us whichever you like." Thereupon he offered them war, and they all cried out with one accord: "We accept it." Then they wrote at once to Hannibal that he was now free to overrun all Spain, as the treaty was at an end. Accordingly he marched against all the neighbouring tribes and brought them into subjection, persuading some, terrifying others, and subduing the rest. Then he collected a large army, without disclosing his object, which was the invasion of Italy. He also sent out ambassadors among the Gauls, and caused an examination to be made of the passes of the Alps, which he traversed later, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain.

War declared

14. [The Romans, thinking that] Spain and Africa would be the scene of the war (for they never even dreamed of an incursion of Africans into Italy), sent Tiberius Sempronius Longus with 160 ships and two legions into Africa. What Longus

CAP. III

στρατηγοὶ περὶ Λιβύην ἔπραξαν, ἐν τῇ Καρχηδονιακῇ βίβλῳ συγγέγραπται), Πόπλιον δὲ Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔστελλον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα μετὰ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων ἑπτακοσίων, καὶ πρεσβευτὴν αὐτῷ συνέπεμπον Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν. τούτοιν ὁ μὲν Πόπλιος παρὰ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἐμπόρων πυθόμενος Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπερβάντα, δείσας μὴ ἀδοκήτως τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπιπέσοι, παραδοὺς Γναίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατιὰν διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ πεντήρους ἐς Τυρρηνίαν. καὶ ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οὗτός τε καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένοντο, ἕως Ἀννίβαν ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μόλις ἔτει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἡ ἑξῆς βίβλος ὑποδείκνυσιν, ἣ τὰ ἔργα Ἀννίβου τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πάντα περιλαμβάνει, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ λέγεται Ῥωμαϊκῶν Ἀννιβαϊκή.

15. Γναῖος δὲ οὐδέν, ὅ τι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἔπραξεν ἐν τοῖς Ἴβηρσι, πρὶν αὐτῷ Πόπλιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπανελθεῖν· Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ, ληγούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποπλίῳ, πρὸς μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον ἀποφήναντες ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὖθις ἔστειλαν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ δύο Σκιπίωνες τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλεμον διέφερον, Ἀσδρούβου σφίσιν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ Σύφακος τοῦ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστου πολεμούμενοι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ μέρος τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς μετεπέμψαντο, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων οἱ Σκιπίωνες εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτουν. καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἑκοῦσαι μετετίθεντο· καὶ

and the other Roman generals did in Africa has been related in my Punic History. They also ordered Publius Cornelius Scipio to Spain with sixty ships, 10,000 foot, and 700 horse, and sent his brother Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio with him as legate. The former (Publius), learning from Massilian merchants that Hannibal had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, and fearing lest he should fall upon the Italians unawares, handed over to his brother the command in Spain and sailed with his quinqueremes to Etruria. What he and the other Roman generals after him did in Italy, until, at the end of fifteen years and with exceeding difficulty, they drove Hannibal out of the country, is set forth in the following book, which contains all the exploits of Hannibal in Italy, and is therefore called the Hannibalic book of Roman history.

15. Gnaeus did nothing in Spain worthy of mention before his brother Publius returned thither. When the latter's term of office expired, the Romans, having despatched the new consuls against Hannibal in Italy, appointed him pro-consul, and sent him again into Spain. From this time the two Scipios carried on the war in Spain, Hasdrubal being the general opposed to them until the Carthaginians recalled him and a part of his army to ward off an attack of Syphax, the ruler of the Numidians. The Scipios easily overcame the remainder. Many towns also came over to them voluntarily, for they

CAP. III γὰρ ἤστην πιθανωτάτω στρατηγῆσαί τε καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι.

16. Θέμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πρὸς Σύφακα εἰρήνην, αὖθις ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ καὶ ἐλεφάντων τριάκοντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλους δύο στρατηγούς, Μάγωνά τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν ἕτερον, ὃς Γέσκωνος ἦν υἱός. καὶ χαλεπώτερος ἦν τοῖς Σκιπίωσιν ὁ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐκράτουν δὲ καὶ ὥς. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Λιβύων, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐφθάρησαν, μέχρι χειμῶνος ἐπιλαβόντος οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐχείμαζον ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ, τῶν δὲ Σκιπιώνων ὁ μὲν Γναῖος ἐν Ὄρσωνι, ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος ἐν Καστολῶνι. ἔνθα αὐτῷ προσιὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπηγγέλθη· καὶ προελθὼν τῆς πόλεως μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς κατασκοπὴν στρατοπέδου, ἔλαθε πλησιάσας τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἱππεῦσι περιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Γναῖος οὐδέν τι προμαθὼν ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἔπεμπε στρατιώτας, οἷς ἕτεροι Λιβύων συντυχόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Γναῖος ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐπ' αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τούς τε προτέρους ἀνῃρήκεσαν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Γναῖον ἐδίωκον, ἕως ἐσέδραμεν ἔς τινα πύργον. καὶ τὸν πύργον ἐνέπρησαν οἱ Λίβυες, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων κατεκαύθη μετὰ τῶν συνόντων.

17. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Σκιπίωνες ἀπέθανον ἄμφω, ἄνδρες ἐς πάντα ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπεπόθησαν Ἴβηρες, ὅσοι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετέθεντο. πυθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἐν ἄστει βαρέως τε ἤνεγκαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐκ Σικελίας ἄρτι ἀφιγ-

were as persuasive in winning allies as in leading armies. CHAP. III

16. The Carthaginians, having made peace with Syphax, again sent Hasdrubal into Spain with a larger army than before, and with thirty elephants. With him came also two other generals, Mago and another Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco. From this point the war was more difficult for the Scipios. They were successful, nevertheless, and many Africans and many elephants were destroyed by them. Finally, winter coming on, the Africans went into winter quarters at Turditania, Gnaeus Scipio at Orso, and Publius at Castolo, where he received news of Hasdrubal's advance. Sallying out from the city with a small force to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, he came upon Hasdrubal unexpectedly, was surrounded by the enemy's horse and killed, with all his men. Gnaeus, who knew nothing of this, sent some soldiers to his brother to procure corn, who fell in with another African force and became engaged with them. When Gnaeus learned this he started out instantly with his light-armed troops to assist them. The Carthaginians, who had already cut off the former party, made a charge on Gnaeus and compelled him to take refuge in a certain tower, which they set on fire, and burned him and his comrades to death.

Their defea and death

B.C. 212

17. In this way the two Scipios perished, excellent men in every respect, and greatly regretted by those Spaniards who, by their labours, had been brought over to the Roman side. When the news reached Rome the people were dismayed. They sent Marcellus, who had lately come from Sicily, and

CAP. III μένον, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλαύδιον, ἐπὶ νεῶν . . . ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ χορηγίας ἱκανῆς. οὐδενὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ παρὰ τῶνδε γιγνομένου, τὰ Λιβύων ὑπερηύξετο, καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίαν εἶχον, ἐς βραχὺ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Πυρηναίοις κατακεκλεισμένων. πάλιν οὖν οἱ ἐν ἄστει πυνθανόμενοι μᾶλλον ἐταράσσοντο· καὶ φόβος ἦν μὴ Ἀννίβου πορθοῦντος τὰ πρόσω τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ οἵδε οἱ Λίβυες ἐς τὰ ἕτερα αὐτῆς ἐσβάλοιεν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς Ἰβηρίας βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς δυνατὸν ἦν, δέει τοῦ μὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.

IV

CAP. IV 18. Προύγραφον οὖν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ χειροτονήσουσι στρατηγὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. καὶ οὐδενὸς παραγγέλλοντος ἔτι πλείων ἐγίγνετο φόβος, καὶ σιωπὴ σκυθρωπὸς ἐπεῖχε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐς οὗ Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Κορνηλίου τοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ἐν Ἰβηρσιν υἱός, νέος μὲν ὢν κομιδῇ (τεσσάρων γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἦν), σώφρων δὲ καὶ γενναῖος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐλθὼν ἐσεμνολόγησεν ἀμφί τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν ὀδυράμενος ἐπεῖπεν οἰκεῖος εἶναι τιμωρὸς ἐκ πάντων πατρὶ καὶ θείῳ καὶ πατρίδι. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ λάβρως, ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἐπαγγειλάμενος, οὐκ Ἰβηρίαν λήψεσθαι μόνην ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα, τοῖς μὲν ἔδοξε κουφολογῆσαι νεανικῶς, τὸν δὲ

with him Claudius [Nero], to Spain, with a fleet and 1000 horse, 10,000 foot, and adequate resources. As nothing of importance was accomplished by them, the Carthaginian power increased until it embraced almost the whole of Spain, and the Romans were restricted to a small space in the Pyrenees. This news again caused increasing panic among the Romans, who feared lest these same Africans should make an incursion into northern Italy while Hannibal was ravaging the other extremity. The result of this was that, although they desired to, they were unable to evacuate Spain, because of the fear that the war there would be transferred to Italy. CHAP. III

IV

18. Accordingly a day was fixed for choosing a general for Spain. When nobody offered himself the alarm was greatly augmented, and a gloomy silence took possession of the assembly, until Cornelius Scipio, son of the Publius Cornelius who had lost his life in Spain, still a very young man (he was only twenty-four years of age), but reputed to be a man of judgment and spirit, came forward and made an impressive speech concerning his father and his uncle, and after lamenting their fate said that he, above all men, was marked out to be the avenger of his father, his uncle and his fatherland. He spoke copiously and vehemently, like one inspired, promising to subdue not only Spain, but Africa and Carthage in addition. To many this seemed like the light-headed talk of a young man, CHAP. IV B.C. 211 Cornelius Scipio

CAP. IV δῆμον ἀνέλαβε κατεπτηχότα (χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαις οἱ δεδιότες) καὶ ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὡς πράξων τι τῆς εὐτολμίας ἄξιον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐκ εὐτολμίαν ἀλλὰ προπέτειαν ἐκάλουν. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθόμενος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὖθις αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει τε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὅμοια· καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν οἱ γενήσεσθαι, προυκαλεῖτο ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἑκόντος αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντος. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐλομένου, μᾶλλον ἐπαινούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐξῄει μετὰ μυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐνεχώρει πλέονα στρατὸν ἐξάγειν, Ἀννίβου δηοῦντος τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, μεθ' ὧν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσεν.

19. Παραλαβών τε τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιάν, καὶ οὓς ἦγεν ἐς ἓν συναγαγών, ἐκάθηρε, καὶ διελέχθη καὶ τοῖσδε μεγαληγόρως. δόξα τε διέδραμεν ἐς ὅλην αὐτίκα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, βαρυνομένην τε τοὺς Λίβυας καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιποθοῦσαν, ὅτι στρατηγὸς αὐτοῖς ἥκοι Σκιπίων ὁ Σκιπίωνος κατὰ θεόν. οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος, ὑπεκρίνετο πάντα ποιεῖν πειθόμενος θεῷ. πυνθανόμενος δ' ὅτι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σταθμεύουσι μὲν ἐν τέσσαρσι στρατοπέδοις, μακρὰν διεστηκότες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀνὰ δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ νεῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ὁμήρων τῶν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰβηρίας ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ

but he revived the spirits of the people (for those who are cast down are cheered by promises), and was chosen general for Spain in the expectation that he would do something worthy of his high spirit. The older men however said that this was not high spirit, but foolhardiness. When Scipio heard of this he called the assembly together again, and made another dignified speech in the same vein. He declared that his youth would be no impediment, but added that if any of his elders wished to assume the command he would willingly yield it to them. When nobody offered to take it, he was praised and admired still more, and he set forth with 10,000 foot and 500 horse. For it was impossible that he should take a larger force while Hannibal was ravaging Italy. He also received money and equipment and twenty-eight war-ships, with which he sailed to Spain. CHAP. IV

19. Taking the forces already there, and joining them in one body with those he brought, he performed a lustration, and made the same kind of grandiloquent speech to them that he had made at Rome. The report spread immediately through all Spain, wearied of the Carthaginian rule and longing for the virtue of the Scipios, that Scipio the son of Scipio had been sent to them as general, by divine providence. When he heard of this report he pretended that everything he did was by inspiration from heaven. He learned that the enemy were quartered in four camps at considerable distances from each other, containing altogether 25,000 foot and above 2,500 horse, but that they kept their supplies of money, food, arms, missiles, and ships, besides prisoners and hostages from all

B.C. 210
He arrives in Spain

CAP. IV πρότερον μὲν Ζακάνθῃ τότε δὲ ἤδη Καρχηδόνι, καὶ φρουρὸς αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Μάγων μετὰ μυρίων Καρχηδονίων, ἔκρινε πρῶτον ἐς τούτους ἐπιδραμεῖν διά τε τὴν ὀλιγότητα τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μάγωνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ ὡς ὁρμητήριον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἕξων ἐπὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλιν ἀργυρεῖα καὶ χώραν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν καὶ τὸν διάπλουν ἐς Λιβύην βραχύτατον.

20. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσοῖσδε λογισμοῖς ἐπαιρόμενος, οὐδενὶ προειπὼν ὅπῃ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἡλίου δύναντος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. καὶ αὐτὴν ἅμα ἕῳ, τῶν Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων, περιταφρεύσας, ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἡτοιμάζετο, κλίμακάς τε καὶ μηχανὰς πάντῃ περιτιθείς, χωρὶς ἑνὸς μέρους, ᾗ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἦν βραχύτατον, ἕλος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα προσέκλυζε, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ φύλακες ἀμελῶς εἶχον. νυκτὸς δὲ πάντα πληρώσας βελῶν καὶ λίθων, καὶ τοῖς λιμέσι τῆς πόλεως ναῦς ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ αἱ νῆες αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν πολεμίων διαφύγοιεν (ὑπὸ γὰρ δὴ μεγαλοψυχίας ἤλπιζε πάντως αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν), πρὸ ἕω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανάς, τοὺς μὲν ἄνωθεν ἐγχειρεῖν κελεύων τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰς μηχανὰς ὠθεῖν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Μάγων δὲ τοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπέστησε ταῖς πύλαις ὡς ἐκπεδήσοντας, ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, μετὰ μόνων ξιφῶν (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δόρασιν ἐν στενῷ χρῆσθαι), τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνῆγεν. καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ὅδε μηχανήματα καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη

Spain, at the city formerly called Saguntum[1] (but then called Carthage), and that it was in charge of Mago with 10,000 Carthaginian soldiers. He decided to attack these first, on account of the smallness of the force and the great quantity of stores, and because he believed that this city, with its silver-mines, its wealth, and its fertile territory, would afford him an impregnable base for operations against Spain by land and sea, and would secure for him the shortest passage to Africa. CHAP. IV

20. Excited with these thoughts and communicating his intentions to no one, he led his army out at sunset and marched the whole night toward New Carthage. Arriving there the next morning he took the enemy by surprise and began to enclose the town with trenches, and planned to open the siege the following day, placing ladders and engines everywhere except at one place where the wall was lowest and where, as it was encompassed by a lagoon and the sea, the guards were careless. Having charged the machines with stones and missiles in the night, and stationed his fleet in the harbour so that the enemy's ships might not escape (for in his great-hearted courage he thought that he would certainly capture the city), before dawn he manned the engines, ordering some of his troops to assail the enemy above, while others propelled the engines against the walls below. Mago stationed his 10,000 men at the gates, to sally out at a favourable opportunity with swords alone (since spears would be of no use in such a narrow space), and sent the others to man the parapets. He, too, stationed numerous

He attacks New Carthage

[1] See note on p. 157.

CAP. IV καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπιστήσας εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου προθύμως. γενομένης δὲ βοῆς καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἑκατέρωθεν, οὐδέτεροι μὲν ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνέλειπον, καὶ λίθους τε καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ σφενδόνης, εἴ τέ τις ἦν ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις, ἐχρῶντο προθύμως ἅπασιν.

21. Ἐκακοπάθει δὲ τὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ οἱ μύριοι Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ἐκδραμόντες σὺν τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐνέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ὠθοῦντας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρων, οὐχ ἥσσω δ' ἀντέπασχον, μέχρι τῷ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπανίστατο. καὶ μεταβολῆς γενομένης οἵ τε ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἔκαμνον ἤδη, καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτοῖς προσεπέλαζον. οἱ δὲ ξιφήρεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὰς πύλας ἐσέτρεχον, καὶ ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτὰς ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὖθις ἦν ὁ πόνος πολύς τε καὶ χαλεπός, ἐς οὗ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς πάντῃ περιθέων τε καὶ βοῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν εἶδε περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ᾗ τὸ βραχὺ τεῖχος ἦν καὶ τὸ ἕλος προσέκλυζε, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑποχωροῦσαν· ἄμπωτις γὰρ ἐφήμερος ἔστιν. καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἐπῄει μὲν ἐς μαστούς, ὑπεχώρει δὲ ἐς μέσας κνήμας. ὅπερ ὁ Σκιπίων τότε ἰδών, καὶ περὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος, ὡς ἔχοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸ πέλαγος, ἔθει πάντῃ βοῶν, "νῦν ὁ καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ὁ σύμμαχός μοι θεὸς ἀφῖκται. πρόσιτε τῷ μέρει τῷδε τοῦ τείχους. ἡ θάλασσα ἡμῖν ὑποκεχώρηκεν φέρετε τὰς κλίμακας, ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι."

machines, stones, darts, and catapults, and made active preparations. There was shouting and cheering on both sides, and neither was wanting in dash and courage. Stones, darts, and javelins filled the air, some thrown by hand, some from machines, and some from slings; and every other available resource and means of attack was eagerly employed. CHAP. IV

21. Scipio suffered severely. The 10,000 Carthaginians who were at the gates made sallies with drawn swords, and fell upon those who were working the engines. Although they did much damage, they suffered in their turn no less, until finally the perseverance and endurance of the Romans began to prevail. Then the fortune of the day turned, and those who were on the walls began to be distressed, and the ladders were put in place against them. Then the Carthaginian swordsmen ran back through the gates, closed them, and mounted the walls. This gave new and severe trouble to the Romans, until Scipio the general, who was encouraging and cheering on his men in every quarter of the field, noticed the sea retiring on the southern side, where the wall was low and washed by the lagoon. That was the daily ebb tide, for at one time of day the waves were up to one's breast; at another they were not knee high. When Scipio observed this, after ascertaining the nature of the tidal movement and that it would be low water for the rest of the day, he darted hither and thither, exclaiming: "Now, soldiers, now is our chance. Now the deity comes to my aid. Attack that part of the wall where the sea has made way for us. Bring the ladders. I will lead you."

CAP. IV

22. Καὶ πρῶτος ἁρπάσας τινὰ τῶν κλιμάκων μετέφερέ τε καὶ ἀνέβαινεν, οὔπω τινὸς ἀναβάντος ἄλλου, μέχρι περισχόντες αὐτὸν οἵ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τόνδε μὲν ἐπέσχον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλὰς ὁμοῦ κλίμακας προσετίθεσάν τε καὶ ἀνεπήδων. βοῆς δὲ καὶ ὁρμῆς ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένης, καὶ ποικίλων ἔργων καὶ παθῶν, ἐκράτησαν ὅμως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πύργων τινῶν ἐπέβησαν ὀλίγων, οἷς ὁ Σκιπίων σαλπικτὰς καὶ βυκανιστὰς ἐπιστήσας ἐξοτρύνειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ θορυβεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως εἰλημμένης ἤδη. ἕτεροί τε περιθέοντες ὁμοίως διετάρασσον. καὶ καθαλόμενοί τινες ἀνέῳξαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὰς πύλας· ὁ δ' ἐσεπήδησε μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς δρόμῳ. καὶ τῶν ἔνδον οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἀπεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Μάγων τοὺς μυρίους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεκάλει. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τούτων κατακοπέντων, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἀνεχώρει. τοῦ δὲ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν εὐθὺς ἐπιόντος, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν σὺν ἡττημένοις τε καὶ κατεπτηχόσιν ἔχων ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

23. Ὁ δὲ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ἑλὼν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, τετάρτῃ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφίξεως, ἐπῆρτο μεγάλως, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει κατὰ θεὸν ἕκαστα δρᾶν, αὐτός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ οὕτως ἐλογοποίει καὶ τότε καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα βίον, ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἐκείνου. πολλάκις γοῦν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐσῄει μόνος, καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλειεν ὥσπερ τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μανθάνων. καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς μόνου

22. He was the first to seize a ladder and carry it into the lagoon, and he began to mount where nobody else had yet attempted to do so. But his armour-bearers and other soldiers surrounded him and held him back, while they brought a great number of ladders together, planted them against the wall, and themselves began to mount. Amid shouts and clamour on all sides, giving and receiving blows, the Romans finally prevailed and succeeded in occupying some of the towers, where Scipio placed trumpeters and buglers, and ordered them to sound a rousing blast as though the city were already taken. This brought others to their assistance and created consternation among the enemy. Thereupon some of the Romans jumped down and opened the gates to Scipio, who rushed in with his army. The inhabitants took refuge in their houses, but Mago drew up his 10,000 in the market-place. After most of these had been cut down, he quickly retreated with the remainder to the citadel, which Scipio immediately attacked. When Mago saw that he could do nothing with his beaten and cowering force, he surrendered. CHAP. IV

He captures the city

23. Having taken this rich and powerful city by audacity and good fortune in one day (the fourth after his arrival), he was greatly elated and it seemed more than ever that he was divinely inspired in all his actions. He began to think so himself and to give it out to others, not only then, but all the rest of his life, from that time on. At all events, he frequently went into the Capitol alone and closed the doors as though he were receiving counsel from the god. Even now in public processions they bring the image of Scipio alone out of

CAP. IV προφέρουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐξ ἀγορᾶς φέρονται. τότε δ' εἰρηνικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμικὸν ταμιεῖον παραλαβών, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἀγορὰν ποικίλην, καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν μὲν ἐν σκεύεσι πεποιημένον, τὸν δὲ ἐπίσημον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον, ὅμηράτε Ἰβήρων καὶ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν προείλητο, ἔθυε τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῄνει, καὶ τῇ πόλει μετὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐδημηγόρει, τῶν τε Σκιπιώνων αὐτοὺς ἀναμνήσας ἀπέλυε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰ ἴδια, θεραπεύων τὰς πόλεις. ἀριστεῖα δ' ἐδίδου τῷ μὲν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρώτῳ μέγιστα, τῷ δ' ἐξῆς τὰ ἡμίσεα τούτων, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ τὰ τρίτα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλημμένων νεῶν, ὅσα χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἦν ἢ ἐλέφας. ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις ἔθυεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὡς τῆς πατρῴας εὐπραξίας ἐκ πόνων πολλῶν αὖθις ἀνακυπτούσης, ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ Φοίνικες κατεπεπλήγεσαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τάχει τοῦ τολμήματος.

V

CAP. V 24. Ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν μὲν Καρχηδόνι ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευσε τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄμπωτιν ἐς ὕψος ἐγεῖραι· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν αὐτός τε ἐπιὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐς ἕκαστα περιπέμπων ὑπήγετο, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἀντέχοντα ἐβιάζετο.

the Capitol, all the others being taken from the Forum. In the captured city he obtained great stores of goods, useful in peace and war, many arms, darts, engines, dockyards containing thirty-three war-ships, corn, and provisions of various kinds, ivory, gold, and silver, some in the form of plate, some coined and some uncoined, also Spanish hostages and prisoners, and everything that had previously been captured from the Romans themselves. On the following day he sacrificed to the gods, celebrated the victory, praised the soldiers for their bravery, and after his words to his army made a speech to the townspeople in which he admonished them not to forget the name of the Scipios. He dismissed all the prisoners to their homes in order to conciliate the towns. He gave rewards to his soldiers for bravery, the largest to the one who first scaled the wall, half as much to the next, one-third as much to the next, and to the others according to their merit. The rest of the gold, silver, and ivory he sent to Rome in the captured ships. The city held a three days' thanksgiving, because after so many trials their ancestral good fortune was showing itself once more. All Spain, and the Carthaginians who were there, were astounded at the magnitude and suddenness of this exploit.

CHAP. IV and vast stores

V

24. Scipio placed a garrison in New Carthage and ordered that the wall should be raised to the proper height, where the ebb-tide left it bare. He then moved against the rest of Spain, sending friends to conciliate where he could, and subduing by force the places which still held out. There were two

CHAP. V Scipio marches against the two Hasdrubal

CAP. V Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ δύο ὄντε λοιπὼ καὶ δύο Ἀσδρούβα, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμίλχαρος πορρωτάτω παρὰ Κελτίβηρσιν ἐξενολόγει, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Γέσκωνος ἐς μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἔτι βεβαίους περιέπεμπεν, ἀξιῶν Καρχηδονίοις ἐμμένειν ὡς στρατιᾶς ἐλευσομένης αὐτίκα ἀπείρου τὸ πλῆθος, Μάγωνα δ' ἕτερον ἐς τὰ πλησίον περιέπεμπε ξενολογεῖν ὁπόθεν δυνηθείη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Λέρσα γῆν τῶν ἀφισταμένων ἐνέβαλε, καί τινα αὐτῶν πόλιν ἔμελλε πολιορκήσειν. ἐπιφανέντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐς Βαιτύκην ὑπεχώρει, καὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσεν· ἔνθα τῆς ἐπιούσης εὐθὺς ἠσσᾶτο, καὶ τὸν χάρακα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Βαιτύκην ἔλαβεν ὁ Σκιπίων.

25. Ὁ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἔτι οὖσαν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνέλεγεν ἐς Κάρμωνην πόλιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτῷ συνῆλθον πολλοὶ μὲν Ἰβήρων, οὓς Μάγων ἦγε, πολλοὶ δὲ Νομάδων, ὧν ἦρχε Μασσανάσσης. καὶ τούτων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας μετὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὑπὸ χάρακι ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης καὶ ὁ Μάγων ἱππαρχοῦντες αὐτῷ προηυλίζοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὧδε δὲ ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππέας ἐπιδιῄρει, καὶ Λαίλιον μὲν ἐπὶ Μάγωνα ἔπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐτράπετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινὸς ἦν ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ πόνῳ δυσχερεῖ, τῶν Νομάδων αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τε καὶ ὑποχωρούντων, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπελαυνόντων· ὡς δὲ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διώκειν αὐτούς, τὰ δόρατα προβαλόντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν οἱ Νομάδες κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων

Carthaginian generals still remaining, both named Hasdrubal. One of these, the son of Hamilcar, was recruiting an army of mercenaries far away among the Celtiberians. The other, the son of Gisco, sent messengers to the towns that were still faithful, urging them to maintain their Carthaginian allegiance, because an army of countless numbers would soon come to their assistance. He sent another Mago into the neighbouring country to recruit mercenaries wherever he could, while he himself made an incursion into the territory of Lersa, which had revolted, intending to lay siege to some town there. On the approach of Scipio he retreated to Baetica and encamped before that city. On the following day he was at once defeated by Scipio, who captured his camp and Baetica also. CHAP. V

25. Now this Hasdrubal collected all the remaining Carthaginian forces in Spain at the city of Carmone, to fight Scipio with their united strength. Hither came a great number of Spaniards under Mago, and of Numidians under Masinissa. Hasdrubal had the infantry in a fortified camp, while Masinissa and Mago, who commanded the cavalry, bivouacked in front of it. Against this disposition of the enemy Scipio divided his own cavalry, and sent Laelius to attack Mago, while he himself opposed Masinissa. For some time Scipio was in a critical and difficult position, since the Numidians discharged their darts at his men, then retreated, and then wheeled and returned to the charge. But when Scipio ordered his men to level their spears and pursue without intermission, the Numidians, having no chance to turn around, retreated to their camp. Thereupon Scipio desisted from the pursuit and encamped B.C. 207

The battle of Carmone

CAP. V

ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευσεν εὐσταθῶς ᾗπερ ἐβούλετο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν σύμπασα δύναμις ἑπτακισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα· Σκιπίωνι δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ τριτημόριον ἦν. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐνεδοίαζε, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατῆρχεν, ἀλλ' ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐχρῆτο μόνοις.

26. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπέλειπεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀναζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς ἡγεῖτο εἶναι Σκιπίων· θυσάμενος δέ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐλάσας, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα διαθεὶς πάλιν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, ἔφη τὸ δαιμόνιον ἥκειν τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ, καὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρῆναι δὲ θαρρεῖν θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πλήθει στρατοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἔργων κατὰ θεόν, οὐ κατὰ πλῆθος κρατῆσαι. ἔς τε πίστιν τῶν λεγομένων τὰ ἱερὰ παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευε τοὺς μάντεις. καὶ λέγων ὁρᾷ τινὰς οἰωνοὺς πετομένους, οὓς μεθ' ὁρμῆς καὶ βοῆς αὐτόθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐδείκνυέ τε, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἱ σύμβολα νίκης οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τάδε ἔπεμψαν. συνεκινεῖτο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνθέως ὁρῶν καὶ βοῶν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου φαντασίας, περιφερομένου δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε, συνεπεστρέφετο, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ νίκην ἕτοιμον ἠρεθίζοντο. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ πᾶν εἶχεν ὅσον τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, οὐκ ἀνέθετο, οὐδ' εἴασε τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκλυθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι ὢν θεόληπτος, ἔφη δεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις εὐθὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ φαγόντας ἐκέλευεν ὁπλίσασθαι, καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἀδο-

in a strong position, which he had chosen, about ten stades from the enemy. The total strength of the enemy was 70,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and thirty-six elephants. That of Scipio was not one-third of the number, and that was why he hesitated for some time, and did not offer battle, but contented himself with skirmishing. CHAP. V

26. When his supplies began to fail and hunger attacked his army, still Scipio considered that it would be base to retreat. Accordingly he sacrificed, and bringing the soldiers to an audience immediately after the sacrifice, and putting on again the look and aspect of one inspired, he said that the customary divine sign had appeared to him and conjured him to attack the enemy. It was better, he said, to trust in heaven than in the size of his army, because his former victories were gained by divine favour rather than by numerical strength. In order to inspire confidence in his words he commanded the priests to bring the entrails into the assembly. While he was speaking he saw some birds flying overhead. Turning suddenly round with a quick movement and a loud cry, he pointed them out and exclaimed that this was another sign of victory which the gods had sent him. He followed their movement, gazing at them and crying out like one inspired. The whole army, as it saw him turning hither and thither, imitated his actions, and all were fired with the idea of certain victory. When he had everything as he wished, he did not hesitate, nor permit their ardour to cool, but still as one inspired exclaimed: "After these signs we must fight at once." When they had taken their food he ordered them to arm themselves, and led

CAP. V

κήτως τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας Σιλανῷ, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς Λαιλίῳ καὶ Μαρκίῳ παραδούς. 27. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Μάγων καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἄφνω σταδίων ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ δέκα μόνων, ἄσιτον οὖσαν ἔτι τὴν στρατιὰν ὥπλιζον μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ θορύβου καὶ βοῆς. γενομένης δ' ὁμοῦ πεζομαχίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μηχανῆς, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ τοὺς Νομάδας διώκοντες, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰθισμένους καὶ ἐπελαύνειν· οἷς τὰ ἀκόντια διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι χρήσιμα· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπονοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Λιβύων, καὶ ἠττῶντο δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας. οὐδὲ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέοντός τε καὶ παρακαλοῦντος μετετίθεντο, μέχρι τὸν ἵππον Σκιπίων τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, καὶ παρά τινος ἀσπίδα λαβών, ἐξέδραμεν ὡς εἶχε μόνος ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκραγώς, "ἐπικουρεῖτε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, κινδυνεύοντι ὑμῶν τῷ Σκιπίωνι." τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς ὁρῶντες οἳ κινδύνου φέρεται, οἱ δὲ πόρρω πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως αἰδούμενοί τε καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδιότες, ἐσέδραμον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ βίας, ἣν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες οἱ Λίβυες ἐνέδωκαν, ἐπιλειποῦσης αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσιτίας περὶ ἑσπέραν· καὶ πολὺς αὐτῶν δι' ὀλίγου τότε φόνος ἐγίγνετο. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν Σκιπίωνι τῆς περὶ Καρμώνην μάχης, ἐπισφαλοῦς ἐς πολὺ γενομένης. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὀκτακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων μύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι.

them against the enemy, who were not expecting them, giving the command of the horse to Silanus and of the foot to Laelius and Marcius. CHAP V

27. When Scipio made this sudden advance against them, the two armies being only separated by ten stades, Hasdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa quickly armed their men amid confusion and tumult, although they had not yet taken their food. Battle being joined with both cavalry and infantry, the Roman horse prevailed over the enemy by the same tactics as before, by giving no respite to the Numidians (who were accustomed to retreat and advance by turns), thus making their darts of no effect by reason of their nearness. The infantry, however, were severely pressed by the great numbers of the Africans and were worsted by them all day long, nor could Scipio stem the tide of battle, although he was everywhere cheering them on. Finally, giving his horse in charge of a boy, and snatching a shield from a soldier, he dashed alone into the space between the two armies, shouting: "Romans, rescue your Scipio in his peril." Then, when those who were near saw, and those who were distant heard, what danger he was in, all in like manner were moved by a sense of shame and fear for their general's safety, and with a cheer charged furiously upon the enemy. The Africans, unable to resist this charge, gave way, as their strength was failing for lack of food, of which they had had none all day. Then, for a short space of time, there was a terrific slaughter. Such was the result to Scipio of the battle of Carmone, although it had been for a long time doubtful. The Roman loss was 800; that of the enemy 15,000.

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28. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ὑπεχώρουν ἀεὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων αὐτοῖς εἵπετο, βλάπτων τι καὶ λυπῶν ὁσάκις καταλάβοι. ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν ὀχυρόν τι χωρίον προύλαβον, ἔνθα καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἄφθονον καὶ ἀγορά, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔδει, Σκιπίωνα δ' ἤπειγον ἕτεραι χρεῖαι, Σιλανὸν μὲν ἀπέλιπε τούσδε πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπῄει τὴν ἄλλην Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὑπήγετο. Λιβύων δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Σιλανοῦ πολιορκουμένων αὖθις ὑποχωρούντων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Γάδειρα ἐπέρασαν, ὁ Σιλανός, ὅσα δυνατὸν ἦν βλάψας, ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν Ἀμίλχαρος, περὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν στρατιὰν ἔτι συλλέγοντα, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβας ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἵνα λάθοι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, παρὰ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν τὴν Πυρήνην ἐς Γαλάτας ὑπερέβαινε, μεθ' ὧν ἐξενολογήκει Κελτιβήρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας ὧδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἀγνοούντων, ἠπείγετο.

VI

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29. Λεύκιος δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπανιὼν ἔφραζε τῷ Σκιπίωνι ὅτι αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι διανοοῦνται στρατηγὸν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποστέλλειν. ὁ δὲ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐλπίζων ὧδε ἔσεσθαι, Λαίλιον ἐπὶ νεῶν πέντε προύπεμπεν ἐς Λιβύην πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην Σύφακα, δωρεάς τε φέροντα, καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἐς

28. After this engagement the enemy retreated with all speed, and Scipio followed, dealing blows and doing damage whenever he could overtake them. But when they had occupied a stronghold, where there was plenty of food and water, and where nothing could be done but lay siege to them, Scipio was called away on other business. He left Silanus to carry on the siege while he himself went into other parts of Spain and subdued them. The Africans who were besieged by Silanus deserted their position and retreated again until they came to the straits and passed on to Gades. Silanus, having done them all the harm he could, broke camp and rejoined Scipio at New Carthage. In the meantime Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, who was still collecting troops along the Northern ocean, was called by his brother Hannibal to march in all haste to Italy. In order to deceive Scipio he moved along the northern coast, and passed over the Pyrenees into Gaul with the Celtiberian mercenaries whom he had enlisted. In this way he was hastening into Italy without the knowledge of the Italians. CHAP. V

VI

29. Now Lucius [his brother], having returned from Rome, told Scipio that the Romans were thinking of sending the latter as general to Africa. Scipio had strongly desired this for some time and hoped that events might take this turn. Accordingly he sent Laelius with five ships to Africa on a mission to King Syphax, to make presents to him and remind him of the friendship between himself CHAP. VI

B.C. 206 Scipio visits Africa

CAP. VI αὐτὸν Σύφακα φιλίας, καὶ δέησιν Ῥωμαίοις, ἂν ἐπίωσι, συλλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετό τε ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἔλαβε καὶ ἀντέπεμψεν ἕτερα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Σύφακα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων πυνθανόμενός τε, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις προσλαβεῖν καὶ βεβαιώσασθαι Σύφακα, ᾔει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν δύο σὺν τῷ Λαιλίῳ.

30. Καὶ αὐτῷ καταγομένῳ οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι ὄντες παρὰ τῷ Σύφακι, ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχον μακραῖς ἐπανήγοντο, λαθόντες τὸν Σύφακα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἱστίῳ χρώμενος παρέπλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀδεῶς καὶ κατήχθη, ὁ δὲ Σύφαξ ἐξένιζεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος ἰδίᾳ καὶ πίστεις παρασχὼν ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐφεδρεύοντας αὖθις αὐτῷ κατεῖχεν, ἕως ἐν βεβαίῳ τῆς θαλάσσης γένοιτο ὁ Σκιπίων. παρὰ μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Σκιπίων, καταγόμενός τε καὶ πλέων· λέγεται δ' ἐν Σύφακος ἑστιώμενος συγκατακλιθῆναι τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περὶ πολλῶν ἐρόμενος καταπλαγῆναι τῆς σεμνότητος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὅτι μὴ μόνον πολεμῶν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑστιώμενος φοβερὸς εἴη.

31. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Μάγωνί τινες Κελτιβήρων καὶ Ἰβήρων ἔτι ἐμισθοφόρουν, ὧν αἱ πόλεις ἐς Ῥωμαίους μετετέθειντο. καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενος χιλίους μὲν καὶ πεντακοσίους διέφθειρεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέφυγον αὐτὸν ἐς τὰς πόλεις. ἑτέρους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἄννωνος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου,

and the Scipios, and to ask him to join the Romans if they should make an expedition to Africa. He promised to do so, accepted the presents, and sent others in return. When the Carthaginians discovered this they also sent envoys to Syphax to seek his alliance. Scipio heard of this, and judging that it was a matter of importance to win and confirm the alliance of Syphax against the Carthaginians, he took Laelius and went over to Africa with two ships, to see Syphax in person. CHAP. VI

30. When he was approaching the shore, the Carthaginian envoys, who were still with Syphax, sailed out against him with their war-ships, without Syphax's knowledge. But he spread his sails, outran them completely, and reached the harbour. Syphax entertained both parties, but he made an alliance with Scipio privately, and having given pledges sent him away. He also detained the Carthaginians, who were again lying in wait for Scipio, until he was a safe distance out to sea. So much danger did Scipio incur both going and returning. It is reported that at a banquet given by Syphax, Scipio reclined on the same couch with Hasdrubal, and that the latter questioned him about many things, and was greatly impressed with his dignity, and afterwards said to his friends that Scipio was formidable not only in war but also at a feast.

Other operations in Spain

31. At this time certain of the Celtiberians and Spaniards from the towns which had gone over to the Romans, were still serving with Mago as mercenaries. Marcius set upon them, slew 1500, and scattered the rest of them among their towns. He hemmed in 700 horse and 6000 foot of the same force, of whom Hanno was in command, on a hill. When

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συνήλασεν ἐς λόφον, ὅθεν ἀποροῦντες ἁπάντων ἐπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκιον περὶ σπονδῶν. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ἄννωνα καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐκδόντας αὐτῷ, τότε πρεσβεύειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα στρατηγὸν ὄντα σφῶν συναρπάσαντες, ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων ἀκροώμενον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους παρέδοσαν· ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος ἤτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τακτὸν ἀργύριον κατενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας ἕς τι τοῦ πεδίου χωρίον· οὐ γὰρ ἁρμόζειν τὰ ὑψηλότερα τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν. καταβάντων δὲ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἔφη, "ἄξια μὲν θανάτου δεδράκατε, οἳ τὰς πατρίδας ἔχοντες ὑφ' ἡμῖν, εἵλεσθε μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπ' αὐτὰς στρατεύειν· δίδωμι δ' ὑμῖν, τὰ ὅπλα καταθεῖσιν, ἀπαθέσιν ἀπιέναι." ἀγανακτησάντων δ' εὐθὺς ὁμοῦ πάντων, καὶ ἀνακραγόντων οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν Κελτιβήρων, πολλὰ δρασάντων, κατεκόπη, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ πρὸς Μάγωνα διεσώθη. ὁ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἄννωνος κατεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα μακραῖς, μαθὼν δὲ τὴν Ἄννωνος συμφορὰν ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλει, καὶ λιμῷ κακοπαθῶν περιεσκόπει τὸ μέλλον.

32. Καὶ Μάγων μὲν ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦν, Σιλανὸς δ' ἀπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος Κάστακα πόλιν προσαγαγέσθαι, πολεμικῶς δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐχόντων παρεστρατοπέδευε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμήνυε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας τινὰ παρασκευὴν πολιορκίας εἵπετο· καὶ παροδεύων ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Ἰλουργίαν πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦν φίλη κατὰ τὸν πρότερον Σκιπίωνα, ἀναιρεθέντος

they were reduced to extremities by hunger they sent messengers to Marcius to obtain terms. He told them first to surrender Hanno and the deserters, and then he would treat. Accordingly they seized Hanno, although he was their general and was listening to the conversation, and they delivered up the deserters. Then Marcius demanded the prisoners also. When he had received these he ordered all of them to bring a specified sum of money down to a certain point in the plain, because the high ground was not a suitable place for suppliants. When they had come down to the plain, he said: "You deserve to be put to death for adhering to the enemy and waging war against us after your countries have subjected themselves to us. Nevertheless, if you will lay down your arms, I will allow you to go unpunished." At this they were very angry and exclaimed with one voice that they would not lay down their arms. A severe engagement ensued, in which about half of the Celtiberians fell, after a stubborn resistance, the other half escaping to Mago, who had arrived a little before at the camp of Hanno with sixty war-ships. When he learned of Hanno's disaster he sailed to Gades and awaited the turn of events, meanwhile suffering from want of provisions. CHAP. VI

32. While Mago lay here inert, Silanus was sent by Scipio to receive the submission of the city of Castax, but as the inhabitants received him in a hostile manner he encamped before it, and communicated the fact to Scipio, who sent him some siege engines and prepared to follow, but turned aside to attack the town of Ilurgia. This place had been an ally of the Romans in the time of the elder Scipio, but Destruction of Ilurgia

CAP. VI δ' ἐκείνου κρύφα μετετέθειτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ὑποδεξαμένη Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἔτι φίλη, Καρχηδονίοις ἐξεδεδώκει. ὧν χάριν ὁ Σκιπίων σὺν ὀργῇ τέσσαρσιν ὥραις ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, τρωθεὶς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα, τῆς δὲ μάχης οὐκ ἀνασχὼν ἕως ἐκράτησεν. καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δι' αὐτὸν, οὐδενὸς ἐπικελεύσαντος, ὑπεριδοῦσα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, ἔκτεινον ὁμαλῶς καὶ παιδία καὶ γυναῖκας, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν. ἀφικόμενος δ' ἐς τὴν Κάστακα ὁ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐς τρία διεῖλε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐφρούρει, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἦρχε, διδοὺς ἔτι τοῖς Καστακαίοις μεταγνῶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουεν αὐτοὺς οὕτω φρονεῖν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσι σφᾶς ἐμποδὼν οὖσιν ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ κρατήσαντες, ἐνεχείρισαν τὴν πόλιν τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ τοῖσδε μὲν φρουρὰν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστησε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐνὶ τῶν Καστακαίων ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντι ἀγαθῆς· αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνεζεύγνυε, Σιλανὸν καὶ Μάρκιον περιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, δηοῦν ὅσα δύναιντο.

33. Ἀσταπὰ δ' ἦν πόλις Καρχηδονίοις ἀεὶ ἐμμείνασα ὁμαλῶς· οἳ τότε τοῦ Μαρκίου σφᾶς περικαθημένου, συγγιγνώσκοντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδιοῦνται, τὴν περιουσίαν σφῶν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνήνεγκαν, καὶ ξύλα περιθέντες αὐτῇ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ γύναια ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην. πεντήκοντα δὲ σφῶν ὥρκωσαν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν ἡ πόλις ἁλίσκηται, τὰ γύναια

at his death had changed sides secretly, and having given shelter to a Roman army with the appearance of continued friendship, had delivered them up to the Carthaginians. To avenge this crime Scipio in his indignation took the place in four hours, and, although wounded in the neck, did not desist from the fight until he had conquered. The soldiers, for his sake, in their fury even forgot to plunder the town, but slew the whole population, including women and children, although nobody gave them any orders to do so, and did not desist until the whole place was razed to the ground. When he arrived at Castax, Scipio divided his army into three parts and invested the city. He did not press the siege, however, but gave the inhabitants time to repent, having heard that they were so disposed. The latter, having slain those of the garrison who objected and put down all opposition, surrendered the place to Scipio, who stationed a new garrison there and placed the town under the government of one of its own citizens, a man of high reputation. He then returned to New Carthage, and sent Silanus and Marcius to the straits to devastate the country as much as they could. CHAP. VI

33. There was a town named Astapa which had been always and wholly of the Carthaginian party. Marcius laid siege to it, and the inhabitants foresaw that, if they were captured by the Romans, they would be reduced to slavery. Accordingly they brought all their valuables into the market-place, piled wood around them, and put their wives and children on the heap. They made fifty of their principal men take an oath that whenever they should see that the city must fall, they would kill The siege of Astapa

CAP. VI καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅψαι καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατασφάξαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μάρτυρας τῶνδε ποιησάμενοι τοὺς θεούς, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκιον οὐχ ὑφορώμενον οὐδέν, ὅθεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐτρέψαντο. ὁπλισαμένης δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος, τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων ἦν ἄριστα, ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένων, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅμως ἐκράτουν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῇ γε ἀρετῇ χείρους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀσταπαῖοι. πεσόντων δὲ ἁπάντων, οἱ πεντήκοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία κατέσφαξαν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐγείραντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέρριψαν, ἀκερδῆ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν νίκην ἐργασάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν Ἀσταπαίων καταπλαγεὶς οὐκ ἐνύβρισεν ἐς τὰ οἰκόπεδα αὐτῶν.

VII

CAP. VII 34. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐς ἀρρωστίαν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ διώκει τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὅσοι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπ' ἀσωτίας ἀναλώκεσαν τὰ πεπορισμένα, ἡγούμενοι τῶν μὲν πόνων οὐδὲν ἄξιον ηὐρῆσθαι παρὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, σφετερίζεσθαι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν δόξαν Σκιπίωνα, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρκίου καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον. ἔκ τε τῶν φρουρίων αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον, καὶ παρὰ Μάγωνός τινες ἀργύριον φέροντες ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μάγωνα μεταθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον ἔλαβον, στρατηγοὺς δ' ἀπὸ σφῶν ἑλόμενοι καὶ

the women and children, set fire to the pile, and slay themselves thereon. Then calling the gods to witness what they had done, they sallied out against Marcius, who did not anticipate anything of the kind. For this reason they easily repulsed his light-armed troops and cavalry. When they became engaged with the legionaries, they still had the best of it, because they fought with desperation. But the Romans eventually overpowered them by sheer numbers, for the Astapians certainly were not inferior to them in bravery. When they had all fallen, the fifty who remained behind slew the women and children, kindled the fire, and flung themselves on it, thus leaving the enemy a barren victory. Marcius, in admiration of the bravery of the Astapians, refrained from wantonly injuring their houses.

CHAP. VI

VII

34. After this Scipio fell sick, and the command of the army devolved on Marcius. Some of the soldiers, who had squandered their means in riotous living, and who thought that because they had nothing they had found no fit compensation for their toils, but that Scipio was appropriating all the glory of their deeds, seceded from Marcius and went off and encamped by themselves. Many from the garrisons joined them. Messengers came to them from Mago, bringing money and inviting them to secede to him. They took the money, chose generals and centurions from their own number, made other arrangements to their liking, put themselves under

CHAP. VII

Mutiny in Scipio's army

CAP. VII ταξιάρχους, καὶ τἆλλα διακοσμηθέντες, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐτάσσοντο καὶ συνώμνυον ἀλλήλοις. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπέστελλεν ἐν μέρει μὲν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν νόσον αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀμείψαιτό πω, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἵνα μεταπείθωσιν αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους, κοινῇ δ' ἅπασιν ἐπιστολὴν ἄλλην ὡς ἤδη συνηλλαγμένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα ἀμείψεται. καὶ ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἥκειν ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐς Καρχηδόνα.

35. Ἀναγιγνωσκομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον, οἱ δὲ πιστεύειν ἠξίουν καὶ συνετίθεντο, καὶ πάντες ᾤδευον ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁμοῦ. προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὁ Σκιπίων προσέταξε τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ βουλευταῖς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐξάρχων τινὰ τῆς στάσεως προσεταιρίσασθαι προσιόντα, καὶ ὡς ἀπ' εὐνοίας διορθοῦντα ὑποδέξασθαί τε καὶ δῆσαι λαθόντα. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἕκαστον ἀφανῶς ἅμα ἕῳ ξιφήρεις ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ εὔκαιρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ διαστημάτων καταλαβόντας, ἤν τις ἐπανίστηται, κατακεντεῖν καὶ κατακαίνειν αὐτίκα ἄνευ παραγγέλματος. αὐτὸς δ' ἅρτι φαινομένης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐποτρύνειν περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ αἰφνιδίου μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῦ κηρύγματος γενομένου, αἰδούμενοι δὲ ἔτι νοσοῦντα τὸν στρατηγὸν σφῶν παρακρατεῖν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καλεῖσθαι, συνέ-

military discipline, and exchanged oaths with each other. When Scipio learned this, he sent word to the seceders separately that on account of his sickness he had not yet been able to remunerate them for their services. He urged the others to try to win back their erring comrades. He also sent a letter to the whole army, as though they had already been reconciled, saying that he would immediately discharge his debt to them, and ordered them to come to New Carthage at once and get their provisions. CHAP. VII

35. Upon reading these letters, some thought that they were not to be trusted. Others put faith in them. Finally they came to an agreement, and all set out to New Carthage together. When they approached, Scipio enjoined upon those senators who were with him that each should attach himself to one of the leaders of the sedition as they came in, and, as if to admonish him in a friendly way, should then make him his guest, and quietly secure him. He also gave orders to the military tribunes that each should have his most faithful soldiers in readiness at daybreak unobserved, with their swords, and station them at intervals in convenient places about the assembly, and if anyone should create a disturbance, to draw their weapons and kill him at once, without waiting for orders. Shortly after daybreak, Scipio himself was conveyed to the tribunal, and sent the heralds around to summon the soldiers to the place of meeting. The call was unexpected, and they were ashamed to keep their sick general waiting. They thought also that they were only called to get their rewards. So they came running together from all sides, some without

CAP. VII θεον ὁμοῦ πάντοθεν, οἱ μὲν ἄζωστοι τὰ ξίφη, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις, οὐ φθάσαντες οὐδὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπιθέσθαι.

36. Σκιπίων δὲ φρουρὰν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀφανῆ, πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπεμέμφετο τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτ' ἔφη τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθήσειν μόνοις τοῖς ἄρξασιν, "οὓς ἐγὼ κολάσω δι' ὑμῶν." καὶ λέγων ἔτι προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις διαστῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος. οἱ μὲν δὴ διίστανον, οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τοὺς αἰτίους παρῆγον ἐς τὸ μέσον. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς συστρατιώτας βοηθῆσαι σφίσι παρακαλούντων, τοὺς ἐπιφθεγγομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον οἱ χιλίαρχοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φρουρουμένην εἶδεν, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν σκυθρωποῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἐς τὸ μέσον παραχθέντας αἰκισάμενος, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐκβοήσαντας, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς αὐχένας ἁπάντων ἐς τοὔδαφος παττάλοις προσδεθέντας ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμνηστίαν ἐκήρυξε διδόναι.

Ὧδε μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· 37. Ἰνδίβιλις δέ, τῶν συνθεμένων τις αὐτῷ δυναστῶν, στασιαζούσης ἔτι τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς κατέδραμέ τι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γῆς. καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπελάσαντος, ὑπέστη μὲν τὸν ἀγῶνα γενναίως, καὶ χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους Ῥωμαίων διέφθειρεν, ἀπολομένων δ' αὐτῷ δισμυρίων ἐδεῖτο προσπέμψας. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸν χρήμασι ζημιώσας συνηλλάσσετο. λαθὼν δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ φιλίαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι συνθέμενος

their swords, others dressed only in their tunics, as they had not even had time to put on all their clothing, by reason of their haste. CHAP VII

36. Scipio, having a guard around himself that was not observed, first accused them of their misdeeds, and then added that he should hold the ringleaders alone responsible. "These," said he, "I shall punish with your help." He had scarcely said this when he ordered the lictors to divide the crowd in two parts, and when they had done so the senators dragged the guilty leaders into the middle of the assembly. When they cried out and called their comrades to their aid, every one who uttered a word was killed by the tribunes. The rest of the crowd, seeing that the assembly was surrounded by armed men, remained in sullen silence. Then Scipio caused the wretches who had been dragged into the middle to be beaten with rods, those who had cried for help being beaten hardest, after which he ordered that their necks should be pegged to the ground and their heads cut off. He proclaimed pardon to the rest. In this way was the mutiny in Scipio's camp put down. The mutiny suppressed

37. While the mutiny was going on in the Roman army, a certain Indibilis, one of the chiefs who had come to an understanding with Scipio, made an incursion into part of the territory under Scipio's sway. When Scipio marched against him he made a brave resistance and killed some 1,200 of the Romans, but having lost 20,000 of his own men he sued for peace. Scipio made him pay a fine, and then came to an agreement with him. At this time also Masinissa crossed the straits, without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, and established friendly relations Masinissa makes an alliance with Scipio

CAP. VII ὤμοσε συμμαχήσειν, ἂν ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύῃ. ἔπραξε δὲ τοῦτο ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα βέβαιος διὰ τοιάνδε αἰτίαν. Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τότε οἱ συνόντος στρατηγοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐς γάμον ἠγγύητο Μασσανάσσῃ· Σύφακα δ' ἄρα τὸν δυνάστην ἔρως ἔκνιζε τῆς παιδός, καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μέγα ποιούμενοι Σύφακα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους προσλαβεῖν, ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα, οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου πυθόμενοι, καὶ τῶνδε πραχθέντων ὁ μὲν Ἀσδρούβας αὐτὰ ἐπέκρυπτε, τὸν Μασσανάσσην αἰδούμενος, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι. Μάγων δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ἀπογνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, πλεύσας ἐς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἐξενολόγει. καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάγωνος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον.

38. Στρατηγοὺς δὲ Ἰβηρίας ἐτησίους ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰλημμένα ἔπεμπον ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἀρξάμενοι, μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἁρμοστὰς ἢ ἐπιστάτας αὐτοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σκιπίων ὀλίγην στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ καταλιπών, συνῴκισε τοὺς τραυματίας ἐς πόλιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰταλικὴν ἐκάλεσε· καὶ πατρίς ἐστι Τραϊανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τῶν ὕστερον Ῥωμαίοις ἀρξάντων τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ διέπλει, λαμπρῶς τε κεκοσμημένου καὶ καταγέμοντος αἰχμαλώτων ὁμοῦ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ λαφύρων ποικίλων. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶς ἐξεδέχετο μετὰ δόξης ἀοιδίμου τε καὶ παραλόγου διά τε νεότητα καὶ ταχυεργίαν καὶ μέγεθος εὐπραξίας. οἵ τε φθο-

with Scipio, and swore to join him if the war should be carried into Africa. This man remained faithful under all circumstances and for the following reason. The daughter of Hasdrubal had been betrothed to him while he was fighting under the latter's command. But King Syphax was pricked with love of the girl, and the Carthaginians, considering it a matter of great moment to secure Syphax against the Romans, gave her to him without consulting Hasdrubal. The latter, when he heard of it, concealed it from Masinissa out of regard for him. But Masinissa learned the facts and made an alliance with Scipio. And so Mago, the admiral, despairing of Carthaginian success in Spain, sailed to the country of the Ligurians and the Gauls to recruit mercenaries. While he was absent on this business the Romans took possession of Gades, which he had abandoned. CHAP. VII

38. From this time, which was a little before the 144th Olympiad, the Romans began to send praetors to Spain yearly to the conquered nations as governors or superintendents to keep the peace. But he left them a small force suitable for a peace establishment, and settled his sick and wounded soldiers in a town which he named Italica after Italy, and this is the native place of Trajan and Hadrian who afterwards became emperors of Rome. Scipio himself sailed for Rome with a large fleet magnificently arrayed, and loaded down with captives, money, arms, and all kinds of booty. The city gave him a glorious reception, bestowing noble and unprecedented honours upon him on account of his youth and the rapidity and greatness of his exploits. Even those who B.C. 205

CAP. VII νοῦντες αὐτῷ τὴν πάλαι κουφολογίαν ὡμολόγουν ἐς ἔργον ἀποβῆναι. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν θαυμαζόμενος ἐθριάμβευεν, Ἰνδίβιλις δὲ οἰχομένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος αὖθις ἀφίστατο. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἀγείραντες ὅσος αὐτοῖς ἦν περὶ τὰ φρούρια, καὶ δύναμιν ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων συναγαγόντες, ἔκτειναν. τοὺς δ' αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς κρίσιν παραγαγόντες θανάτῳ μετῆλθον, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδήμευσαν. τά τε ἔθνη τὰ συναράμενα αὐτῷ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν παρείλοντο, καὶ ὅμηρα ᾔτησαν, καὶ φρουρὰς δυνατωτέρας αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησαν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν εὐθὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ἡ πρώτη Ῥωμαίων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν πεῖρα ἐς τοῦτο ἔληγε.

VIII

CAP. VIII 39. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τε τοῖς περὶ Πάδον ἐπολέμουν καὶ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, ἐνεωτέρισαν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀσχολίαν αὐτῶν οἱ Ἴβηρες. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπέμφθησαν ἐκ Ῥώμης στρατηγοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Σεμπρώνιός τε Τουδιτανὸς καὶ Μᾶρκος Ἕλουιος, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους Μινούκιος. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μείζονος ἔτι τῆς κινήσεως γιγνομένης, μετὰ πλέονος δυνάμεως ἐπέμφθη Κάτων, νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι πάμπαν, αὐστηρὸς δὲ καὶ φιλόπονος, συνέσει τε γνώμης καὶ δεινότητι λόγων ἀριπρεπής, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκάλουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Δημοσθένη, πυνθανόμενοι τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι ῥήτορα γεγενῆσθαι Δημοσθένη.

envied him acknowledged that his boastful promises of long ago were realised in facts. And so, admired by all, he was awarded the honour of a triumph. But as soon as Scipio departed from Spain, Indibilis rebelled again. The generals in Spain, collecting together an army from the garrisons, and such forces as they could obtain from the subject tribes, defeated and slew him. Those who were guilty of inciting the revolt were brought to trial, and sentenced to death, and their property was confiscated. The tribes that took sides with Indibilis were fined, deprived of their arms, required to give hostages, and placed under stronger garrisons. These things happened just after Scipio's departure. And so the first war undertaken by the Romans in Spain came to an end. CHAP. VII

VIII

39. Subsequently, when the Romans were at war with the Gauls on the Po, and with Philip of Macedon, the Spaniards attempted another revolution, thinking the Romans now too distracted to heed them. Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Helvius were sent from Rome as generals against them, and after them Minucius. As the disturbance became greater, Cato was sent in addition, with larger forces. He was still a very young man, but austere, laborious, and distinguished by such sagacity and eloquence that the Romans called him Demosthenes for his speeches, for they learned that Demosthenes had been the greatest orator of Greece. CHAP. VIII B.C. 197 Cato the Censor B.C. 195

CAP. VIII

40. Ὡς δὲ κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Ἐμπόριον ὁ Κάτων, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι πάντοθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους ἀγηγέρατο, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ μέν τι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐγύμναζεν, ὡς δ' ἔμελλε συνενεχθήσεσθαι μάχῃ, τὰς ναῦς ἃς εἶχεν ἐς Μασσαλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐδίδασκεν οὐ τοῦτο εἶναι φοβερόν, ὅτι πλήθει προύχουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι (τὴν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ἐπικρατεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι νεῶν ἀπορούμεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖμεν, οὐδὲ σωτηρίαν. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα συνέβαλεν, οὐκ ἐπελπίσας, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ φοβήσας. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, ἐς πάντα μετεπήδα παρακαλῶν καὶ παροξύνων. ἀκρίτου δ' αὐτῆς ἐς δείλην ἑσπέραν ἔτι οὔσης, καὶ πολλῶν πιπτόντων ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔς τινα λόφον ὑψηλὸν μετὰ τριῶν τάξεων ἐφέδρων ἀνέδραμε, τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ πᾶν ἐποψόμενος. ὡς δὲ εἶδε τοὺς μέσους τῶν ἰδίων μάλιστα ἐνοχλουμένους, ὥρμησεν ἐς αὐτοὺς προκινδυνεύων, ἔργῳ τε καὶ βοῇ συνετάραξε τοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ πρῶτος κατῆρξε τῆς νίκης. διώξας τε νυκτὸς ὅλης ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐπανιόντι δ' ὡς ἡγεμόνι τῆς νίκης συνήδοντο συμπλεκόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐπίπρασκεν.

41. Πρεσβευόντων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ὅμηρά τε ἤτησεν ἄλλα, καὶ βιβλία ἐσφραγισμένα ἐς ἕκαστος περιέπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐκέλευεν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ ὥριζε τὴν ἡμέραν, τεκμηράμενος ὅτε μάλιστα ἐς τὴν πορ-

40. When Cato arrived in Spain at the place called Emporiae, the enemy from all quarters assembled against him to the number of 40,000. He took a short time to discipline his forces. But when he was about to fight he sent away the ships which he had brought to Massilia. Then he told his soldiers that they had not so much to fear from the superior numbers of the enemy (for courage could always overcome numbers), as from their own want of ships, so that there was not even safety for them unless they beat the enemy. With these words he instantly joined battle, having inspired his army, not with hope, as do other generals, but with fear. As soon as they came to close quarters he flew hither and thither exhorting and cheering his troops. When the conflict had continued doubtful till the evening and many had fallen on both sides, he ascended a high hill with three cohorts of the reserve, where he could overlook the whole field. Seeing the centre of his own line sorely pressed he sprang to their relief, exposing himself to danger, and broke the ranks of the enemy with a charge and a shout, and began the victory with his own hand. He pursued them the whole night, captured their camp, and slew a vast number. Upon his return the soldiers congratulated and embraced him as the author of the victory. After this he gave the army a rest and sold the plunder.

His victory in Spain

41. Now envoys came to him from all sides, and he demanded further hostages, and to each of their towns he sent sealed letters, and charged the bearers that they should all deliver the letters on one and the same day, for he had fixed the day by calculating how long it would take to reach the

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ρωτάτω πόλιν ἀφίξονται. ἐκέλευε δ' ἡ γραφὴ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἁπάσαις καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη σφῶν, αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ᾗ τὰ γράμματα λάβοιεν· εἰ δὲ ἀνάθοιντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀνδραποδισμὸν ἠπείλει. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι μὲν ἡττημένοι μεγάλῃ μάχῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀγνοίας εἴτε μόνοις εἴθ' ἅπασι ταῦτα προσετάχθη, φοβούμενοι μόνοι μὲν ὡς εὐκαταφρόνητοι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ μόνοι βραδύνωσι, καιρόν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες περιπέμψαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐληλυθότας μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐφεστῶτας σφίσιν εὐλαβούμενοι, τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἕκαστοι προύργου τιθέμενοι, τὰ τείχη καθῄρουν μετὰ σπουδῆς. ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἅπαξ ὑπακούειν ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ ταχέως εἰργάσθαι προσλαβεῖν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. οὕτω μὲν αἱ πόλεις αἱ περὶ Ἴβηρα ποταμὸν μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ὑφ' ἑνὸς στρατηγήματος, αὐταὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἑαυτῶν καθῄρουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὐέφοδοι γενόμεναι διέμειναν ἐς πλεῖστον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης.

42. Ὀλυμπιάσι δ' ὕστερον τέσσαρσιν, ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων γῆς ἀποροῦντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσονες, οἳ περὶ τὸν Ἴβηρα ᾤκηνται. στρατεύσας οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὕπατος Φούλουιος Φλάκκος ἐνίκα μάχῃ. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατὰ πόλεις διελύθησαν· ὅσοι δὲ μάλιστα γῆς ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐξ ἄλης ἐβιότευον, ἐς Κομπλέγαν πόλιν συνέφυγον, ἣ νεόκτιστός τε ἦν καὶ ὀχυρά, καὶ ηὔξετο ταχέως. ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὸν Φλάκκον ἐκέλευον, καταθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων

farthest town. The letters commanded the magistrates of all the towns to demolish their walls on the very day they received the order. If they postponed the day, he threatened to sell them into slavery. They, having been lately vanquished in a great battle, and not knowing whether these orders had been sent to them alone or to all, were much perplexed, for if it were to them alone, they felt that they were but objects of scorn, but if it were to the others also, they feared to be the only ones to delay. Wherefore as they had no time to send to each other, and were apprehensive of the soldiers, standing over them with the despatches, they each severally decided to consult the interests of their own safety. And so they threw down their walls with all speed, for when they had once decided to obey they were eager to gain credit for carrying out the work expeditiously. Thus the towns along the river Ebro in one day, and thanks to a single stratagem, levelled their own walls. Being less able to resist the Romans thereafter, they remained longer at peace. CHAP. VIII

42. Four Olympiads later,—that is, about the 150th Olympiad,—many Spanish tribes, having insufficient land, including among others the Lusones, who dwelt along the river Ebro, revolted from the Roman rule. The consul Fulvius Flaccus attacked and defeated them, and the greater part of them scattered among their towns. But those who were particularly in want of land, and lived a vagabond life, collected at Complega, a city newly built and fortified, which had grown rapidly. Sallying out from this place they demanded that Flaccus should deliver to them a cloak, a horse, and a sword as recompense for each B.C. 181 Revolt of the Lusones

CAP. VIII

ἑκάστου σάγον τε καὶ ἵππον καὶ ξίφος, ἀποτρέχειν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας πρίν τι κακὸν παθεῖν. ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔφη σάγους οἴσειν, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν αὐτῶν ἑπόμενος τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἀνομοίως ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς σφῶν αὐτίκα ἀπεδίδρασκον, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο. χρῶνται δὲ διπλοῖς ἱματίοις παχέσιν, ἀντὶ χλαμύδων αὐτὰ περιπορπώμενοι, καὶ τοῦτο σάγον ἡγοῦνται.

43. Φλάκκῳ μὲν οὖν διάδοχος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος. Κάραουιν δὲ πόλιν, ἣ Ῥωμαίων ἦν φίλη, δισμύριοι Κελτιβήρων ἐπολιόρκουν· καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἁλώσεσθαι, Γράκχου σφόδρα μὲν ἐπειγομένου βοηθῆσαι τῇ πόλει, περιόντος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ μηνῦσαι τῇ πόλει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. τῶν οὖν τις ἰλάρχων, Κομίνιος, ἐνθυμηθεὶς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ Γράκχῳ τὸ τόλμημα ἀνενεγκών, ἐνεπορπήσατο σάγον Ἰβηρικῶς, καὶ λαθὼν ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς χορτολογοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων, συνεσῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς ὡς Ἴβηρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Κάραουιν διαδραμὼν ἐμήνυσεν ὅτι Γράκχος ἐπίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ διεσώθησαν, ἐγκαρτερήσαντες τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μέχρι Γράκχος αὐτοῖς ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν, καὶ οἱ πολιορκοῦντες ἀπανέστησαν· δισμύριοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Κομπλέγας διέτρεχον ἐς τὸ Γράκχου στρατόπεδον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, καὶ πλησιάσαντες ἀδοκήτως ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνετάραξαν. ὁ δ' εὐμηχάνως ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν· εἶτα διαρπάζουσιν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπέπεσέ τε καὶ

of their dead in the late war, and take himself out of Spain or suffer the consequences. Flaccus replied that he would bring them plenty of cloaks, and following closely after their messengers he encamped before the city. Far from making good their threats, they took to their heels, plundering the neighbouring barbarians on the road. These people wear a thick outer garment with a double fold which they fasten with a clasp after the manner of a military cloak, and they call it the *sagum*. CHAP. VIII

43. Flaccus was succeeded in the command by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, at which time the city of Caravis, which was in alliance with Rome, was besieged by 20,000 Celtiberians. As it was reported that the place was about to be taken Gracchus hastened all the more to relieve it. He could but circle about the besiegers, and had no means even of communicating to the town his own nearness. Cominius, a prefect of horse, having considered the matter carefully, and communicated his daring plan to Gracchus, donned a Spanish *sagum* and secretly mingled with the enemy's foragers. In this way he gained entrance to their camp as a Spaniard, and slipped through into Caravis, and told the people that Gracchus was approaching. Wherefore they endured the siege patiently and were saved, for Gracchus arrived three days later, and the besiegers retired. About the same time the inhabitants of Complega, to the number of 20,000, came to Gracchus' camp in the guise of petitioners bearing olive-branches, and when they arrived they attacked him unexpectedly, and threw everything into confusion. Gracchus adroitly abandoned his camp to them and simulated flight; then suddenly turning he fell upon

B.C. 179 The elder Gracchus in Spain

CAP. VIII πλείστους ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῆς Κομπλέγας κατέσχε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους συνῴκιζε, καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διεμέτρει. καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθετο τοῖς τῇδε συνθήκας ἀκριβεῖς, καθ' ἃ Ῥωμαίων ἔσονται φίλοι· ὅρκους τε ὤμοσεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔλαβεν, ἐπιποθήτους ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον πολέμοις πολλάκις γενομένους. δι' ἃ καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διώνυμος ἐγένετο ὁ Γράκχος, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρῶς.

IX

CAP. IX 44. Ἔτεσι δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον πόλεμος ἄλλος ἠγέρθη περὶ Ἰβηρίαν χαλεπὸς ἐκ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως. Σεγήδη πόλις ἐστὶ Κελτιβήρων τῶν Βελλῶν λεγομένων μεγάλη τε καὶ δυνατή, καὶ ἐς τὰς Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου συνθήκας ἐνεγέγραπτο. αὕτη τὰς βραχυτέρας πόλεις ἀνῴκιζεν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ τεῖχος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους κύκλῳ περιεβάλετο, Τίτθους τε ὅμορον γένος ἄλλο συνηνάγκαζεν ἐς ταὐτα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τό τε τεῖχος ἀπηγόρευε τειχίζειν, καὶ φόρους ἤτει τοὺς ὁρισθέντας ἐπὶ Γράκχου, στρατεύεσθαί τε Ῥωμαίοις προσέτασσε· καὶ γὰρ τοῦθ' αἱ Γράκχου συνθῆκαι ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ τείχους ἔλεγον ἀπηγορεῦσθαι Κελτίβηρσιν ὑπὸ Γράκχου μὴ κτίζειν πόλεις, οὐ τειχίζειν τὰς ὑπαρχούσας· τῶν δὲ φόρων καὶ τῆς ξεναγίας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεῖσθαι μετὰ Γράκχον. καὶ τῷ ὄντι

CHAP. VIII

them while they were plundering, killed most of them, and made himself master of Complega and those who dwelt in the neighbourhood. He gave a place in the community to the poorer classes, and apportioned land to them, and made carefully defined treaties with all the tribes, binding them to be the friends of Rome, and giving and receiving oaths to that effect. These treaties were often longed for in the subsequent wars. In this way Gracchus became celebrated both in Spain and in Rome, and was awarded a splendid triumph.

IX

CHAP. IX

B.C. 153

The Belli and the Titthi

44. Some years later another serious war broke out in Spain for the following reason: Segeda, a large and powerful city of a Celtiberian tribe called the Belli, was included in the treaties made by Sempronius Gracchus. It persuaded the inhabitants of the smaller towns to settle in its own borders, and then surrounded itself with a wall forty stades in circumference. It also forced the Titthi, a neighbouring tribe, to join in the undertaking. When the Senate learned this it forbade the building of the wall, demanded the tribute imposed in the time of Gracchus, and also ordered the inhabitants to furnish a contingent for the Roman army, for this too was one of the stipulations of the treaty made with Gracchus. As to the wall they replied that the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to build new cities, but not forbidden to fortify those which already existed. As to the tribute and the military contingent they said that they had been released from these requirements by the Romans themselves

CAP. IX ἦσαν ἀφειμένοι, δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιάσδε δωρεὰς ἀεὶ προστιθεῖσα κυρίας ἔσεσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ.

45. Στρατηγὸς οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Νωβελίων ἐπέμπετο μετὰ στρατιᾶς οὐ πολὺ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἀποδεούσης· ὃν ἐπειδὴ σφίσιν οἱ Σεγηδαῖοι προσιόντα ἔγνωσαν, οὔπω τὸ τεῖχος ἐκτελέσαντες ἔφευγον ἐς Ἀρουακοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποδέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀρουακοὺς παρεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ὑποδέχονταί τε, καὶ Κάρον αὐτῶν Σεγηδαῖον, πολεμικὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενον, αἱροῦνται στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρᾳ δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας πεντακισχιλίους ἔς τινα λόχμην ἐνεδρεύσας παροδεύουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀγχωμάλου γενομένης ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, ὡς μέγα τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸ ἀτύχημα. ἀτάκτου δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ γενομένης, οἱ τὰ σκευοφόρα Ῥωμαίων φυλάσσοντες ἱππεῖς ἐπέδραμον, καὶ Κάρον τε αὐτὸν ἀριστεύοντα ἔκτειναν καὶ ἑτέρους ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐλάσσους καὶ οἵδε τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, μέχρι νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσεν. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦθ' ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν· ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐκὼν ἄρξειεν ἐξ ἐκείνου μάχης παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν.

46. Ἀρουακοὶ μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς Νομαντίαν, ἣ δυνατωτάτη πόλις ἦν, συνελέγοντο, καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἄμβωνα καὶ Λεύκωνα ᾑροῦντο· Νωβελίων δ' αὐτοῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπελθὼν παρεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν. παραγενομένων δέ οἱ

subsequently. This was true, but the Senate, when granting these exemptions, always adds that they shall continue only during the pleasure of the Senate and Roman people.

B.C. 153 Beginning of the Numantine War

45. Accordingly Nobilior was sent against them as general with an army of nearly 30,000 men. When the Segedians learned of his coming, their wall not being yet finished, they fled with their wives and children to the Arevaci and begged them to receive them. The Arevaci did so, and also chose a Segedian named Carus, whom they considered skilful in war, as their general. On the third day after his election he placed 20,000 foot and 5000 horse in ambush in a dense forest and fell upon the Romans as they passed by. The battle was for a long time doubtful, but in the end he gained a splendid victory, 6000 Roman citizens being slain. So great a disaster befell the city on that day. But while he was engaged in a disorderly pursuit after the victory, the Roman horse, who were guarding the baggage, fell upon him, and in their turn killed no less than 6000 Romans, including Carus himself, who was performing prodigies of valour. Finally night put an end to the conflict. This disaster happened on the day on which the Romans are accustomed to celebrate the festival of Vulcan. For which reason, from that time on, no general will begin a battle on that day unless compelled to do so.

46 Immediately, that very night, the Arevaci assembled at Numantia, which was a very strong city, and chose Ambo and Leuco as their generals. Three days later Nobilior advanced and pitched his camp twenty-four stades from the place. Here, after being joined by 300 Nomad horse, sent to him

CAP. IX Νομάδων ἱππέων τριακοσίων, οὓς Μασσανάσσης ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἐλεφάντων δέκα, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἄγων ὀπίσω τὰ θηρία λανθάνοντα. καὶ γενομένης ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διέστησαν, τὰ δὲ θηρία ἐξεφαίνετο· καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι σφῶν οὐ πρὶν ἑωρακότες ἐλέφαντας ἐν πολέμοις ἐθορυβοῦντο καὶ κατέφευγον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε, καὶ ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τις ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ μεγάλῳ καταπίπτοντι πληγεὶς ἠγριώθη τε, καὶ ἐκβοήσας μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς φίλους ἐπεστρέφετο, καὶ ἀνήρει τὸν ἐν ποσίν, οὐ διακρίνων ἔτι φίλιον ἢ πολέμιον. οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἐλέφαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου βοὴν διαταραχθέντες ὅμοια πάντες ἔδρων, καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνεπάτουν τε καὶ ἀνέτεμνον καὶ ἀνερρίπτουν. ὅπερ ἀεὶ θορυβηθέντες οἱ ἐλέφαντες εἰώθασι πάσχειν, καὶ πάντας ἡγεῖσθαι πολεμίους· καί τινες διὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοὺς καλοῦσι κοινοὺς πολεμίους. φυγὴ οὖν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγίγνετο ἄτακτος· ἦν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι κατιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέθορον, καὶ διώκοντες ἔκτειναν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἐλέφαντας δὲ τρεῖς, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα ἔλαβον. Κελτιβήρων δὲ ἀπέθανον ἐς δισχιλίους.

47. Καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων μικρὸν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος ἀναλαβών, ἀγορᾷ μέν τινι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεχείρει περὶ Ἀξείνιον πόλιν σεσωρευμένῃ, οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύσας, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα πολλοὺς ἀποβαλών, ἐπανῆλθε νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὅθεν Βιήσιον ἵππαρχον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἐς τι γειτονεῦον ἔθνος ἔπεμπεν, ἱππέων δεόμενος. οἱ δὲ συνέπεμψαν

by Masinissa, and ten elephants, he moved against the enemy, placing the animals in the rear, where they could not be seen. Then, when they came to close quarters, the army divided and brought the elephants into view. The Celtiberians and their horses, who had never seen elephants before in war, were thunderstruck and fled to the city. Nobilior took the animals right up to the city walls, and fought bravely, until one of the elephants was struck on the head with a large falling stone, when he became savage, uttered a loud cry, turned upon his friends, and began to destroy everything that came in his way, making no longer any distinction between friend and foe. The other elephants, excited by his cries, all began to do the same, trampling the Romans under foot, wounding them and tossing them this way and that. This is always the way with elephants when they are frightened. Then they take everybody for foes; wherefore some people call them the common enemy, on account of their fickleness. The Romans then took to disorderly flight. When the Numantines perceived this they sallied out and pursued them, killing about 4000 men and three elephants. They also captured many arms and standards. The loss of the Celtiberians was about 2000.

47. Nobilior, recovering a little from this disaster, made an attack upon some stores which the enemy had collected at the town of Axinium, but he accomplished nothing, and having lost many of his men there too, he returned by night to his camp. Thence he sent Biesius, a cavalry officer, to secure the alliance of a neighbouring tribe and to ask for cavalry. They gave him some, and as he was return

CAP. IX αὐτῷ τινὰς ἱππέας, οὓς ἐρχομένους ἐλόχων οἱ Κελτίβηρες. καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης οἱ μὲν σύμμαχοι διεδίδρασκον, ὁ δὲ Βιήσιος μαχόμενος αὐτός τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέθανον. συνεχῶν δὲ τοιῶνδε πταισμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένων, πόλις Ὄκιλις, ἔνθα ἡ ἀγορὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἦν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετέθετο ἐς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας. καὶ ὁ Νωβελίων ἀπιστῶν ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διεχείμαζε, στεγάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχων ἔνδον, καὶ κακοπαθῶν αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῇ ὀλιγότητι καὶ νιφετοῦ πυκνότητι καὶ κρύους χαλεπότητι, ὥστε πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς φρυγανισμοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔνδον ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας καὶ κρύους ἀπώλλυντο.

48. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Νωβελίωνι μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφικνεῖται διάδοχος Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἄγων πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας πεντακοσίους· λοχώντων δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν πολεμίων διῆλθε πεφυλαγμένως, καὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ τὴν Ὄκιλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἐπιτυχὴς δὲ τὰ πολέμια ὧν τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα παρεστήσατο, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν, ὅμηρά τινα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα λαβών. Νεργόβριγες δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μετριοπαθείας πυθόμενοι, πέμψαντες ἠρώτων τί ἂν πράξαντες εἰρήνης ἐπιτύχοιεν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας δοῦναι συστρατεύσοντας, οἱ μὲν ὑπισχνοῦντο δώσειν, κατὰ δ' ἄλλο μέρος τοῖς οὐραγοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τι περιέσπων. εἶτ' ἀφίκοντο τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, περί τε τῶν

ing with them the Celtiberians laid an ambush for him. The ambush was discovered and the allies escaped, but Biesius, who engaged the enemy, was killed and many of his soldiers with him. Under the influence of such a succession of disasters to the Romans, the town of Ocilis, where their provisions and money were stored, went over to the Celtiberians. Then Nobilior in despair went into winter quarters in his camp, sheltering himself as well as he could. He suffered much from scantiness of supplies, having only what was inside the camp, and from heavy snowstorms and severe frost, so that many of his men perished while outside gathering wood, and others inside fell victims to confinement and cold. CHAP. IX

48. The following year Claudius Marcellus succeeded Nobilior in the command, bringing with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. The enemy laid an ambush for him also, but he moved through them with circumspection and pitched his camp before Ocilis with his whole army. As he was an effective general, he brought the place to terms at once and granted it pardon, taking hostages and imposing a fine of thirty talents of silver. The Nergobriges, hearing of his moderation, sent and asked what they could do to obtain peace. In reply he ordered them to furnish him 100 horsemen as auxiliaries, and they promised to do so, but in the meantime in another quarter they were attacking the rear guard of the Romans and carrying off some of the baggage animals. They then came with the 100 horsemen, and claimed to have fulfilled their contract, explaining the attack on the rear-guard as an error committed by certain of their people who were ignorant of the agreement. B.C. 152 Claudius Marcellus in Spain

CAP. IX ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας γενομένων ἔλεγον τινὰς ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ ὡμολογημένα ἁμαρτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν ἱππέας ἔδησε, τοὺς δ' ἵππους αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενος καὶ τὸ πεδίον καταδραμὼν τὴν λείαν διεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. Νεργόβριγες δέ, προσαγομένων αὐτοῖς μηχανημάτων ἅμα καὶ χωμάτων, κήρυκα πέμψαντες λυκῆν ἀντὶ κηρυκείου περικείμενον, ᾔτουν συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες Ἀρουακοὶ καὶ Βελλοὶ καὶ Τίτθοι δεηθεῖεν ὁμοῦ. ὧν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη πυθόμενα προθύμως ἐπρεσβεύετο, καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ᾐξίουν, ποινὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέντα μετρίαν, ἐς τὰς Γράκχου συνθήκας ἀναγαγεῖν· ἀντέλεγον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριοί τινες ὑπ' ἐκείνων πεπολεμημένοι.

49. Καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξ ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ἀντιλέξοντας ἀλλήλοις, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ προτρέπων ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλυθῆναι, δόξαν οἱ χρηστὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίζων ἔσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες ἐξενίζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἔξω τειχῶν ἐστάθμευον. ἀποδοκιμάζουσα δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρουσα ὅτι μή, καθάπερ αὐτοὺς ἠξίου Νωβελίων ὁ πρὸ Μαρκέλλου, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὺς ἐπετετρόφεσαν, Μάρκελλον αὐτοῖς ἐξοίσειν ἔφη τὰ δόξαντα. καὶ στρατιὰν εὐθὺς ἐκλήρουν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τότε πρῶτον ἀντὶ καταλέξεως· πολλῶν γὰρ αἰτιωμένων τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀδίκους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς καταγραφὰς καί τινας ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας στρατείας καταλέγειν, ἔδοξεν ἀπὸ κλήρου τότε

Marcellus then put the hundred horsemen in chains, sold their horses, devastated their country, distributed the plunder to his soldiers, and besieged the city. When the Nergobriges saw the engines advanced and the mounds thrown up against their walls they sent a herald, who wore a wolf's skin instead of bearing a herald's staff, and begged forgiveness. Marcellus replied that he would not grant it unless all the Arevaci, the Belli, and the Titthi would ask it together. When these tribes heard of this, they sent ambassadors eagerly, and begged that Marcellus would let them off with a light punishment and renew the terms of the agreement made with Gracchus. This petition was opposed by some of the other natives on whom they had made war.

He makes an armistice

49. Marcellus sent ambassadors from each party to Rome to carry on their dispute there. At the same time he sent private letters to the Senate urging peace. He desired that the war should be brought to an end by himself, thinking that he should gain glory from this too. The ambassadors from the friendly faction, on coming to the city, were treated as guests, but, as was customary, those from the hostile faction lodged outside the walls. The Senate rejected the proposal of peace, and took it ill that these people had refused to submit to the Romans when asked to do so by Nobilior, the predecessor of Marcellus. So they replied that Marcellus would announce the Senate's decision to them. They at once enrolled an army for Spain, now for the first time by lot, instead of the customary levy, for since many had complained that they had been treated unjustly by the consuls in the enrolment, while others had been chosen for easier service, it was

CAP. IX

συναγαγεῖν. ὧν ἐστρατήγει Λικίνιος Λεύκολλος ὕπατος, πρεσβευτῇ χρώμενος Κορνηλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ Καρχηδόνα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἑλόντι, καὶ Νομαντίαν ὕστερον.

50. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Λεύκολλος ὥδευεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος τόν τε πόλεμον προεῖπε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦσιν ἀπέδωκεν. τὸν δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς λόγους διαθέμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας ἐπὶ πολὺ διέτριβεν· ὑπὲρ ὅτου δὴ καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο μὲν καὶ τότε, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπιστώθη τοῖς ὕστερον γενομένοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνέπειθεν ἑαυτῷ τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τὸν πόλεμον καταλυθῆναι. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συνουσίαν Νεργόβριγα μὲν Ἀρουακῶν πεντακισχίλιοι κατέλαβον, Μάρκελλος δ' ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν ἐχώρει, καὶ πέντε σταδίους ἀποσχὼν παρεστρατοπέδευεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἕως ὁ τῶν Νομαντίνων στρατηγὸς Λιτέννων ὑποστὰς ἐβόα βούλεσθαι Μαρκέλλῳ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔφη Βελλοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Ἀρουακοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Μαρκέλλῳ. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ὁμηρά τε καὶ χρήματα πάντας ᾔτησε, καὶ λαβὼν ἀφῆκεν ἐλευθέρους. ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ὁ Βελλῶν τε καὶ Τίτθων καὶ Ἀρουακῶν ἔληγεν οὕτω πρὸ Λευκόλλου.

51. Ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος δόξης τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐκ πενίας χρῄζων χρηματισμοῦ, ἐς Οὐακκαίους. ἕτερον γένος Κελτιβήρων, ἐνέβαλεν, οἳ γείτονες τῶν Ἀρουακῶν εἰσίν, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῷ ψηφίσματος γεγονότος, οὔτε Οὐακκαίων Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμη-

decided now to choose by lot. The consul Licinius Lucullus was appointed to the command, and he had for his second in command Cornelius Scipio, who was not long afterwards distinguished as the conqueror of Carthage, and later of Numantia. CHAP. IX Licinius Lucullus succeeds Marcellus

50. While Lucullus was on the march Marcellus notified the Celtiberians of the coming war, and gave back the hostages in response to their request. Then he sent for the chief of the Celtiberian embassy in Rome and conferred with him privately a long time. From this circumstance it was even then suspected, and was strongly confirmed by later events, that he sought to persuade them to put their affairs in his hands, because he was anxious to bring the war to an end before the arrival of Lucullus. For after this conference 5000 of the Arevaci took possession of the city of Nergobriga: and Marcellus marched against Numantia, encamped at a distance of five stades from it, and was driving the Numantines inside the walls when their leader Litenno halted and called out that he would like to have a conference with Marcellus. This being granted, he said that the Belli, Titthi, and Arevaci put themselves entirely in Marcellus' hands. He was delighted to hear this, and having demanded and received hostages and money from them all, he let them go free. Thus the war with the Belli, the Titthi, and the Arevaci was brought to an end before Lucullus arrived. B.C. 151

51. Lucullus being greedy of fame and needing money, because he was in straitened circumstances, invaded the territory of the Vaccaei, another Celtiberian tribe, neighbours of the Arevaci, although he had no warrant from the Senate, nor had they His infamous conduct

CAP. IX κότων, οὐδὲ ἐς αὐτόν τι Λεύκολλον ἁμαρτόντων. περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τάγον, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Καύκαν πόλιν καὶ παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δ' ἐπύθοντο μὲν αὐτοῦ τίνος ἥκοι δεόμενος ἢ τί πολέμου χρῄζων, φήσαντος δὲ ὅτι Καρπητανοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐακκαίων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοίη, τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ξυλευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χορτολογοῦντι ἐπέκειντο. καὶ κτείνουσι πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διώκουσιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. γενομένης δὲ καὶ παρατάξεως, οἱ Καυκαῖοι ψιλοῖς ἐοικότες ἐκράτουν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ Λευκόλλου, μέχρι σφῶν τὰ ἀκόντια πάντα ἐξαναλώθη· καὶ τότε ἔφευγον οὐκ ὄντες μενεμάχοι, περί τε τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὠθουμένων ἀνῃρέθησαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους.

52. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, στεφανωσάμενοί τε καὶ φέροντες ἱκετηρίας, τὸν Λεύκολλον αὖθις ἠρώτων τί ποιοῦντες ἂν εἶεν φίλοι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὅμηρά τε ἤτει καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἐκέλευέν οἱ συστρατεύειν. ὡς δὲ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ἠξίου φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγεῖν. δεξαμένων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Καυκαίων, ἐσήγαγε δισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἐξειλεγμένους, οἷς ἐσελθοῦσιν εἴρητο γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη. καταλαβόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν δισχιλίων, ἐσήγαγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ὁ Λεύκολλος, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε κτείνειν Καυκαίους ἅπαντας ἡβηδόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πίστεις τε καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκίους ἐπικαλούμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἀπιστίαν λοιδοροῦντες, διεφθείροντο ὠμῶς, ἐκ δισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν κατὰ πύλας ἀποκρήμνους

ever attacked the Romans, or offended Lucullus himself. Crossing the river Tagus he came to the city of Cauca, and pitched his camp near it. The citizens asked him what he had come for, and what occasion there was for war, and when he replied that he had come to aid the Carpetani, whom the Vaccaei had maltreated, they retired for the time inside their walls, but sallied out and fell upon his wood-cutters and foragers, killing many and pursuing the remainder to the camp. There was also a pitched battle, in which the Caucaei, who resembled light-armed troops, had the advantage for a long time, until they had expended all their darts. Then they fled, not being accustomed to withstand an onset, and while jostling each other at the gates about 3000 of them were slain. CHAP IX

52. The next day the elders of the city came out wearing crowns on their heads and bearing olive-branches, and again asked Lucullus what they should do to establish friendly relations. He replied that they must give hostages and 100 talents of silver, and place their cavalry at his disposal. When all these demands had been complied with, he asked that a Roman garrison should be admitted to the city. When the Caucaei assented to this also, he brought in 2000 soldiers carefully chosen, to whom he had given orders that when they were admitted they should occupy the walls. When this was done Lucullus introduced the rest of his army and ordered them at the sound of the trumpet to kill all the adult males of the Caucaei. The latter, invoking the gods who preside over promises and oaths, and upbraiding the perfidy of the Romans, were cruelly slain, only a few out of 20,000 escaping by leaping

CAP. IX διαφυγόντων ὀλίγων· ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος τὴν πόλιν διήρπαζε, καὶ δόξης Ῥωμαίους ἐνεπίμπλη κακῆς. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρβαροι συνέθεον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὀχυρωτέρας πόλεις, συμφέροντες ἃ δύναιντο καὶ ἐμπιπράντες ὅσα λείποιεν, τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι Λεύκολλον εὑρεῖν.

53. Ὁ δὲ πολλὴν γῆν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας, ἔς τινα πόλιν Ἰντερκατίαν ἀφίκετο, ἔνθα πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίους συνεπεφεύγεσαν, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐς συνθήκας ὑπ' ἀνοίας προυκαλεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείδει τὰ Καυκαίων αὐτῷ προύφερον, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο εἰ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων πίστεις αὐτοὺς καλοίη. ὁ δ', οἷον ἅπαντες οἱ ἁμαρτόντες, ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς ὀνειδίζουσι χαλεπαίνων, ἔκειρεν αὐτῶν τὰ πεδία, καὶ περικαθίσας κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν χώματα ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. οἱ δ' οὔπω μὲν ἀντεξέτασσον, ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἀκροβολισμοὶ μόνοι, θαμινὰ δέ τις τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξίππευεν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον, κεκοσμημένος ὅπλοις περιφανῶς, καὶ προυκαλεῖτο Ῥωμαίων ἐς μονομαχίαν τὸν ἐθέλοντα, οὐδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος ἐπιτωθάσας καὶ τῷ σχήματι κατορχησάμενος ἀπεχώρει. γιγνομένου δὲ τούτου πολλάκις, ὁ Σκιπίων ἔτι νέος ὢν ὑπερήλγησέ τε καὶ προπηδήσας ὑπέστη τὸ μονομάχιον, εὐτυχῶς δ' ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου μικρὸς ὤν.

54. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἐπῆρε Ῥωμαίους, νυκτὸς δὲ φόβοι πολλοὶ κατεῖχον· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς, ὅσοι τῶν

down the sheer walls at the gates. Lucullus sacked the city and brought infamy upon the Roman name. The rest of the barbarians collecting together from the fields took refuge among inaccessible rocks or in the most strongly fortified towns, carrying away what they could, and burning what they were obliged to leave, so that Lucullus should not find any plunder. CHAP. IX

53. The latter, having traversed a long stretch of deserted country, came to a city called Intercatia where more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had taken refuge together. Lucullus very foolishly invited them to enter into a treaty. They reproached him with the slaughter of the Caucaei, and asked him whether he invited them to the same kind of a pledge that he had given to that people. He, like all guilty souls, being angry with his accusers instead of with himself, laid waste their fields. Then he drew a line of siege around the city, threw up several mounds, and repeatedly set his forces in order of battle to provoke a fight. The enemy did not as yet respond, but fought with projectiles only. There was a certain barbarian distinguished by his splendid armour, who frequently rode into the space between the armies and challenged the Romans to single combat, and when nobody accepted the challenge he jeered at them, executed a triumphal dance, and went back. After he had done this several times, Scipio, who was still a youth, felt very much aggrieved, and springing forward accepted the challenge. Fortunately he won the victory, although he was small, and his opponent big. Scipio Africanus the younger

54. This victory raised the spirits of the Romans, but the next night they were haunted by numerous

CAP. IX βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι Λεύκολλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν προεληλύθεσαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, περιθέοντες ἐβόων καὶ συνετάρασσον· καὶ συνεπήχουν οἱ ἔνδον αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ὁ φόβος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ποικίλος. ἔκαμνον δὲ καὶ τῇ φυλακῇ δι' ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ ἀήθειαν τροφῶν ἐπιχωρίων· οἴνου γὰρ οὐκ ὄντος οὐδ' ἁλῶν οὐδ' ὄξους οὐδ' ἐλαίου, πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς καὶ ἐλάφων κρέα πολλὰ καὶ λαγωῶν χωρὶς ἁλῶν ἐψόμενα σιτούμενοι κατερρήγνυντο τὰς γαστέρας, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπώλλυντο, μέχρι ποτὲ τὸ χῶμα ἠγέρθη, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων τύπτοντες μηχαναῖς μέρος μέν τι κατέβαλον, καὶ ἐσέδραμον ἐς τὴν πόλιν· μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ βιασθέντες τε καὶ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐσπίπτουσιν ἔς τινα δεξαμενὴν ὕδατος ὑπ' ἀγνωσίας, ἔνθα οἱ πλείους ἀπώλοντο. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ πεσόντα ἀνῳκοδόμουν. πάνυ δ' ἑκατέρων κακοπαθούντων (ὁ γὰρ λιμὸς ἀμφοῖν ἥπτετο) Σκιπίων ἀνεδέχετο τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐδὲν ἔσεσθαι παράσπονδον, καὶ πιστευθεὶς κατὰ κλέος ἀρετῆς διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, Λευκόλλῳ δοθῆναι παρὰ τῶν Ἰντερκατίων σάγους μυρίους καὶ θρεμμάτων τι πλῆθος ὡρισμένον, καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας ἐς ὅμηρα. χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον Λεύκολλος αἰτῶν, οὗ δὴ χάριν, ἡγούμενος ὅλην Ἰβηρίαν πολύχρυσον εἶναι καὶ πολυάργυρον, ἐπολέμει, οὐκ ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον, οὐδ' ἐν δόξῃ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι Κελτιβήρων τίθενται.

terrors. A body of the enemy's horse who had gone out foraging before Lucullus arrived, returned, and not finding any entrance to the city because it was surrounded by the besiegers, ran about shouting and creating disturbance, while those inside the walls shouted back. These noises caused strange terror in the Roman camp. Their soldiers were sick from watching and want of sleep, and because of the unaccustomed food which the country afforded. They had no wine, no salt, no vinegar, no oil, but lived on wheat and barley, and quantities of venison and rabbits' flesh boiled without salt, which caused dysentery, from which many died. Finally when their mound was completed and by battering the enemy's walls with their engines they had knocked down a section, they rushed into the city, but were speedily overpowered. Being compelled to retreat and being unacquainted with the ground, they fell into a reservoir where most of them perished. The following night the barbarians repaired their broken wall. As both sides were now suffering severely (for famine had fastened upon both), Scipio promised the barbarians that if they would make a treaty it should not be violated. He was believed because of his reputation for virtue, and brought the war to an end on the following terms: The Intercatii to give to Lucullus 10,000 cloaks, a certain number of cattle, and fifty hostages. As for the gold and silver which Lucullus demanded, and for the sake of which he had waged this war, thinking that all Spain abounded with gold and silver, he got none. In fact they had none, and these particular Celtiberians do not set any value on those metals.

CAP. IX

55. Ἐπὶ δὲ Παλλαντίαν ἦει πόλιν, ἣ δόξαν τε ἀρετῆς εἶχε μείζω, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεπεφεύγεσαν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ συνεβούλευόν τινες ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸ πείρας. ὁ δὲ πολυχρήματον εἶναι πυνθανόμενος οὐκ ἀνεχώρει, μέχρι σιτολογοῦντα αὐτὸν οἱ Παλλάντιοι συνεχῶς ἱππεῦσιν ἠνώχλουν τε καὶ σιτολογεῖν ἐκώλυον. ἀπορῶν δὲ τροφῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀνεζεύγνυ, τετράγωνον ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων. ἑπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τῶν Παλλαντίων μέχρι Δορίου ποταμοῦ, ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Παλλάντιοι νυκτὸς ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δ' ἐς τὴν Τυρδιτανῶν χώραν διελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τοῦ Οὐακκαίων πολέμου, παρὰ ψήφισμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου γενομένου. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ ἐκρίθη.

X

CAP. X

56. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου μέρος ἄλλο Ἰβήρων αὐτονόμων, οἳ Λυσιτανοὶ καλοῦνται, Πουνίκου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοα ἐλήζοντο, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοῦντας αὐτῶν, Μανίλιόν τε καὶ Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, τρεψάμενοι κτείνουσιν ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα ταμίαν. οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς ὁ Πούνικος τὰ μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ κατέδραμε, καὶ Οὐέττωνας ἐς τὴν στρατείαν προσλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους τοὺς λεγομένους Βλαστοφοίνικας, οἷς φασὶν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον ἐποικίσαι τινὰς ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι Βλαστοφοί-

55. He went next to Pallantia, a city more renowned for bravery, where many refugees had congregated, for which reason he was advised by some to pass by without making an attempt upon it. But, having heard that it was a rich place, he would not go away until the Pallantian horse, by incessantly harassing his foragers, prevented him from getting supplies. Being unable to get food, Lucullus withdrew his army, marching in the form of an oblong, and still pursued by the Pallantians as far as the river Douro. From thence the Pallantians returned by night to their own country. Lucullus passed into the territory of the Turditani, and went into winter quarters. This was the end of the war with the Vaccaei, which was waged by Lucullus contrary to the authority of the Roman people, but he was never even called to account for it.

CHAP. IX

Retreat of the Romans

X

56. At this time another of the autonomous nations of Spain, the Lusitanians, under Punicus as leader, were ravaging the fields of the Roman subjects and having put to flight their praetors, Manilius and Calpurnius Piso, killed 6000 Romans, and among them Terentius Varro, the quaestor. Elated by this success Punicus swept the country as far as the ocean, and joining the Vettones to his army he laid siege to the people called Blastophoenicians, who were Roman subjects. It is said that Hannibal, the Carthaginian, brought among these people settlers from Africa, whence they were called Blastophoenicians. Here

CHAP. X

B.C. 155

The Lusitanian war

CAP. X

νικας. Πούνικος μὲν οὖν λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέθανε, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀνὴρ ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Καίσαρος. οὗτος ὁ Καίσαρος Μουμμίῳ, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης ἐπελθόντι ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς μάχην συνηνέχθη καὶ ἡττώμενος ἔφυγεν. Μουμμίου δ' αὐτὸν ἀτάκτως διώκοντος ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ τήν τε λείαν τὴν ἡρπασμένην καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων προσέλαβέ τε, καὶ διήρπασεν ὅπλα καὶ σημεῖα πολλά, ἅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὴν Κελτιβηρίαν ὅλην περιφέροντες ἐπετώθαζον.

57. Μούμμιος δ' ὑπολοίπους ἔχων πεντακισχιλίους ἐγύμναζεν ἔνδον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δεδιὼς ἄρα προελθεῖν ἐς τὸ πεδίον πρὶν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀναθαρρῆσαι. φυλάξας δὲ εἴ τι μέρος οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς ἀφηρημένης λείας παρέφερον, ἀδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἔλαβε τὴν λείαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα. Λυσιτανῶν δ' οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Τάγου ποταμοῦ, κἀκεῖνοι Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένοι, Καυκαίνου σφῶν ἡγουμένου Κουνέους ἐπόρθουν, οἳ Ῥωμαίοις ἦσαν ὑπήκοοι, καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν μεγάλην εἷλον Κονίστοργιν. παρά τε τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπέρων, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἄλλην Λιβύην κατέτρεχον, οἱ δ' Ὀκίλην πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν. Μούμμιος δ' ἑπόμενος ἐννακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις ἔκτεινε τῶν μὲν δηούντων ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δ' ἑτέρων τινάς, καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε τὴν Ὀκίλης. ἐντυχὼν δὲ καὶ τοῖς φέρουσιν ἃ ἐσεσυλήκεσαν, ἔκτεινε καὶ τούσδε πάντας, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ δια-

Punicus was struck on the head with a stone and killed. He was succeeded by a man named Caesarus. This man joined battle with Mummius, who came from Rome with another army, was defeated and put to flight, but as Mummius was pursuing him in a disorderly way, he rallied and slew about 9000 Romans, recaptured the plunder they had taken from him as well as his own camp, and took that of the Romans also, together with many arms and standards, which the barbarians in derision carried throughout all Celtiberia. CHAP. X

57. Mummius took his 5000 remaining soldiers and drilled them in camp, not daring to go out into the plain until they should have recovered their courage. Having waited for the barbarians to pass by, carrying a part of the booty they had captured, he fell upon them suddenly, slew a large number, and recaptured the plunder and the standards. The Lusitanians on the other side of the Tagus, under the leadership of Caucaenus, being also incensed against the Romans, invaded the Cunei, who were Roman subjects, and captured a large city of theirs, Conistorgis, and near the Pillars of Hercules they crossed over the ocean, and some of them overran part of Africa, while others laid siege to the city of Ocile. Mummius followed them with 9000 foot and 500 horse, and slew about 15,000 of them who were engaged in plundering, and a few of the others, and raised the siege of Ocile. Falling in with a party who were carrying off booty, he slew all of them too, so that not one escaped to bear the tidings of the disaster. All the booty that it was possible to carry he divided among the soldiers. B.C. 153 The doings of Mummius

CAP. X φυγεῖν. τὴν δὲ λείαν διαδοὺς τῷ στρατῷ τὴν δυνατὴν φέρεσθαι, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις ἔκαυσεν.

Καὶ Μούμμιος μὲν τάδε πράξας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν, 58. ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάρκος Ἀτίλιος, ὃς Λυσιτανῶν μὲν ἐς ἑπτακοσίους ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, ᾗ ὄνομα Ὀξθράκαι, τὰ δ' ἐγγὺς καταπληξάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παρέλαβεν. καὶ τούτων ἦν ἔνια τοῦ Οὐεττώνων ἔθνους, ὁμόρου τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς. ὡς δ' ἀνεζεύγνυε χειμάσων ὁ Ἀτίλιος, αὐτίκα πάντες μετετίθεντο καί τινας Ῥωμαίοις ὑπηκόους ἐπολιόρκουν· οὓς ἐπειγόμενος ἐξελεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας Σέρουιος Γάλβας ὁ Ἀτιλίου διάδοχος, ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους διελθὼν ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς Λυσιτανοῖς, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε, κατάκοπον τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων. τρεψάμενος δ' εὐτυχῶς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπέκειτο φεύγουσιν ἀπειροπολέμως. ὅθεν ἀσθενοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσυντάκτου τῆς διώξεως οὔσης διὰ κόπον, οἱ βάρβαροι κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς διεσπασμένους τε καὶ ἀναπαυομένους κατὰ μέρη συνελθόντες ἐπέθεντο, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππέων κατέφυγεν ἐς Καρμώνην πόλιν, ἔνθα τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἀνελάμβανε, καὶ συμμάχους ἀθροίσας ἐς δισμυρίους διῆλθεν ἐς Κουνέους, καὶ παρεχείμαζεν ἐν Κονιστόργει.

59. Λεύκολλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς Οὐακκαίοις ἄνευ ψηφίσματος πολεμήσας ἐν Τυρδιτανίᾳ τότε χειμάζων ᾔσθετο Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τὰ πλησίον ἐμβαλόντων, καὶ περιπέμψας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἡγεμόνων,

The rest he devoted to the gods of war and burned. CHAP X
Having accomplished these results, Mummius returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

58. He was succeeded in the command by Marcus B.C. 15
Atilius, who made an incursion among the Lusitanians and killed about 700 of them and took their largest city, called Oxthracae. This so terrified the neighbouring tribes that they all made terms of surrender. Among these were some of the Vettones, a nation adjoining the Lusitanians. But when he went away into winter quarters they all forthwith revolted and besieged some of the Roman subjects. Servius Galba, the successor of Atilius, hastened to Servius Galba
relieve them. Having marched 500 stades in one day and night, he came in sight of the Lusitanians and sent his tired army into battle instantly. Fortunately he broke the enemy's ranks, but he imprudently followed the fugitives, the pursuit being feeble and disorderly on account of the fatigue of his men. When the barbarians saw them scattered, and by turns stopping to rest, they rallied and fell upon them and killed about 7000. Galba, with the cavalry he had about him, fled to the city of Carmone. There he recovered the fugitives, and having collected allies to the number of 20,000 he moved to the territory of the Cunei, and wintered at Conistorgis.

59. Lucullus, who had made war on the Vaccaei B.C. 151
without authority, was then wintering in Turditania. When he discovered that the Lusitanians were making incursions in his neighbourhood he sent out his best lieutenants and slew about 4000 of them.

CAP. X ἔκτεινε τῶν Λυσιτανῶν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. περί τε Γάδειρα τὸν πορθμὸν ἑτέρων περώντων ἔκτεινεν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς συμφυγόντας ἔς τινα λόφον ἀπετάφρευσε, πλῆθός τε ἔλαβεν ἀνδρῶν ἄπειρον. καὶ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν ἐπιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα. καὶ τινῶν πρεσβευομένων ἐς αὐτόν, καὶ θελόντων βεβαιοῦν καὶ ὅσα Ἀτιλίῳ τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῷ συνθέμενοι παρεβεβήκεσαν, ἐδέχετο καὶ ἐσπένδετο, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτοῖς καὶ συνάχθεσθαι ὡς δι' ἀπορίαν λῃστεύουσί τε καὶ πολεμοῦσι καὶ παρεσπονδηκόσιν. "τὸ γὰρ λυπρόγαιον," ἔφη, "καὶ πενιχρὸν ὑμᾶς ἐς ταῦτα ἀναγκάζει· δώσω δ' ἐγὼ πενομένοις φίλοις γῆν ἀγαθήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις συνοικιῶ, διελὼν ἐς τρία."

60. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε προσδοκῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνίσταντο, καὶ συνήεσαν οἷ προσέτασσεν ὁ Γάλβας· ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τρία διῄρει, καὶ πεδίον ἑκάστοις τι ὑποδείξας ἐκέλευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιμένειν, μέχρι πολίσειεν αὐτοὺς ἐπελθών. ὡς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώτους, ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, θεμένους δ' ἀπετάφρευέ τε, καὶ μετὰ ξιφῶν τινας ἐσπέμψας ἀνεῖλεν ἅπαντας, ὀδυρομένους τε καὶ θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πίστεις ἀνακαλοῦντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους ἐπειχθεὶς ἀνεῖλεν, ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι τὰ πάθη τὰ τῶν προτέρων, ἀπιστίᾳ μὲν ἄρα ἀπιστίαν μετιών, οὐκ ἀξίως δὲ Ῥωμαίων μιμούμενος βαρβάρους. ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διέφυγον, ὧν ἦν Οὐρίαθος, ὃς μετ' οὐ

He killed about 1500 others while they were crossing the straits near Gades. The remainder took refuge on a hill, and he drew a line of circumvallation around it, and captured an immense number of them. Then he invaded Lusitania and gradually devastated it. Galba did the same on the other side. When some of their ambassadors came to him desiring to renew the very treaty which they had made with Atilius, his predecessor in the command, and then transgressed, he received them favourably, and made a truce and pretended even to sympathise with them because they had been compelled by poverty to rob, make war, and break treaties. "For," said he, "poorness of soil and penury force you to do these things. But I will give my poor friends good land, and settle them in a fertile country, in three divisions." CHAP. X B.C. 150

60. Beguiled by these promises they left their own habitations and came together at the place appointed by Galba. He divided them into three parts, and showing to each division a certain plain, he commanded them to remain in this open country, until he should come and assign them their places. When he came to the first division he told them as friends to lay down their arms. When they had done so he surrounded them with a ditch and sent in soldiers with swords who slew them all, lamenting and invoking the names of the gods, and the pledges which they had received. In like manner he hastened to the second and third divisions and destroyed them while they were still ignorant of the fate of the first. Thus he avenged treachery with treachery, imitating barbarians in a way unworthy of a Roman. A few escaped, among them Viriathus, His infamous conduct

CAP. X πολὺ ἡγήσατο Λυσιτανῶν καὶ ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔργα μέγιστα ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὕστερον γενόμενα ὕστερον λέξω. τότε δὲ ὁ Γάλβας, Λευκόλλου φιλοχρηματώτερος ὤν, ὀλίγα μέν τινα τῆς λείας τῇ στρατιᾷ διεδίδου, καὶ ὀλίγα τοῖς φίλοις, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἐσφετερίζετο, καίτοι πλουσιώτατος ὢν ὁμοῦ τι Ῥωμαίων· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ φασὶν αὐτὸν διαλιπεῖν ψευδόμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντα διὰ κέρδη. μισούμενος δὲ καὶ κατηγορούμενος διέφευγε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,

XI

CAP. XI 61. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τῆς Λευκόλλου καὶ Γάλβα παρανομήσεως, ἀλισθέντες ἐς μυρίους τὴν Τυρδιτανίαν κατέτρεχον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπελθὼν Γάιος Οὐετίλιος, ἄγων τέ τινα στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ προσλαβών, ἅπαντας ἔχων ἐς μυρίους, ἐπέπεσε προνομεύουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν συνέωσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔς τι χωρίον, οἳ κινδυνεύειν τε μένοντας ἐχρῆν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ὧδε γὰρ εἶχε δυσχωρίας. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Οὐετίλιον ἔπεμπον σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, γῆν ἐς συνοικισμὸν αἰτοῦντες ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων ἐς πάντα κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο δώσειν, καὶ συνετίθετο ἤδη. Οὐρίαθος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς Γάλβα παρανομίας ἐκφυγών, τότε συνὼν

who not long afterward became the leader of the Lusitanians and killed many Romans and performed great exploits. But these things happened at a later time, and I shall not relate them now. Galba, being even more greedy than Lucullus, distributed a little of the plunder to the army and a little to his friends, but kept the rest himself, although he was already one of the richest of the Romans. But not even in time of peace, they say, did he abstain from lying and perjury in order to get gain. Although generally hated, and called to account for his rascalities, he escaped punishment by means of his wealth. CHAP. X

XI

61. Not long afterward those who had escaped the villainy of Lucullus and Galba, having collected together to the number of 10,000, overran Turditania. Gaius Vetilius marched against them, bringing a new army from Rome and taking also the soldiers already in Spain, so that he had in all about 10,000 men. He fell upon their foragers, killed many of them, and forced the rest into a place where, if they stayed, they were in danger of famine, and if they came out, of falling into the hands of the Romans. So difficult was the position in which they were placed. They therefore sent messengers to Vetilius with olive-branches asking land for a dwelling-place, and agreeing from that time on to obey the Romans in all things. He promised to give them the land, and an agreement was being made to that effect when Viriathus, who had escaped the perfidy of Galba and was then among them, reminded them CHAP. XI B.C. 148 The rise of Viriathus

CAP. XI αὐτοῖς, ὑπεμίμνησκε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀπιστίας, ὁσάκις τε αὐτοῖς ὁμόσαντες ἐπιθοῖντο, καὶ ὡς ὅδε πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τοιῶνδε ἐπιορκιῶν Γάλβα καὶ Λευκόλλου διαφύγοιμεν. οὐδ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου, ἂν ἐθέλωσι πείθεσθαι.

62. Ἐρεθισθέντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσι γενομένων, ᾔρέθη τε στρατηγός, καὶ πάντας ἐκτάξας ἐς μέτωπον ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐπιβῇ τοῦ ἵππου, διαιρεθέντας ἐς μέρη πολλὰ φεύγειν, ὡς δύνανται, κατ' ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἐς Τριβόλαν πόλιν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν περιμένειν, χιλίους δὲ μόνους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ συνίστασθαι. καὶ γιγνομένων τούτων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἔφυγον, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Οὐρίατθος τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβη, ὁ δὲ Οὐετίλιος αὐτοὺς δείσας διώκειν ἐς πολλὰ διῃρημένους, ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον ἑστῶτα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τῷ γενησομένῳ τραπεὶς ἐμάχετο. ὁ δ' ὠκυτάτοις ἵπποις αὐτὸν ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ ὑποφεύγων καὶ πάλιν ἱστάμενος καὶ ἐπιών, ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅλην διέτριψε περιθέων. ὡς δ' εἴκασεν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν τῆς φυγῆς τοὺς ἑτέρους, τότε νυκτὸς ὁρμήσας δι' ὁδῶν ἀτριβῶν κουφοτάτοις ἵπποις ἀπέδραμεν ἐς Τριβόλαν, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν διώκειν ὁμοίως οὐ δυναμένων διά τε βάρος ὅπλων καὶ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἵππων ἀνομοιότητα. ὧδε μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου στρατὸν ἀπογιγνώσκοντα αὐτοῦ περιέσωσε, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τόδε περιφερόμενον ἐς

of the bad faith of the Romans, and how often the latter had set upon them in violation of oaths, and how this whole army was composed of men who had escaped from the perjuries of Galba and Lucullus. If they would obey him, he said, they should not fail of an escape from the place. CHAP XI

62. Excited by the new hopes with which he inspired them, they chose him as their leader. He drew them all up in line of battle as though he intended to fight, but gave them orders that when he should mount his horse they should scatter in every direction and make their way as best they could by different routes to the city of Tribola and there wait for him. He chose 1000 only whom he commanded to stay with him. These arrangements having been made, they all fled as soon as Viriathus mounted his horse. Vetilius was afraid to pursue those who had scattered in so many different directions, but turning towards Viriathus who was standing there and apparently waiting a chance to attack, joined battle with him. Viriathus, having very swift horses, harassed the Romans by attacking, then retreating, again standing still and again attacking, and thus consumed the whole of that day and the next dashing around on the same field. As soon as he conjectured that the others had made good their escape, he hastened away in the night by devious paths and arrived at Tribola with his nimble steeds, the Romans not being able to follow him at an equal pace by reason of the weight of their armour, their ignorance of the roads, and the inferiority of their horses. Thus did Viriathus, in an unexpected way, rescue his army from a desperate situation. This feat, coming to the knowledge of the various

CAP. XI τοὺς τῇδε βαρβάρους ἐξῆρεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσεχώρουν. ὁ δὲ ἐς ὀκτὼ ἔτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει.

63. Καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸν Οὐριάθου πόλεμον, σφόδρα τε ἐνοχλήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δυσεργότατον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, συναγαγεῖν, ἀναθέμενον εἴ τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο. Οὐετίλιος μὲν δὴ αὐτὸν διώκων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβόλαν, ὁ δ' Οὐρίαθος ἐν λόχμαις ἐνέδραν ἐπικρύψας ἔφυγε, μέχρι τὰς λόχμας ὑπερελθόντος τοῦ Οὐετιλίου αὐτός τε ἐπεστρέφετο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνεπήδων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἑκατέρωθεν ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ ἐζώγρουν καὶ ἐς τὰς φάραγγας ἐώθουν. ἐζωγρήθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐετίλιος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λαβὼν ἀγνοῶν, γέροντα ὑπέρπαχυν ὁρῶν, ἔκτεινεν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ μόλις ἐκ μυρίων ἑξακισχίλιοι διέδρασαν ἐς Καρπησσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν, ἣν ἐγὼ νομίζω πρὸς Ἑλλήνων πάλαι Ταρτησσὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ Ἀργανθώνιον αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι, ὃν ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἀφικέσθαι φασίν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν Καρπησσὸν διαφυγόντας ὁ ταμίας, ὃς εἵπετο τῷ Οὐετιλίῳ, συνέτασσεν ἐπὶ τειχῶν δεδιότας· παρὰ δὲ Βελλῶν καὶ Τίτθων αἰτήσας πεντακισχιλίους συμμάχους, καὶ λαβών, προύπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίαθον. ὁ δὲ πάντας ἔκτεινεν, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον διαφυγεῖν. καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, περιμένων τινὰ βοήθειαν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης.

64. Οὐρίαθος δὲ τὴν Καρπηταναν, εὐδαίμονα χώραν, ἐπιὼν ἀδεῶς ἐληλάτει, ἕως ἧκεν ἐκ

tribes of that vicinity, brought him fame and many reinforcements from different quarters and enabled him to wage war against the Romans for eight years. CHAP. XI

63. It is my intention here to relate this war with Viriathus, which was very harassing and difficult to the Romans, and to postpone any other events which happened in Spain at the same time. B.C. 147 He defeats Vetilius

Vetilius pursued him till he came to Tribola. Viriathus, having first laid an ambush in a dense thicket, retreated until Vetilius was passing by the place, when he turned, and those who were in ambush sprang up. On both sides they began killing the Romans, driving them over the cliffs and taking them prisoners. Vetilius himself was taken prisoner; and the man who captured him, not knowing who he was, but seeing that he was old and fat, and considering him worthless, killed him. Of the 10,000 Romans, 6000 with difficulty made their way to the city of Carpessus on the seashore, which I think was formerly called by the Greeks Tartessus, and was ruled by King Arganthonius, who is said to have lived an hundred and fifty years. The soldiers, who made their escape to Carpessus, were stationed on the walls of the town by the quaestor who accompanied Vetilius, badly demoralized. Having asked and obtained 5000 allies from the Belli and Titthi, he sent them against Viriathus, who slew them all, so that there was not one left to tell the tale. After that the quaestor remained quietly in the town waiting for help from Rome.

64. Viriathus overran the fruitful country of Carpetania in security, and ravaged it until Caius B.C. 146

CAP. XI Ῥώμης Γάιος Πλαύτιος ἄγων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις. τότε δ' αὖθις ὑπεκρίνατο φεύγειν ὁ Οὐρίαθος, καὶ ὁ Πλαύτιος αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε διώκειν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὓς ἐπιστραφεὶς ὁ Οὐρίαθος ἔκτεινε χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν ὄρει περιφύτῳ μὲν ἐλάαις, Ἀφροδίτης δ' ἐπωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Πλαύτιος καταλαβών, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, συνέβαλεν. ἡττηθεὶς δὲ φόνου πολλοῦ γενομένου διέφυγεν ἀκόσμως ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἐκ μέσου θέρους ἐχείμαζεν, οὐ θαρρῶν οὐδαμοῖ προϊέναι. ὁ δ' Οὐρίαθος τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς περιιὼν ᾔτει τοὺς κεκτημένους τιμὴν τοῦ ἐπικειμένου καρποῦ, καὶ παρ' ὧν μὴ λάβοι διέφθειρεν.

65. Ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυνθανόμενοι Φάβιον Μάξιμον Αἰμιλιανόν, Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ἀνελόντος υἱόν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ στρατιὰν ἑαυτῷ καταγράφειν ἐπέτρεπον. ὁ δέ, Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑλόντων καὶ τὸν τρίτον ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον κατωρθωκότων, φειδοῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἑλληλυθότων κατέλεγε πρωθήβας, οὐ πρὶν πολέμου πεπειραμένους, ἐς δύο τέλη. καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατὸν ἄλλον αἰτήσας ἦκεν ἐς Ὄρσωνα τῆς Ἰβηρίας σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους. ὅθεν οὔπω μάχης ἄρχων, μέχρι τὴν στρατιὰν γυμνάσειεν, ἐς Γάδειρα διέπλευσε τὸν πορθμόν, Ἡρακλεῖ θύσων. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίαθος αὐτοῦ τῶν ξυλευομένων τισὶν ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς

Plautius came from Rome bringing 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. Then Viriathus again feigned flight and Plautius sent about 4000 men to pursue him, but he turned upon them and killed all except a few. Then he crossed the river Tagus and encamped on a mountain covered with olive-trees, called Venus' mountain. There Plautius overtook him, and eager to retrieve his misfortune, joined battle with him, but was defeated with great slaughter, and fled in disorder to the towns, and went into winter quarters in midsummer not daring to show himself anywhere. Accordingly, Viriathus overran the whole country without check and required the owners of the growing crops to pay him the value thereof, or if they would not, he destroyed the crops. CHAP. XI

He twice defeats Plautius

65. When these facts became known at Rome, they sent Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the son of Aemilius Paulus (who had conquered Perseus, the king of Macedonia), to Spain, having given him power to levy an army for himself. As Carthage and Greece had been but recently conquered, and the third Macedonian war brought to a successful end, in order that he might spare the soldiers who had just returned from those places, he chose young men who had never been engaged in war before, to the number of two legions. He asked for additional forces from the allies and arrived at Orso, a city of Spain, having altogether 15,000 foot and about 2000 horse. As he did not wish to engage the enemy until his forces were well disciplined, he made a voyage through the straits to Gades in order to sacrifice to Hercules. In the meantime Viriathus fell upon some of his wood-cutters, killed many, and

B.C. 145

He is defeated by Maximus Aemilianus

CAP. XI καὶ ἐφόβησε τοὺς λοιπούς. τοῦ δ' ὑποστρατήγου συντάξαντος αὐτοὺς αὖθις ὁ Οὐρίαθος ἐκράτει καὶ πολλὴν λείαν περιεσύρατο. ἀφικομένου τε τοῦ Μαξίμου συνεχῶς ἐξέτασσε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ ὅλῳ μὲν οὐ συνεμίσγετο τῷ στρατῷ, γυμνάζων αὐτοὺς ἔτι, κατὰ δὲ μέρη πολλάκις ἠκροβολίζετο, πεῖράν τε ποιούμενος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐντιθεὶς θάρσος. χορτολογῶν τε ἐνόπλους ἀεὶ τοῖς γυμνοῖς περιίστη, καὶ περιέτρεχε μεθ' ἱππέων αὐτός, οἷα Παύλῳ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἑώρα. μετὰ δὲ χειμῶνα γεγυμνασμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ τρέπεται δεύτερος ὅδε τὸν Οὐρίαθον καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῦ δύο τὴν μὲν διήρπασε τὴν δὲ ἐπέπρησεν, αὐτόν τε, φεύγοντα ἐς χωρίον ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Βαικόρ, διώκων ἔκτεινε πολλούς. καὶ ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Κορδύβῃ, δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη στρατηγῶν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῆρε, διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν Κοΐντου Πομπηίου τοῦ Αὔλου.

66. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Οὐρίαθος οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔτι καταφρονῶν, Ἀρουακοὺς καὶ Τίτθους καὶ Βελλούς, ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα, ἀπέστησεν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πολέμου ἄλλου οἵδε ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν, ὃν ἐκ πόλεως αὐτῶν μιᾶς Νομαντῖνον ἡγοῦνται, μακρόν τε καὶ ἐπίπονον Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενον. καὶ συνάξω καὶ τόνδε ἐς ἓν μετ' Οὐρίαθον. Οὐρίαθος ἐν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἑτέρῳ

struck terror into the rest. His lieutenant coming out to fight, Viriathus defeated him also and captured much booty. When Maximus returned, Viriathus drew out his forces repeatedly and offered battle. Maximus declined an engagement with the whole army and continued to exercise his men, but he skirmished frequently with part of his forces, making trial of the enemy's strength, and inspiring his own men with courage. When he sent out foragers he always placed a cordon of legionaries around the unarmed men and himself rode about the region with his cavalry, as he had seen his father Paulus do, when serving with him in the Macedonian war. Winter being ended, and his army well disciplined, he attacked Viriathus and was the second Roman general to put him to flight (although he fought valiantly), capturing two of his cities, of which he plundered one and burned the other. He pursued Viriathus to a place called Baecor, and killed many of his men, after which he wintered at Corduba, this being already the second year of his command in this war. Having performed these labours, Aemilianus returned to Rome and was succeeded in the command by Quintus Pompeius Aulus.

CHAP. XI

B.C. 144

66. After this Viriathus, no longer despising the enemy as he had before, detached the Arevaci, Titthi, and Belli, very warlike peoples, from their allegiance to the Romans, and these began to wage another war on their own account which was long and tedious to the Romans, and which was called the Numantine war after one of their cities. I shall include this war also as a sequel to the war with Viriathus. The latter coming to an engagement in the further part of Spain with Quintius, another

B.C. 143

CAP. XI στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων Κοϊντίῳ συνεπλέκετο, καὶ ἡσσώμενος ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ὄρος ἀνέστρεφεν. ὅθεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔκτεινε τῶν Κοϊντίου ἐς χιλίους, καὶ σημεῖά τινα ἥρπασε· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰτύκκῃ φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Βαστιτανῶν χώραν ἐλῄζετο, Κοϊντίου διὰ δειλίαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν οὐκ ἐπιβοηθοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Κορδύβῃ χειμάζοντος ἐκ μέσου μετοπώρου, καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον θαμινὰ ἐπιπέμποντος αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα Ἴβηρα ἐκ πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς.

XII

CAP. XII 67. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Κοϊντίῳ μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Αἰμιλιανοῦ, Φάβιος Μάξιμος Σερουιλιανός, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, δύο ἄλλα τέλη Ῥωμαίων ἄγων καὶ συμμάχους τινάς, ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις. ἐπιστείλας δὲ καὶ Μικίψῃ τῷ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ πέμψαι οἱ τάχιστα ἐλέφαντας, ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἠπείγετο, τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τὸν Οὐρίαθον ἑξακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν ἐπιόντα οἱ μετά τε κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, ἣν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπισείουσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐδὲν ὑποπτήξας ὑπέστη τε γενναίως καὶ ἀπεώσατο ἄπρακτον. ὡς δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀφῖκτο, καὶ ἐκ Λιβύης ἐλέφαντες δέκα σὺν ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις, στρατόπεδον ὠχύρου μέγα, καὶ προεπεχείρει τῷ Οὐριάθῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίωκεν. ἀτάκτου δὲ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τοῦτο ὁ

Roman general, and being worsted, returned to the Venus mountain. From this he sallied, and slew about 1000 of Quintius' men and captured some standards from them and drove the rest into their camp. He also drove out the garrison of Itucca and ravaged the country of the Bastitani. Quintius did not render them aid by reason of his timidity and inexperience, but went into winter quarters at Corduba in the middle of autumn, and frequently sent Caius Marcius, a Spaniard from the city of Italica, against him. CHAP. XI

XII

67. At the end of the year, Fabius Maximus Servilianus, the brother of Aemilianus, came to succeed Quintius in the command, bringing two new legions from Rome and some allies, so that his forces altogether amounted to about 18,000 foot and 1600 horse. He wrote to Micipsa, king of the Numidians, to send him some elephants as speedily as possible. As he was hastening to Itucca with his army in divisions, Viriathus, at the head of 6000 troops, attacked him with loud shouts and barbaric clamour, his men wearing the long hair which in battles they are accustomed to shake in order to terrify their enemies, but he was not dismayed. He stood his ground bravely, and the enemy was driven off without accomplishing anything. When the rest of his army arrived, together with ten elephants and 300 horse from Africa, he established a large camp, advanced against Viriathus, defeated and pursued him. The pursuit became disorderly, and when Viriathus CHAP. XII B.C. 142 War with Viriathus continued

CAP. XII Οὐρίατθος ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ κτείνας ἐς τρισχιλίους τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέβαλε καὶ τῷδε, ὀλίγων μόλις αὐτὸν ὑφισταμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας, τῶν δὲ πλεόνων ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς καταδύντων ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων ἐξαγομένων. τότε μὲν οὖν Φάνιός τε, ὁ Λαιλίου κηδεστής, λαμπρῶς ἠρίστευε, καὶ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα Ῥωμαίους περιέσωσεν· ὁ δὲ Οὐρίατθος ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ καύματος ὥρᾳ θαμινὰ ἐπιών, καὶ οὔ τινα καιρὸν ἀδόκητον ἐκλείπων, ψιλοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ταχυτάτοις ἠνώχλει τοῖς πολεμίοις μέχρι τὸν Σερουιλιανὸν ἐς Ἰτύκκην ἀναστῆσαι.

68. Τότε δὲ ἤδη τροφῶν τε ἀπορῶν ὁ Οὐρίατθος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων ἐλάττω, νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς Λυσιτανίαν ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σερουιλιανὸς οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς Βαιτουρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πέντε πόλεις διήρπαζεν, αἳ τῷ Οὐριάτθῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐστράτευεν ἐς Κουνέους, ὅθεν ἐς Λυσιτανοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐρίατθον αὖθις ἠπείγετο. καὶ αὐτῷ παροδεύοντι δύο λῃσταρχοι μετὰ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιθέμενοι, Κούριός τε καὶ Ἀπουλήιος, ἐθορύβησαν καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφείλοντο. καὶ Κούριος μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ Σερουιλιανὸς τήν τε λείαν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀνέλαβε, καὶ πόλεις εἶλεν Εἰσκαδίαν τε καὶ Γέμελλαν καὶ Ὀβόλκολαν, φρουρουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐριάτθου, καὶ διήρπαζεν ἑτέρας, καὶ συνεγίγνωσκεν ἄλλαις· αἰχμάλωτα δ' ἔχων ἀμφὶ τὰ μύρια, πεντακοσίων μὲν ἀπέτεμε τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο. καὶ Κοννόβαν μέν τινα λῃσταρχον ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα λαβών, καὶ

observed this as he fled he rallied, slew about 3000 of the Romans, and drove the rest to their camp. He attacked the camp also, where only a few made a stand about the gates, the greater part hiding under their tents from fear, and being with difficulty brought back to their duty by the general and the tribunes. Here Fannius, the brother-in-law of Laelius, showed splendid bravery, and the Romans were saved by the approach of darkness. But Viriathus continued to make frequent incursions by night or in the heat of the day, appearing at every unexpected time with his light-armed troops and his swift horses to annoy the enemy, until he forced Servilianus back to Itucca. CHAP. XII

68. Then at length Viriathus, being in want of provisions, and his army much reduced, burnt his camp in the night and returned to Lusitania. Servilianus did not overtake him, but fell upon the country of Baeturia and plundered five towns which had sided with Viriathus. After this he marched against the Cunei, and thence to Lusitania once more against Viriathus. While he was on the march two captains of robbers, Curius and Apuleius, with 10,000 men, attacked the Romans, threw them into confusion, and captured their booty. Curius was killed in the fight, and Servilianus not long afterward recovered the booty and took the towns of Escadia, Gemella, and Obolcola, which had been garrisoned by Viriathus. Others he plundered and still others he spared. Having captured about 10,000 prisoners, he beheaded 500 of them and sold the rest as slaves. Having received the surrender of a captain of robbers, named Connoba, he spared him alone, but cut off the hands of all of his men.

CAP. XII φεισάμενος αὐτοῦ μόνου, 69. τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐχειροκόπησεν, Οὐρίαθον δὲ διώκων Ἐρισάνην αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Οὐρίαθος ἐσδραμὼν νυκτὸς ἅμα ἕῳ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι τὰ σκαφεῖα ῥίψαντες ἔφευγον. τήν τε ἄλλην στρατιάν, ἐκταχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλιανοῦ, τρεψάμενος ὁμοίως Οὐρίαθος ἐδίωκε, καὶ συνήλασεν ἐς κρημνούς, ὅθεν οὐκ ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διαφυγεῖν. Οὐρίαθος δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ νομίσας ἐν καλῷ θήσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ χάριτι λαμπρᾷ, συνετίθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρωσεν· Οὐρίαθον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλον, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ πάντας ἧς ἔχουσι γῆς ἄρχειν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Οὐριάθου πόλεμος ἐδόκει πεπαῦσθαι, χαλεπώτατός τε Ῥωμαίοις γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καταλυθείς. 70. οὐ μὴν ἐπέμεινεν οὐδ' ἐς βραχὺ τὰ συγκείμενα· ὁ γαρ ἀδελφὸς Σερουιλιανοῦ τοῦ ταῦτα συνθεμένου, Καιπίων, διάδοχος αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας γενόμενος διέβαλλε τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ ἐπέστελλε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπρεπεστάτας εἶναι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συνεχώρει κρύφα λυπεῖν τὸν Οὐρίαθον ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν· ὡς δ' αὖθις ἠνώχλει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπέστελλεν, ἔκρινε λῦσαί τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ φανερῶς πολεμεῖν αὖθις Οὐριάθῳ. ἐψηφισμένου δὴ σαφῶς, ὁ Καιπίων Ἄρσαν τε πόλιν ἐκλιπόντος Οὐριάθου παρέλαβε, καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐρίαθον φεύγοντά τε καὶ τὰ ἐν παρόδῳ φθείροντα περὶ Καρπηταυίαν κατέλαβε, πολὺ πλείονας ἔχων.

69. While following Viriathus, he invested Erisana, one of his towns. Viriathus entered the town by night, and at daybreak fell upon those who were working in the trenches, compelling them to throw away their spades and run. In like manner he defeated the rest of the army, which was drawn up in order of battle by Servilianus, pursued it, and drove the Romans against some cliffs, from whence there was no chance of escape. Viriathus was not arrogant in the hour of victory, but considering this a favourable opportunity of bringing the war to an end by a conspicuous act of generosity, he made an agreement with them, which was ratified by the Roman people. Viriathus was declared to be a friend of the Roman nation, and it was decreed that all of his followers should have the land which they then occupied. Thus the Viriathic war, which had been so extremely tedious to the Romans, seemed to have been brought to an end by this act of generosity.

CHAP XII

A treaty with Viriathus

70. The peace however did not last, even for a short time, for Caepio, brother of Servilianus who had concluded it, being his successor in the command complained of the treaty, and wrote home that it was most unworthy of the dignity of the Roman people. The Senate at first authorized him to annoy Viriathus according to his own discretion, provided it were done secretly, and, when he made further agitations, and continually sent letters, it decided to break off the treaty, and again declare open war against Viriathus. When war was definitely declared, Caepio took the town of Arsa, which Viriathus abandoned, and overtook Viriathus himself (who fled and destroyed everything in his path) in Carpetania, the Roman forces being much stronger than his.

B.C. 140

The treaty broken by the Roman

CAP. XII ὅθεν ὁ Οὐρίαθος οὐ δοκιμάζων αὐτῷ συμπλέκεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα, κατὰ μέν τινα φάραγγα ἀφανῆ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ περιέπεμψεν ἀπιέναι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐκτάξας ἐπὶ λοφου δόξαν παρεῖχε πολεμήσοντος. ὡς δ' ἤσθετο τῶν προαπεσταλμένων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονότων, ἐξέπεσεν ἐς αὐτοὺς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, ὀξέως οὕτως ὡς μηδ' αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς διώκοντας ὅποι διέδραμεν. ὁ δὲ Καιπίων ἐς Οὐέττωνας καὶ Καλλαϊκοὺς τραπεὶς τὰ ἐκείνων ἐδῄου.

71. Καὶ ζήλῳ τῶν ἔργων Οὐριάθου τὴν Λυσιτανίαν λῃστήρια πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέχοντα ἐπόρθει. Σέξτος δὲ Ἰούνιος Βροῦτος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφθεὶς ἀπέγνω μὲν αὐτὰ διώκειν διὰ χώρας μακρᾶς, ὅσην ὁ Τάγος τε καὶ Λήθης καὶ Δόριος καὶ Βαίτις ποταμοὶ ναυσίποροι περιέχουσιν, ὀξέως, οἷα δὴ λῃστήρια, μεθισταμένους δυσεργὲς ἡγούμενος εἶναι καταλαβεῖν, καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ καταλαβόντι, καὶ νικήσαντι τὸ ἔργον οὐ λαμπρόν· ἐς δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐτράπετο, δίκην τε λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πολὺ κέρδος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐς ἑκάστην ὡς πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν διαλυθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενος ἐδῄου τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα, συμμαχομένων τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ συναναιρουμένων, καὶ οὔ τινα φωνὴν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς σφαγαῖς ἀφιεισῶν. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη μεθ' ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπήδων· καὶ αὐτοῖς δεομένοις συνεγίγνωσκεν ὁ Βροῦτος, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἐμερίζετο.

Viriathus, therefore, deeming it unwise to engage in battle, on account of the smallness of his army, ordered the greater part of it to retreat through a hidden defile, while he drew up the remainder on a hill as though he intended to fight. When he judged that those who had been sent before had reached a place of safety, he darted after them with such disregard of the enemy and such swiftness that his pursuers did not know whither he had gone. Caepio turned against the Vettones and the Callaici and wasted their fields. CHAP. XII

71. Emulating the example of Viriathus many other guerilla bands made incursions into Lusitania and ravaged it. Sextus Junius Brutus, who was sent against them, despaired of following them through the extensive country bounded by the navigable rivers Tagus, Lethe, Durius, and Baetis, because he considered it extremely difficult to overtake them while they moved swiftly from place to place as free-booters do, and yet disgraceful to fail in doing so, while it was no very glorious task even if he should conquer them. He therefore turned against their towns, thinking that thus he should take vengeance on them, and at the same time secure a quantity of plunder for his army, and that the robbers would scatter, each to his own place, when their homes were threatened. With this design he began destroying everything that came in his way, the women fighting and perishing in company with the men, and dying without a cry. Some, however, of the inhabitants fled to the mountains with what they could carry, and to these, when they asked pardon, Brutus granted it, portioning out their goods. B.C. 138 S. Junius Brutus

CAP. XII

72. Καὶ τὸν Δόριον περάσας πολλὰ μὲν πολέμῳ κατέδραμε, πολλὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντων ὅμηρα αἰτήσας ἐπὶ Λήθην μετῆει, πρῶτος ὅδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπινοῶν τὸν ποταμὸν τόνδε διαβῆναι. περάσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε, καὶ μέχρι Νίμιος ἑτέρου ποταμοῦ προελθών, Βρακάρων αὐτῷ φερομένην ἀγοραν ἁρπασάντων ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρακάρους, οἵ εἰσιν ἔθνος μαχιμώτατον, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὡπλισμέναις καὶ οἵδε ἐμάχοντο, καὶ προθύμως ἔθνησκον, οὐκ ἐπιστρεφόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδείς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα δεικνύς, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἀφιέντες. ὅσαι δὲ κατήγοντο τῶν γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν αὐτὰς διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτόχειρες ἐγίνοντο, χαίρουσαι τῷ θανάτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων αἳ τότε μὲν τῷ Βρούτῳ προσετίθεντο, οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ἀφίσταντο. καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Βροῦτος κατεστρέφετο αὖθις.

73. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ταλάβριγα πόλιν ἐλθών, ἣ πολλάκις μὲν αὐτῷ συνετέθειτο, πολλάκις δὲ ἀποστᾶσα ἠνώχλει, παρακαλούντων αὐτὸν καὶ τότε τῶν Ταλαβρίγων καὶ διδόντων αὐτοὺς ἐς ὅ τι χρῄζοι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς αὐτομόλους Ῥωμαίων ᾔτει καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, καὶ ὅπλα ὅσα εἶχον, καὶ ὅμηρα ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σὺν παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέστησαν, τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς περιστήσας ἐδημηγόρει, καταλέγων ὁσάκις ἀποσταῖεν καὶ ὅσους πολέμους πολεμήσειαν αὐτῷ. φόβον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐμφήνας ἐργασομένου τι δεινόν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνειδῶν ἔληξε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ χρήματα ὅσα κοινὰ ἦν, ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλη δημοσία παρασκευή,

72. He then crossed the river Durius, carrying war far and wide and demanding many hostages from those who surrendered, until he came to the river Lethe, being the first of the Romans to think of crossing that stream. Passing over this he advanced to another river called the Nimis, where he attacked the Bracari because they had plundered his provision train. They are a very warlike people, and among them too the women bore arms with the men, who died with a will, not a man of them showing his back, or uttering a cry. Of the women who were captured some killed themselves, others slew their children also with their own hands, considering death preferable to captivity. There were some towns that surrendered to Brutus at the time, but soon afterwards revolted. These he reduced to subjection again.

Guerilla bands co-operate with Viriathus

73. One of the towns that often submitted and as often rebelled and gave him trouble was Talabriga. When Brutus moved against it the inhabitants, as usual, begged pardon and offered to surrender at discretion. He first demanded of them all the deserters, the prisoners, and the arms they had, and hostages in addition, and then he ordered them to vacate the town with their wives and children. When they had obeyed this order as well, he surrounded them with his army and made a speech to them, telling them how often they had revolted and renewed the war against him. Having inspired them with fear and with the belief that he was about to inflict some terrible punishment on them, he let the matter end in reproaches. Having deprived them of their horses, provisions, public money, and other general resources, he gave them back their

CAP. XII πάντα περιεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν αὖθις οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξ ἀέλπτου. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Βροῦτος ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῄει. καὶ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν Οὐριάθου γραφὴν συνήγαγον, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου ζῆλον ὑπὸ ληστηρίων ἄλλων ἀρξάμενα γίγνεσθαι.

74. Οὐρίαθος δὲ Καιπίωνι περὶ συμβάσεων τοὺς πιστοτάτους αὐτῷ φίλους ἐπέπεμπεν, Ἄὔδακα καὶ Διτάλκωνα καὶ Μίνουρον, οἳ διαφθαρέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καιπίωνος δώροις τε μεγάλοις καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ κτενεῖν τὸν Οὐρίαθον. καὶ ἔκτειναν ὧδε. ὀλιγοϋπνότατος ἦν διὰ φροντίδα καὶ πόνους ὁ Οὐρίαθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἔνοπλος ἀνεπαύετο, ἵνα ἐξεγρόμενος εὐθὺς ἐς πάντα ἕτοιμος εἴη. τοῖς οὖν φίλοις ἐξῆν καὶ νυκτερεύοντι ἐντυγχάνειν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔθει οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄὔδακα φυλάξαντες αὐτόν, ἀρχομένου ὕπνου παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ὡς δή τινος ἐπείγοντος, καὶ κεντοῦσιν ὡπλισμένον ἐς τὴν σφαγήν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλοθι. οὐδεμιᾶς δ᾽ αἰσθήσεως γενομένης διὰ τὴν τῆς πληγῆς εὐκαιρίαν, διέδρασαν ἐς Καιπίωνα καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ᾔτουν. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτίκα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ἀδεῶς ἔχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι, περὶ δὲ ὧν ᾔτουν, ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἔπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ θεραπευτῆρες Οὐριάθου καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά, γενομένης ἡμέρας, ἀναπαύεσθαι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον διὰ τὴν ἀήθειαν, μέχρι τινὲς ἔμαθον ὅτι νεκρὸς κέοιτο ἔνοπλος. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν οἰμωγή τε καὶ πένθος ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀλγούντων τε ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων, καὶ ἐνθυμου-

town to dwell in, contrary to their expectation. Having accomplished these results, Brutus returned to Rome. I have united these events with the history of Viriathus, because they were undertaken by other guerilla bands at the same time, and in emulation of him. CHAP. XII

74. Viriathus sent his most trusted friends Audax, Ditalco, and Minurus to Caepio to negotiate terms of peace. The latter bribed them by large gifts and promises to assassinate Viriathus, which they did in this way. Viriathus, on account of his excessive cares and labours, slept but little, and for the most part took rest in his armour so that when aroused he might be at once prepared for every emergency. For this reason it was permitted to his friends to visit him by night. Taking advantage of this custom, those who were associated with Audax watched their opportunity and entered his tent on the pretext of business, just as he had fallen asleep, and killed him by stabbing him in the throat, which was the only part of his body not protected by armour. The blow was so sure that nobody discovered what had been done, and the murderers escaped to Caepio and asked for the rest of their pay. For the present he gave them permission to enjoy safely what they had already received: as for their demands, he referred them to Rome. When daylight came the attendants of Viriathus and the remainder of the army thought he was still resting and wondered at his unusually long repose, until some of them discovered that he was lying dead in his armour. Straightway there was wailing and lamentation throughout the camp, all of them mourning for him and fearing for their own safety, thinking what B.C. 140 Viriathus assassinated

CAP. XII μένων ἐν οἵοις εἰσὶ κινδύνοις καὶ οἵου στρατηγοῦ στεροῦνται. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτούς, ὅτι τοὺς δράσαντας οὐχ ηὕρισκον, ὑπερήλγυνεν.

75. Οὐρίαθον μὲν δὴ λαμπρότατα κοσμήσαντες ἐπὶ ὑψηλοτάτης πυρᾶς ἔκαιον, ἱερεῖά τε πολλὰ ἐπέσφαττον αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ ἴλας οἵ τε πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθέοντες αὐτὸν ἔνοπλοι βαρβαρικῶς ἐπήνουν, μέχρι τε σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ παρεκάθηντο πάντες ἀμφ' αὐτό. καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐκτελεσθείσης, ἀγῶνα μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ πόθον κατέλιπεν Οὐρίαθος, ἀρχικώτατος μὲν ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις γενόμενος, φιλοκινδυνότατος δ' ἐς ἅπαντα πρὸ ἁπάντων, καὶ ἰσομοιρότατος ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πλέον ὑπέστη λαβεῖν, ἀεὶ παρακαλούντων· ὃ δὲ καὶ λάβοι, τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ, δυσχερέστατον ἔργον καὶ οὐδενί πω στρατηγῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐγγενόμενον, ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παμμιγὴς στρατὸς ἀστασίαστος ἦν καὶ κατήκοος ἀεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ὀξύτατος. τότε δὲ σφῶν Τάνταλον ἑλόμενοι στρατηγεῖν, ἐπὶ Ζάκανθαν ἐφέροντο, ἣν Ἀννίβας καθελὼν ἔκτισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος Καρχηδόνα προσεῖπεν. ἀποκρουσθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν περῶσιν, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπέκειτο, μέχρι κάμνων ὁ Τάνταλος αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ Καιπίωνι

dangers they were in, and of what a general they had been bereft. And what pained them most of all was that they could not find the perpetrators of the crime. CHAP. XII

75. They arrayed the body of Viriathus in splendid garments and burned it on a lofty funeral pile. Many sacrifices were offered for him. The infantry and cavalry ran in troops around him, in armour, singing his praises in barbarian fashion, and they all sat round the pyre until the fire had gone out. When the obsequies were ended, they had gladiatorial contests at his tomb. So great was the longing which Viriathus left behind him—a man who, for a barbarian, had the highest qualities of a commander, and was always foremost in facing danger and most exact in dividing the spoils. He never consented to take the lion's share, although always asked to do so, and even the share which he did receive he divided among the bravest. Thus it came about (a most difficult task and one never achieved easily by any commander) that in the eight years of this war, in an army composed of various tribes, there never was any sedition, and the soldiers were always obedient and ready for danger. After his death they chose a general named Tantalus and made an expedition against Saguntum, the city which Hannibal had overthrown and re-established and named New Carthage,[1] after his own country. When they had been repulsed from that place and were crossing the river Baetis, Caepio pressed them so hard that Tantalus became exhausted and surrendered himself and his army to Caepio on condition that they should be treated as subjects. The latter took from them all their arms and gave them Character of Viriathus

[1] See note on p. 157.

CAP. XII παρέδωκεν ὡς ὑπηκόοις χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὅπλα τε αὐτοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα, καὶ γῆν ἔδωκεν ἱκανήν, ἵνα μὴ λῃστεύοιεν ἐξ ἀπορίας.

XIII

CAP. XIII 76. Ἐπάνεισι δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀρουακῶν καὶ Νομαντίνων πόλεμον ἡ γραφή, οὓς Οὐρίαθος μὲν ἠρέθισεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, Καικίλιος δ' αὐτοῖς Μέτελλος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς μετὰ πλέονος στρατοῦ Ἀρουακοὺς μὲν ἐχειρώσατο, σὺν ἐκπλήξει καὶ τάχει θερίζουσιν ἐμπίπτων, Τερμεντία δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Νομαντία ἔτι ἔλειπον. ἦν δ' ἡ Νομαντία ποταμοῖς δύο καὶ φάραγξιν ἀπόκρημνος, ὕλαί τε αὐτῆ πυκναὶ περιέκειντο, καὶ μία κάθοδος ἦν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἣ τάφρων ἐπεπλήρωτο καὶ στηλῶν. αὐτοὶ δ' ἦσαν ἄριστοι μὲν ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοί, πάντες δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τοσοίδε ὄντες ὅμως ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἐς μέγα ἠνώχλησαν τὰ Ῥωμαίων. Μέτελλος μὲν δὴ μετὰ χειμῶνα τὴν στρατιὰν Κοΐντῳ Πομπηίῳ [Αὔλῳ] διαδόχῳ τῆς στρατηγίας οἱ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε, τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένους, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῇ Νομαντίᾳ παραστρατοπεδεύων ᾤχετό ποι, καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῦ μεταθέοντας αὐτὸν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ἔκτειναν. ἐπανελθὼν οὖν παρέτασσεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ οἱ Νομαντῖνοι καταβάντες ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγοντες, μέχρι ταῖς στήλαις καὶ φάραγξιν ὁ Πομπήιος . . .

sufficient land, so that they should not be driven to robbery by want. In this way the Viriathic war came to an end. CHAP. XII

XIII

76. Our history returns to the war against the Arevaci and the Numantines, whom Viriathus stirred up to revolt. Caecilius Metellus was sent against them from Rome with a larger army, and he subdued the Arevaci, falling upon them with alarming suddenness while they were gathering their crops. There still remained the two towns of Termantia and Numantia to engage his attention. Numantia was difficult of access by reason of the two rivers and the ravines and dense woods that surrounded it. There was only one road to the open country and that had been blocked by ditches and palisades. The men were first-rate soldiers, both horse and foot, although their numbers in all were only about 8000. Although so few, they gave the Romans great trouble by their bravery. At the end of winter Metellus surrendered to his successor, Quintus Pompeius Aulus, the command of the army, consisting of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse, all admirably trained. While encamped against Numantia, Pompeius had occasion to go away somewhere. The Numantines made a sally against a body of his horse that was ranging after him and destroyed them. He therefore returned and drew up his army in the plain. The Numantines came down to meet him, but retired slowly as though intending flight, until they had drawn Pompeius to the ditches and palisades.

CHAP. XIII

B.C. 143

The Numantine War

Pompeius lays siege to Numantia

CAP. XIII

77. Καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐλασσούμενος ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ ἐλασσόνων, μετέβαινεν ἐπὶ Τερμεντίαν ὡς εὐχερέστερον ἔργον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇδε συμβαλὼν ἑπτακοσίους τε ἀπώλεσε, καὶ τὸν τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῷ φέροντα χιλίαρχον οἱ Τερμεντεῖς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τρίτῃ πείρᾳ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐς ἀπόκρημνα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους συνελάσαντες πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας αὐτοῖς ἵπποις κατέωσαν ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, περιφόβως ἔχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ διενυκτέρευον ἔνοπλοι, καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκταξάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἠγωνίζοντο ἀγχωμάλως, καὶ διεκρίθησαν ὑπὸ νυκτός. ὅθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ πολίχνης Μαλίας ἥλασεν, ἣν ἐφρούρουν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι. καὶ οἱ Μαλιεῖς τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀνελόντες ἐξ ἐνέδρας, παρέδοσαν τὸ πολίχνιον τῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅμηρα αἰτήσας, μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σηδητανίαν, ἣν ἐδήου λῃσταρχος ὄνομα Ταγγῖνος· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐνίκα, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν φρονήματος ἐν τοῖς λῃσταῖς ὥστε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμεινε δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς οἱ δὲ τοὺς πριαμένους ἀνῄρουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ διετίτρων.

78. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ποταμόν τινα μετωχέτευεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς λιμῷ πιέσων τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ τε ἐπέκειντο, καὶ σαλπικτῶν χωρὶς ἐκτρέχοντες ἀθρόοι τοὺς ὀχετεύοντας ἠνώχλουν. ἔβαλλον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβοηθοῦντας, ἕως κατέκλεισαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ σιτολογοῦσιν ἑτέροις ἐπι-

77. When he saw his forces defeated day by day in skirmishes with an enemy much inferior in numbers, he moved against Termantia as being an easier task. Here too he engaged the enemy and lost 700 men; and one of his tribunes, who was bringing provisions to his army, was put to flight by the Termantines. In a third engagement the same day they drove the Romans into a rocky place where many of their infantry and cavalry with their horses were forced down a precipice. The remainder, panic-stricken, passed the night under arms. At daybreak the enemy came out and a regular battle was fought which lasted all day with equal fortune. Night put an end to the conflict. Thence Pompeius marched against a small town named Malia, which was garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants slew the garrison by treachery and delivered the town to Pompeius. He required them to surrender their arms and give hostages, after which he moved to Sedetania, which a robber chief named Tanginus was plundering. Pompeius overcame him and took many of his men prisoners. So high-spirited were these robbers that none of the captives would endure servitude. Some killed themselves, others killed those who had bought them, and others scuttled the ships that carried them away. CHAP. XIII B.C. 141

78. Pompeius, coming back to the siege of Numantia, endeavoured to turn the course of a certain river into the plain in order to reduce the city by famine. But the inhabitants harassed him while he was doing his work. They rushed out in crowds without any trumpet signal, and assaulted those who were working on the river, and even hurled darts at those who came to their assistance B.C. 140

CAP. XIII δραμόντες καὶ τῶνδε πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, Ὀππιόν τε χιλίαρχον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλον. καὶ κατ' ἄλλο μέρος τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν ἐς τετρακοσίους, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς τῷ τε Πομπηΐῳ σύμβουλοι παρῆσαν ἐκ Ῥώμης, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις (ἐξ γὰρ ἔτη διεληλύθει στρατευομένοις) διάδοχοι νεοκατάγραφοί τε καὶ ἔτι ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος αἰδούμενός τε τὰ ἐπταισμένα, καὶ ἐπειγόμενος τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀναλαβεῖν, ἐπέμενε χειμῶνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κρύους τε ὄντος ἐν ἀστέγῳ σταθμεύοντες, καὶ πρῶτον ἄρτι πειρώμενοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν χώραν ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, κατὰ γαστέρα ἔκαμνον, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἔνιοι. μέρους δὲ ἐπὶ σῖτον οἰχομένου, κρύψαντες ἐνέδραν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐρεθίζοντες, ἕως οἱ μὲν οὐ φέροντες ἐπεξῆσαν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀνίσταντο· καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι καὶ τοῖς τὸν σῖτον φέρουσιν ἀπαντήσαντες ἔκτειναν καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς.

79. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τοσοῖσδε συνενεχθεὶς κακοῖς ἐς τὰς πόλεις μετὰ τῶν συμβούλων ἀνεζεύγνυ, χειμάσων τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, τοῦ ἦρος προσδοκῶν ἥξειν οἱ διάδοχον. καὶ δεδιὼς κατηγορίαν, ἔπρασσεν ἐς τοὺς Νομαντίνους κρύφα τοῦ πολέμου διαλύσεις. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ κάμνοντες ἤδη φόνῳ τε πολλῷ ἀρίστων καὶ γῆς ἀργίᾳ καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου, μακροῦ

from the camp, and finally shut the Romans up in their own fortification. They also attacked some foragers and killed many of these also, and among them Oppius, a military tribune. They made an assault in another quarter on a party of Romans who were digging a ditch, and killed about 400 of them including their leader. After this certain counsellors came to Pompeius from Rome, together with an army of new recruits, still raw and undisciplined, to take the places of his soldiers, who had served six years. Pompeius, being ashamed of his disasters, and desiring to wipe out the disgrace, remained in camp in the winter time with these raw recruits. The soldiers, being exposed to severe cold without shelter, and unaccustomed to the water and climate of the country, fell sick with dysentery and some died. A detachment having gone out for forage, the Numantines laid an ambuscade quite near the Roman camp and provoked them with showers of missiles, until the Romans, losing patience, sallied out against them. Then those who were in ambush sprang up, and many officers and privates lost their lives. Finally the Numantines encountered the foraging party on its return and killed many of those also. CHAP. XIII

79. Pompeius, having met with so many misfortunes, marched away with his senatorial council to the towns to spend the rest of the winter, expecting a successor to come early in the spring. Fearing lest he should be called to account, he made overtures to the Numantines secretly for the purpose of bringing the war to an end. The Numantines on their side, being exhausted by the slaughter of many of their bravest men, by the loss

CAP. XIII παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ἐπρέσβευον ἐς Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν (οὐ γὰρ εἰδέναι σύνθήκας ἑτέρας Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας), λάθρᾳ δ' ὑπισχνεῖτο ἃ ἔμελλε ποιήσειν. καὶ συνθεμένων ἐκείνων καὶ ἐπιτρεψάντων ἑαυτούς, ὅμηρά τε καὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἤτησε καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, καὶ πάντα ἔλαβεν. ἤτησε δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριάκοντα· ὧν μέρος αὐτίκα ἔδοσαν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνέμενεν, παραγενομένου δ' αὐτῷ διαδόχου Μάρκου Ποπιλίου Λαίνα, οἱ μὲν ἔφερον τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων, ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος μὲν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δέους τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν διάδοχον, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας εἰδὼς αἰσχράς τε καὶ ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων γενομένας, ἠρνεῖτο μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἤλεγχον ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς τότε παρατυχοῦσιν ἀπό τε βουλῆς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ χιλιάρχοις αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου, ὁ δὲ Ποπίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε δικασομένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ. κρίσεως δ' ἐν τῇ βουλῇ γενομένης, Νομαντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, τῇ βουλῇ δ' ἔδοξε πολεμεῖν Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς γείτονας αὐτῶν Λούσονας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐργασάμενος (ἦκε γὰρ αὐτῷ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Ὀστίλιος Μαγκῖνος) ἀνέζευξεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

80. Ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος τοῖς Νομαντίνοις συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶτό τε πολλάκις, καὶ τέλος ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔφυγεν. λόγου δὲ ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος ὅτι Νομαντίνοις ἔρχονται βοηθοῦντες Κάνταβροί τε καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι, δείσας

of their crops, by want of food, and by the length of the war, which had been protracted beyond expectation, also sent legates to Pompeius. He publicly advised them to surrender at discretion, saying that he knew of no other terms worthy of the Roman people, but privately he promised them what he would do. When they agreed and surrendered unconditionally, he demanded and received from them hostages, together with the prisoners and deserters. He also demanded thirty talents of silver, a part of which they paid down, while he agreed to wait for the rest. His successor, Marcus Popillius Laena, had arrived when they brought the last instalment. Pompeius being no longer under any apprehension concerning the war, since his successor was present, and knowing that he had made a disgraceful peace and without authority from Rome, began to deny that he had come to any understanding with the Numantines. They proved the contrary by witnesses who had been present at the transaction, senators, and his own prefects of horse and military tribunes. Popillius sent them to Rome to carry on the controversy with Pompeius there. The case was brought before the Senate, and the Numantines and Pompeius contested it there. The Senate decided to continue the war. Thereupon Popillius attacked the Lusones who were neighbours of the Numantines, but having accomplished nothing (for his successor in office, Hostilius Mancinus, arrived) he returned to Rome.

CHAP. XIII

He makes a treaty with the Numantines

B.C. 139

The Senate repudiates it

80. Mancinus had frequent encounters with the Numantines in which he was worsted, and finally, after great loss, took refuge in his camp. On a false rumour that the Cantabri and Vaccaei were

B.C. 137

CAP. XIII ἄπυρον τὴν νύκτα διήγαγεν ὅλην ἐν σκότῳ, φεύγων ἐς ἔρημον τὸ Νωβελίωνός ποτε χαράκωμα. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς αὐτὸ συγκλεισθεὶς οὔτε κατεσκευασμένον οὔτε ὠχυρωμένον, περισχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Νομαντίνων, καὶ πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν ἀπειλούντων εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο εἰρήνην, συνέθετο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Νομαντίνοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει πυθόμενοι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχίσταις πάνυ σπονδαῖς, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέπεμπον, Μαγκῖνον δ' ἀνεκάλουν ἐς κρίσιν. καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἔσποντο πρέσβεις Νομαντίνων· ὁ δὲ Αἰμίλιος, ἀναμένων καὶ ὅδε τὰς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐ φέρων (ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ δόξαν ἢ κέρδος ἢ θριάμβου φιλοτιμίαν ἐξήεσάν τινες ἐς τὰς στρατηγίας, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον), Οὐακκαίων κατεψεύδετο ὡς ἀγορὰν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Νομαντίνοις παρασχόντων, καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κατέτρεχε, Παλλαντίαν τε πόλιν, ἣ μεγίστη Οὐακκαίων ἐστίν, οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτοῦσαν ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Βροῦτον ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπεσταλμένον, ὥς μοι προείρηται, κηδεστὴν ὄντα οἱ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου μετασχεῖν ἔπεισεν.

81. Κατέλαβον δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεις Κίννας τε καὶ Καικίλιος, οἳ τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἀπορεῖν εἰ τοσῶνδε πταισμάτων σφίσιν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων ὁ Αἰμίλιος πόλεμον ἕτερον ἀρεῖται, καὶ ψήφισμα ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ προαγορεῦον Αἰμίλιον Οὐακκαίοις μὴ πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀρξάμενός τε ἤδη

coming to the aid of the Numantines, he became alarmed, extinguished his fires, and spent the whole night in darkness, fleeing to a desert place where Nobilior once had his camp. Being shut up in this place at daybreak without preparation or fortification, and surrounded by Numantines, who threatened all with death unless he made peace, he agreed to do so on terms of equality between the Romans and Numantines. To this agreement he bound himself by an oath. But when these things were known at Rome there was great indignation at this most ignominious treaty, and the other consul, Aemilius Lepidus, was sent to Spain, Mancinus being called home to stand trial. Numantine ambassadors followed him thither; but Aemilius, becoming tired of idleness while he too awaited the decision from Rome (for some men took the command, not for the advantage of the city, but for glory, or gain, or the honour of a triumph), falsely accused the Vaccaei of supplying the Numantines with provisions during the war. Accordingly he ravaged their country and laid siege to their principal city, Pallantia, which had in no way violated the treaty, and he persuaded Brutus, his kinsman by marriage, who had been sent to Farther Spain (as I have before related), to join him in this undertaking.

CHAP. XIII

Mancinus makes a fresh treaty

81. Here they were overtaken by Cinna and Caecilius, messengers from Rome, who said that the Senate was at a loss to know why, after so many disasters had befallen them in Spain, Aemilius should be seeking a new war, and they placed in his hands a decree warning him not to attack the Vaccaei. But he, having actually begun the war,

B.C. 136

CAP. XIII τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν ἡγούμενος, ἀγνοεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ Βροῦτος αὐτῷ συνεπιλαμβάνει καὶ σῖτον καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν Οὐακκαῖοι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις παρέσχον, ἔσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάζευξιν τοῦ πολέμου φοβερὰν ὑπολαβών, καὶ σχεδὸν Ἰβηρίας ὅλης διάλυσιν, εἰ καταφρονήσειαν ὡς δεδιότων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἀπράκτους ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὀχυρωσάμενος φρούριον, μηχανὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συνεπήγνυτο καὶ σῖτον συνέφερεν. Φλάκκος δ' αὐτῷ σιτολογῶν, ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης, εὐμηχάνως διέδωκεν ὅτι Παλλαντίαν ἐξεῖλεν Αἰμίλιος· καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ συναλαλάξαντος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, πυθόμενοι τούτων οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν. Φλάκκος μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀγορὰν κινδυνεύουσαν ὧδε περιέσωζε.

82. Μακρᾷς δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλλαντίᾳ πολιορκίας οὔσης αἱ τροφαὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπέλειπον, καὶ λιμὸς ἥπτετο αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα ἔφθαρτο, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀπέθνησκον. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δέ, Αἰμίλιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, ἐς μὲν πολὺ διεκαρτέρουν, ἡσσώμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νυκτὸς ἄφνω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακὴν ἐκέλευον ἀναζευγνύναι· χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ περιθέοντες ἐπέσπευδον ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο πρὸ ἕω. οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπέλιπον, συμπλεκομένους τε σφίσι καὶ δεομένους. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀτάκτου καὶ θορυβώδους τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως γιγνομένης καὶ

Aemilius Paulus makes war contrary to the orders of the Senate

thought that the Senate was ignorant of that, and of the fact that Brutus was co-operating with him, and that the Vaccaei had aided the Numantines with provisions, money, and men. Further, he considered that to abandon the war would in itself be dangerous, and would practically involve the breaking away of all Spain, if the Spaniards despised the Romans for cowards. He therefore sent Cinna's party home without having accomplished their errand, and wrote almost in the above words to the Senate. After this he began to construct engines and to collect provisions in a place which he fortified. While he was thus engaged, Flaccus, who had been sent out on a foraging expedition, found himself in an ambuscade, but adroitly spread a rumour among his men that Aemilius had captured Pallantia. The soldiers raised a shout of victory. The barbarians, hearing it and thinking that the report was true, withdrew. In this way Flaccus rescued his convoy from danger.

82. The siege of Pallantia being long protracted, the food supply of the Romans failed, and they began to suffer from hunger. All their animals perished and many of the men died of want. The generals, Aemilius and Brutus, kept heart for a long time, but being compelled to yield at last, they gave an order suddenly one night, about the last watch, to retreat. The tribunes and centurions ran hither and thither to hasten the movement, so as to get them all away before daylight. Such was the confusion that they left behind everything, and even the sick and wounded, who clung to them and besought them not to abandon them. Their retreat was disorderly and confused and much like a flight,

CAP. XIII φυγῇ μάλιστα ὁμοίας, οἱ Παλλάντιοι πανταχόθεν ἐπικείμενοι πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ ἑσπέραν. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἀνὰ μέρος, ὡς τύχοιεν, ἄσιτοι τε καὶ κατάκοποι, οἱ δὲ Παλλάντιοι θεοῦ σφᾶς ἀποτρέποντος ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Αἰμίλιον.

83. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὰ πυθόμενοι τὸν μὲν Αἰμίλιον. παρέλυσαν τῆς στρατηγίας τε καὶ ὑπατείας, καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπέστρεφε, καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπεζημιοῦτο· Μαγκίνῳ δ' ἐδίκαζον καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς Νομαντίνων. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰς συνθήκας, ἃς ἐπεποίηντο πρὸς Μαγκῖνον, ἐπεδείκνυον· ὁ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶν ἐς Πομπήιον ἀνέφερε τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον στρατηγόν, ὡς ἀργὸν καὶ ἄπορον τὸν στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ κἀκεῖνον ἠσσημένον τε πολλάκις καὶ συνθήκας ὁμοίας αὐτῷ θέμενον πρὸς τοὺς Νομαντίνους· ὅθεν ἔφη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε, παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκείνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐψηφισμένον, ἀπαίσιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι. οἱ δ' ἐχαλέπαινον μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως, ἀπέφυγε δ' ὅμως Πομπήιος ὡς περὶ τῶνδε κριθεὶς καὶ πάλαι. Μαγκῖνον δ' ἔγνωσαν ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, ἄνευ σφῶν αἰσχρὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένον, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Σαυνίταις οἱ πατέρες, ὅμοια χωρὶς αὐτῶν συνθεμένους, ἡγεμόνας εἴκοσιν ἐξεδεδώκεσαν. Μαγκῖνον μὲν δὴ Φούριος ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν γυμνὸν παρεδίδου τοῖς Νομαντίνοις· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. στρατηγὸς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς αἱρεθεὶς Καλπούρνιος Πίσων οὐδ' ἤλασεν ἐπὶ Νομαντίαν, ἀλλ'

the Pallantines hanging on their flanks and rear and doing great damage from early dawn till evening. When night came the Romans, hungry and exhausted, threw themselves on the ground in groups, wherever they were, and the Pallantines, moved by some divine interposition, went back to their own country. And this was what happened to Aemilius. CHAP. XIII

83. When these things were known at Rome, Aemilius was deprived of his command and consulship, and when he returned to Rome as a private citizen he was fined besides. The dispute before the Senate between Mancinus and the Numantine ambassadors was still going on. The latter exhibited the treaty they had made with Mancinus; he, on the other hand, put the responsibility for the treaty on Pompeius, his predecessor in the command, who, he said, had handed over to him a lazy and ill-provided army, owing to which Pompeius himself had often been beaten, and so had made a similar treaty with the Numantines. Consequently the war had been waged under bad omens, for it had been decreed by the Romans in violation of these agreements. The senators were equally incensed against both, but Pompeius escaped on the ground that he had been tried for this offence long before. They decided, however, to deliver Mancinus to the Numantines for making a disgraceful treaty without their authorization. In this they followed the example of their fathers, who once delivered to the Samnites twenty generals who had made a similar treaty without authority. Mancinus was taken to Spain by Furius, and delivered naked to the Numantines, but they refused to receive him. Calpurnius Piso was chosen general against them, but he did not even

The Senate repudiates the treaty of Mancinus

B.C. 135

CAP. XIII ἐς τὴν Παλλαντίων γῆν ἐσβαλών, καὶ μικρὰ δῃώσας, ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καρπητανίᾳ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἀρχῆς.

XIV

CAP. XIV 84. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ κάμνων ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις, μακροῦ καὶ δυσχεροῦς τοῦ πολέμου σφίσι παρὰ προσδοκίαν γεγονότος, ᾑροῦντο Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδόνα ἑλόντα αὖθις ὑπατεύειν, ὡς μόνον ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν Νομαντίνων δυνάμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε ἦν ἔτι νεώτερος τῆς νενομισμένης τοῖς ὑπατεύουσιν ἡλικίας· ἡ οὖν βουλὴ πάλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοῦ χειροτονουμένου Σκιπίωνος, ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς δημάρχους λῦσαι τὸν περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας νόμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους αὖθις θέσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ὑπατεύων ἐς Νομαντίαν ἠπείγετο, στρατιὰν δ' ἐκ καταλόγου μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πολλῶν τε πολέμων ὄντων καὶ πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐθελοντὰς δέ τινας, ἔκ τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἐς χάριν ἰδίαν πεμφθέντας αὐτῷ, συγχωρούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐπηγάγετο, καὶ πελάτας ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ φίλους πεντακοσίους, οὓς ἐς ἴλην καταλέξας ἐκάλει φίλων ἴλην. πάντας δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους γενομένους παραδοὺς ἄγειν ἀδελφιδῷ Βουτέωνι, σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς προεξώρμησεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸ γέμειν ἀργίας καὶ στάσεων καὶ τρυφῆς, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι μὴ κρατήσει πολεμίων πρὶν κατασχεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκρατῶς.

march against Numantia. He made an incursion into the territory of Pallantia, and having collected a small amount of plunder, spent the rest of his term of office in winter quarters in Carpetania. CHAP. XIII

XIV

84. The Roman people being tired of this Numantine war, which was protracted and severe beyond expectation, elected Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Carthage, consul again, believing that he was the only man who could subdue the Numantines. As he was still under the consular age the Senate voted, as was done when this same Scipio was appointed general against the Carthaginians, that the tribunes of the people should repeal the law respecting the age limit, and reenact it the following year. Thus Scipio was made consul a second time and hastened to Numantia. He did not take any army from the active-service-list, because many wars were being waged at the time, and because there were plenty of soldiers in Spain; but with the Senate's consent he took a certain number of volunteers sent to him by cities and kings on the score of private friendship. To these were added 500 of his clients and friends, whom he joined in one body and called it the troop of friends. All these, about 4000 in number, he put under marching orders in charge of Buteo, his nephew, while he himself went in advance with a small escort to the army in Spain, having heard that it was full of idleness, discord, and luxury, and well knowing that he could never overcome the enemy unless he should first bring his own men under strict discipline. CHAP. XIV

B.C. 134 Scipio Africanus the Younger sent against the Numantines

CAP. XIV 85. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐμπόρους τε πάντας ἐξήλαυνε καὶ ἑταίρας καὶ μάντεις καὶ θύτας, οἷς διὰ τὰς δυσπραξίας οἱ στρατιῶται περιδεεῖς γεγονότες ἐχρῶντο συνεχῶς· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπε μηδὲν ἐσφέρεσθαι τῶν περισσῶν, μηδὲ ἱερεῖον ἐς μαντείαν πεποιημένον. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας καὶ τὰ περισσὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτὰς τιθεμένων καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, χωρὶς ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπελείπετο, πραθῆναι. καὶ σκεῦος οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐς δίαιταν ἔχειν οὐδενὶ πλὴν ὀβελοῦ καὶ χύτρας χαλκῆς καὶ ἐκπώματός ἑνός. τά τε σιτία αὐτοῖς ὥριστο κρέα ζεστὰ καὶ ὀπτὰ εἶναι. κλίνας τε ἀπεῖπεν ἔχειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ στιβάδων ἀνεπαύετο. ἀπεῖπε δὲ καὶ ὀδεύοντας ἡμιόνοις ἐπικαθέζεσθαι· τί γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ προσδοκᾶν ἔφη παρ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ βαδίζειν δυναμένου; κἀν τοῖς ἀλείμμασι καὶ λουτροῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἤλειφον, ἐπισκώπτοντος τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὡς αἱ ἡμίονοι χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχουσαι χρήζουσι τριβόντων. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς σωφροσύνην μετέβαλλεν ἀθρόως, εἴθιζε δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰδῶ καὶ φόβον, δυσπρόσιτος ὢν καὶ δυσχερὴς ἐς τὰς χάριτας, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρανόμους. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις τοὺς μὲν αὐστηροὺς καὶ ἐννόμους τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῖς οἰκείοις, τοὺς δὲ εὐχερεῖς καὶ φιλοδώρους τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι χρησίμους· τὰ γὰρ στρατόπεδα τοῖς μὲν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα τε καὶ καταφρονητικά, τοῖς δὲ σκυθρωπὰ μὲν εὐπειθῆ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἕτοιμα.

86. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσαι πόνοις πολλοῖς. τὰ οὖν ἀγχοτάτω πεδία πάντα περιιών, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας,

85. When he arrived he expelled all traders and harlots; also the soothsayers and diviners, whom the soldiers were continually consulting because they were demoralized by defeat. For the future he forbade the bringing in of anything not necessary, even a victim for purposes of divination. He also ordered all wagons and their superfluous contents to be sold, and all pack animals, except such as he himself permitted to remain. For cooking utensils it was only permitted to have a spit, a brass kettle, and one cup. Their food was limited to plain boiled and roasted meats. They were forbidden to have beds, and Scipio was the first to sleep on straw. He forbade them to ride on mules when on the march; "for what can you expect in a war," said he, "from a man who is not even able to walk?" They had to bathe and anoint themselves without assistance, Scipio saying sarcastically that only mules, having no hands, needed others to rub them. Thus in a short time he brought them back to good order. He accustomed them also to respect and fear him by being difficult of access and sparing of favours, especially favours contrary to regulations. He often said that those generals who were severe and strict in the observance of law were serviceable to their own men, while those who were easy-going and bountiful were useful only to the enemy. The soldiers of the latter, he said, were joyous but insubordinate, while those of the former although downcast, were obedient and ready for all emergencies.

He restores discipline in the army

86. In spite of all this he did not venture to engage the enemy until he had trained his men by many laborious exercises. He traversed all the

His maxims of war

CAP. XIV ἄλλο μετ' ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἤγειρέ τε καὶ καθῆρει, καὶ τάφρους ὤρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα ᾠκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐς ἑσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. τὰς δὲ ὁδοιπορίας, ἵνα μή τις ὡς πάλαι διασκιδνῷτο, ἦγεν ἐν πλινθίοις ἀεί, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην ἑκάστῳ τάξιν οὐκ ἦν ἐναλλάξαι. περιιών τε τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ οὐραγῶν, τοὺς μὲν ἀρρωστοῦντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνεβίβαζεν ἀντὶ τῶν ἱππέων, τὰ δὲ βαροῦντα τὰς ἡμιόνους ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς διεμέριζεν. εἰ δὲ σταθμεύοι, τοὺς μὲν προφύλακας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔδει περὶ τὸν χάρακα ἵστασθαι, καὶ ἱππέων ἑτέραν ἴλην περιτρέχειν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὰ ἔργα διῄρηντο, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ταφρεύειν ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς δὲ τειχίζειν, τοῖς δὲ σκηνοποιεῖν, χρόνου τε μῆκος ὡρίζετο αὐτοῖς καὶ διεμετρεῖτο.

87. Ὅτε δ' εἴκασεν ὀξὺ καὶ εὐπειθὲς αὐτῷ καὶ φερέπονον γεγονέναι τὸ στράτευμα, μετέβαινεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Νομαντίνων. προφυλακὰς δέ, ὥσπερ τινές, ἐπὶ φρουρίων οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο· οὐδὲ διῄρει ποι τὸν στρατὸν ὅλως, τοῦ μὴ τινὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ γενομένου παίσματος εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ τέως καταφρονοῦσιν. οὐδ' ἐπεχείρει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἔτι περισκοπῶν αὐτόν τε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν Νομαντίνων ὁρμήν, ἐς ὅ τι τρέψοιντο. τὰ δὲ ὀπίσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντα ἐχορτολόγει, καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἔκειρεν ἔτι χλωρόν. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα

neighbouring plains and daily fortified new camps one after another, and then demolished them, dug deep trenches and filled them up again, constructed high walls and overthrew them, personally overlooking the work from morning till night. In order to prevent the men from straggling while on the march, as heretofore, he always moved in the form of oblongs, and no one was allowed to change the place assigned to him. Moving around the line of march he often visited the rear and caused horsemen to dismount and give their places to the sick, and when the mules were overburdened he made the foot soldiers carry a part of the load. When he pitched camp he required those who had formed the vanguard during the day to deploy after the march around the camping-place, and a body of horse to scour the country, while the rest performed their allotted tasks, some digging the trench, others building the rampart, and others pitching the tents. He also fixed and mapped out the time within which these tasks must be finished. CHAP. XIV

87. When he judged that the army was alert, obedient to himself, and patient in labour, he moved his camp near to Numantia. He did not place advance guards in fortified stations, as some do, nor, in fact, did he divide his army in any way, lest he should meet some disaster at the outset and gain the contempt of the enemy, who already despised the Romans. Nor did he attack the enemy, because he was still studying the nature of this war, watching the opportunities which it offered, and trying to discover the plans of the Numantines. In the meantime he foraged through all the fields behind his camp and cut down the still unripe grain.

CAP. XIV ἐξετεθέριστο καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔδει βαδίζειν, ὁδὸς μὲν ἦν παρὰ τὴν Νομαντίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πεδία σύντομος, καὶ πολλοὶ συνεβούλευον ἐς αὐτὴν τραπέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδιέναι, κούφων μὲν τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμωμένων καὶ ἐς πόλιν ἀφορμώντων· "οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι βαρεῖς ἐπανίασιν ὡς ἀπὸ σιτολογίας καὶ κατάκοποι, καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἁμάξας καὶ φορτία ἄγουσιν. δυσχερής τε ὅλως καὶ ἀνόμοιος ὁ ἀγών· ἡσσωμένοις μὲν γὰρ πολὺς ὁ κίνδυνος, νικῶσι δὲ οὐ μέγα τὸ ἔργον, οὐδ' ἐπικερδές." εἶναι δ' ἄλογον κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ ὀλίγοις, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀμελῆ τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον πρὸ τῆς χρείας, ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν μόναις παρακινδυνεύοντα ταῖς ἀνάγκαις. συγκρίνων δ' ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τομαῖς μηδὲ καύσεσι πρὸ φαρμάκων. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τὴν μακροτέραν περιάγειν. καὶ συνεξῄει τότε μὲν ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὕστερον δὲ ἐς τὰ Οὐακκαίων, ὅθεν οἱ Νομαντῖνοι τὰς τροφὰς ἐωνοῦντο, κείρων ἅπαντα, καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ἐς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τροφὰς συλλέγων, τὰ δὲ περιττὰ σωρεύων τε καὶ κατακαίων.

88. Ἐν δέ τινι πεδίῳ τῆς Παλλαντιας, ὄνομα Κοπλανίῳ, πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπὸ λόφοις ἔκρυψαν οἱ Παλλάντιοι, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐς τὸ φανερὸν τοὺς σιτολογοῦντας ἠνώχλουν. ὁ δὲ Ῥουτίλιον Ῥοῦφον, συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, τότε χιλιαρχοῦντα, ἐκέλευσε τέσσαρας ἱππέων ἴλας λαβόντα ἀναστεῖλαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας. Ῥοῦφος

When those fields had been harvested and it was necessary to move forward, many advised him to take a short cut, which led past Numantia to the plains. "But," he said, "what I fear is the coming back, when the enemy will be unencumbered, and will have their town to start from and retreat to, while our troops will return from their foraging laden and tired, bringing with them animals and wagons and burdens. For this reason the fighting will be severe and unequal. If we are beaten the danger will be serious, and if victorious, neither the glory nor the gain will be great. It is foolish to incur danger for small results. He must be considered a reckless general who would fight before there is any need, while a good one takes risks only in cases of necessity." He added by way of simile that physicians do not cut and burn their patients till they have first tried drugs. Having spoken thus, he ordered his officers to take the longer road. He himself joined the excursion beyond the camp, and later advanced into the territory of the Vaccaei, from whom the Numantines bought their food supplies, cutting down everything, taking for himself what was useful as food, and piling the rest in heaps and burning it. CHAP. XIV

88. In a certain plain in the Pallantian territory called Complanium the Pallantians had concealed a large force just below the brow of a hill, while others openly annoyed the Roman foragers. Scipio ordered Rutilius Rufus, a military tribune (who afterwards wrote a history of these transactions), to take four troops of horse and drive back the assailants. Rufus followed them too sharply when they retreated, and darted up the hill with the fugitives. He skirmishes with the Numantines

CAP. XIV μὲν οὖν ὑποχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἀμέτρως εἵπετο, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν λόφον συνανεπήδα, ἔνθα τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἱππέας μήτε διώκειν μήτε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ τὰ δόρατα θεμένους ἑστάναι καὶ ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων εὐθὺ ἀνατρέχοντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα δείσας εἵπετο κατὰ σπουδήν, καὶ ὡς ηὗρε τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐς δύο διεῖλε τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτῶν ἑκατέροις παρὰ μέρος ἐμπηδᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον προστιθέντας ὀπίσω καὶ ὑποχωροῦντας. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας ἐς τὸ πεδίον περιέσωσεν· ἀναζευγνύοντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναχωροῦντι ποταμὸς ἦν ἐν μέσῳ δύσπορός τε καὶ ἰλυώδης, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐνήδρευον οἱ πολέμιοι. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐξέκλινε τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ μακροτέραν ἦγε καὶ δυσενέδρευτον, νυκτός τε ὁδεύων διὰ τὸ δίψος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσων, ὧν τὰ πλέονα πικρὰ ηὑρίσκετο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἐπιμόχθως περιέσωσεν, ἵπποι δέ τινες αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποζύγια ὑπὸ τῆς δίψης ἀπώλοντο.

89. Καὶ Καυκαίους δὲ παροδεύων, ἐς οὓς παρεσπόνδησε Λεύκολλος, ἐκήρυξε Καυκαίους ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀκινδύνως κατέρχεσθαι. καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Νομαντίνην χειμάσων, ἔνθα αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰογόρθας ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετο, ὁ Μασσανάσσου υἱωνός, ἄγων ἐλέφαντας δυοκαίδεκα καὶ τοὺς συντασσομένους αὐτοῖς τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας. ἀεί δέ τι δῃῶν, καὶ τὰ περικείμενα πορθῶν, ἔλαθε περὶ

When he discovered the ambush he ordered his troops not to pursue or attack the enemy further, but to stand on the defensive with their spears presented to the enemy and merely ward off their attack. Directly Scipio saw Rufus running up the hill, contrary to his orders, he was alarmed and followed with all haste. When he discovered the ambush he divided his horse into two bodies, and ordered them to charge the enemy on either side alternately, hurling their javelins all together and then retiring, not to the same spot from which they had advanced, but a little further back each time. In this way the horsemen were brought in safety to the plain. As he was shifting quarters and retiring again, he had to cross a river which was difficult to ford and muddy, and here the enemy had laid an ambush for him. Having learned this fact, he turned aside and took a route that was longer and less exposed to ambushes. Here he marched by night on account of the heat and thirst, and dug wells which yielded for the most part only bitter water. He saved his men with extreme difficulty, but some of his horses and pack animals perished of thirst. CHAP. XIV

89. While passing through the territory of the Caucaei, whose treaty with the Romans Lucullus had violated, he made proclamation that they might return in safety to their own homes. Thence he came again to the Numantine territory and went into winter quarters. Here Jugurtha, the grandson of Masinissa, joined him from Africa with twelve elephants and the body of archers and slingers who usually accompanied them in war. While Scipio was constantly ravaging and plundering the neighbouring country, the enemy

CAP. XIV κώμην ἐνεδρευθείς, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πλέονος τέλμα πηλοῦ περιεῖχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα φάραγξ ἦν, καὶ ἀφανὴς ἐν ἐκείνῃ λόχος ὑπεκρύπτετο. τῆς οὖν στρατιᾶς τῷ Σκιπίωνι διῃρημένης, οἱ μὲν τὴν κώμην ἐπόρθουν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ σημεῖα ἔξω καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ περιίππευον οὐ πολλοί. τούτοις οὖν ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ λοχῶντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ἔτυχε γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κώμης παρὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἑστώς) ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς ἔνδον, καὶ πρὶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χιλίους, τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐνοχλουμένοις ἐπεβοήθει. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τοῦ πλέονος ἐκ τῆς κώμης ἐκδραμόντος, ἐτρέψατο μὲν ἐς φυγὴν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ μὴν ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν χάρακα ἀνεχώρει πεσόντων ἑκατέρωθεν ὀλίγων.

XV

CAP. XV 90. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Νομαντίας δύο στρατόπεδα θέμενος, τῷ μὲν ἐπέστησε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον, τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο. Νομαντίνων δὲ θαμινὰ ἐκτασσόντων καὶ προκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ὑπερεώρα, οὐ δοκιμάζων ἀνδράσιν ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχομένοις συμπλέκεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς ἑλεῖν λιμῷ. φρούρια δ' ἑπτὰ περιθείς, πολιορκίαν . . . ἐπιγράψας ἑκάστοις οὓς ἔδει πέμπειν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθον, ἐς μέρη

laid an ambush for him at a certain village which was surrounded on nearly all sides by a marshy pool. On the remaining side was a ravine in which the ambuscading party was hidden. Scipio's soldiers were divided so that one part entered the village to plunder it, leaving the standards outside, while another, but not large party, was coursing around it on horseback. The men in ambush fell upon the latter, who tried to beat them off. Scipio, who happened to be standing in the front of the village near the standards, recalled by trumpet those who had gone inside, and before he had collected a thousand men went to the aid of the horsemen who were in difficulties. And when the greater part of those who were in the village had run out, he put the enemy to flight. He did not pursue the fugitives, however, but returned to the camp, a few having fallen on either side.

CHAP. XIV

XV

90. Not long afterwards he established two camps very near to Numantia and placed his brother Maximus in charge of one, while he himself commanded the other. The Numantines came out in large numbers and offered battle, but he disregarded their challenge, not thinking it wise to engage in battle with men who were fighting in sheer desperation, but rather to shut them up and reduce them by famine. Placing seven forts around the city, he <began> the siege and wrote letters to each of the <allied tribes>, telling them what forces he desired them to send. When they came he divided

CHAP. XV

B.C. 133

Scipio builds a wall round the city

CAP. XV πολλὰ διεῖλεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐπιδιεῖλεν· εἶθ' ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἑκάστῳ μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἡ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον. καὶ τοῦτο διῄρητο πᾶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἕκαστον. καὶ προείρητο, εἴ τι ἐνοχλοῖεν οἱ πολέμιοι, σημεῖον ἐξαίρειν, ἡμέρας μὲν φοινικίδα ἐπὶ δόρατος ὑψηλοῦ, νυκτὸς δὲ πῦρ, ἵνα τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιθέοντες αὐτός τε καὶ Μάξιμος ἀμύνοιεν. ὡς δ' ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἶχεν ἱκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἑτέραν τάφρον ὤρυσσεν οὐ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ περιεπήγνυ, καὶ τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμει, οὗ τὸ μὲν πάχος ἦν πόδες ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δέκα χωρὶς τῶν ἐπάλξεων. πύργοι τε πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ διὰ πλέθρου περιέκειντο. καὶ λίμνην συνάπτουσαν οὐκ ἐνὸν περιτειχίσαι, χῶμα αὐτῇ περιέθηκεν ἴσον τῷ τείχει καὶ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος, ὡς ἂν εἴη καὶ τόδε ἀντὶ τείχους.

91. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ὅδε πρῶτος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, περιετείχισε πόλιν οὐ φυγομαχοῦσαν· τόν τε Δόριον ποταμόν, συμφερόμενον τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς Νομαντίνοις χρήσιμον ἔς τε ἀγορᾶς κομιδὴν καὶ διαπομπὴν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι κατ' αὐτὸν κολυμβηταί τε καὶ σκάφεσι μικροῖς ἐλάνθανον, ἢ ἱστίοις, ὅτε λάβρον εἴη τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐβιάζοντο, ἢ κώπαις κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα, ζεῦξαι μὲν οὐκ ἐδύνατο πλατὺν ὄντα καὶ πάνυ ῥοώδη, φρούρια δὲ ἀντὶ γεφύρας αὐτῷ δύο περιθεὶς ἀπήρτησε καλῳδίοις δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐξ ἑκατέρου

them into several parts, and also subdivided his own army. Then he appointed a commander for each division and ordered them to surround the city with a ditch and palisade. The circumference of Numantia itself was twenty-four stades, that of the enclosing works more than twice as great. All of this space was allotted to the several divisions, and he had given orders that if the enemy should harass them anywhere they should signal to him by raising a red flag on a tall spear in the daytime or by a fire at night, so that he and Maximus might hasten to the aid of those who needed it. When this work was completed and he could effectually repel any assaults, he dug another ditch not far behind this one and fortified it with palisades, and built a wall eight feet wide and ten feet high, exclusive of the parapets. He built towers along the whole of this wall at intervals of 100 feet. As it was not possible to carry the wall around the adjoining marsh he threw an embankment around it of the same height and thickness as the wall, to serve in place of it.

91. Thus Scipio was the first general, as I think, to throw a wall around a city which did not shun a battle in the open field. The river Durius, which took its course along the fortifications, was very useful to the Numantines for bringing provisions and sending men back and forth, some diving or concealing themselves in small boats, some breaking through with sailing-boats when a strong wind was blowing, or with oars aided by the current. As he was not able to span it on account of its breadth and swiftness, Scipio built a tower on each side in place of a bridge. To each of these towers he moored large timbers with ropes and set them

He stops communication by the river

CAP. XV φρουρίου, καὶ ἐς τὸ πλάτος τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεθῆκεν, ἐχούσας ἐμπεπηγότα πυκνὰ ξίφη τε καὶ ἀκόντια. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ, τοῖς ξίφεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις ἐμπίπτοντος, ἀεὶ περιστρεφόμεναι οὔτε διανηχομένους οὔτ' ἐπιπλέοντας οὔτε ὑποδύνοντας εἴων λαθεῖν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν οὗ μάλιστα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπεθύμει, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμιγνυμένου μηδ' ἐσιόντος ἀγνοεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅ τι γίγνοιτο ἔξω· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπορήσειν ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ μηχανῆς πάσης.

92. Ὡς δ' ἡτοίμαστο πάντα, καὶ καταπέλται μὲν ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πύργοις ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλοι, ταῖς δ' ἐπάλξεσι παρέκειντο λίθοι καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια, τὰ δὲ φρούρια τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται κατεῖχον, ἀγγέλους μὲν ἐπέστησε πυκνοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα πᾶν, οἳ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔμελλον ἄλλοι παρ' ἄλλων τὸν λόγον ἐκδεχόμενοι μηνύσειν αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα, κατὰ δὲ πύργον ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, σημεῖον ἐκ πρώτου τοῦ πονοῦντος αἴρεσθαι, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντας ἐπαίρειν ὅταν τὸν ἀρξάμενον θεάσωνται, ἵνα τὸ μὲν κίνημα παρὰ τοῦ σημείου θᾶσσον ἐπιγιγνώσκοι, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων. τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς οὔσης σὺν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐς ἑξακισμυρίους, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ διετέτακτο αὐτῷ τειχοφυλακεῖν, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, εἴ πῃ δέήσειε, μεταχωρεῖν, δισμύριοι δὲ τειχομαχήσειν ἔμελλον, ὅτε χρεία γένοιτο, καὶ τούτοις ἐφεδρεύειν ἕτεροι μύριοι. χωρίον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἑκάστοις

floating across the river. The timbers were stuck full of knives and spear-heads, and were kept constantly in motion by the force of the stream dashing against them, so that the enemy were prevented from passing covertly, either by swimming, or diving, or sailing in boats. Thus was accomplished what Scipio especially desired, namely, that nobody could have any dealings with them, nobody could come in, and they could have no knowledge of what was going on outside. Thus they would be in want of provisions and apparatus of every kind. CHAP. XV

92. When everything was ready and the catapults, ballistae, and other engines were placed on the towers, the stones, darts, and javelins collected on the parapets, and the archers and slingers in their places at the forts, he stationed messengers at frequent intervals along the entire wall to pass the word from one to another by day and night to let him know what was taking place. He gave orders to each tower that in any emergency the one that was first attacked should hoist a signal and that the others when they saw it should do the same, in order that he might be advised of the commotion quickly by signal, and learn the particulars afterwards by messengers. The army, together with the native forces, now numbering some 60,000 men, he arranged so that one-half should guard the wall and in case of necessity go to any place where they should be wanted; 20,000 were to fight from the top of the wall when necessary, and the remaining 10,000 were kept in reserve. These too had their several places assigned to them, and it was not permitted to change without orders. Each man was to Numantia closely invested

CAP. XV διετέτακτο· καὶ μεταπηδᾶν, εἰ μὴ κελεύσειεν, οὐκ ἐξῆν. ἐς δὲ τὸ τεταγμένον εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων, ὅτε τι σημεῖον ἐπιχειρήσεως ἐπαρθείη.

Οὕτω μὲν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἀκριβῶς διετέτακτο· 93. οἱ δὲ Νομαντῖνοι πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς φυλάσσουσιν ἐπεχείρουν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ κατὰ μέρη, ταχεῖα δ' αὐτίκα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἡ ὄψις ἦν, σημείων τε ὑψηλῶν πανταχόθεν αἰρομένων καὶ ἀγγέλων διαθεόντων, καὶ τῶν τειχομάχων ἀθρόως ἀναπηδώντων ἐς τὰ τείχη, σαλπικτῶν τε κατὰ πάντα πύργον ἐξοτρυνόντων, ὥστε τὸν κύκλον ὅλον εὐθὺς ἅπασιν εἶναι φοβερώτατον, ἐς πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἐπέχοντα ἐν περιόδῳ. καὶ τόνδε τὸν κύκλον ὁ Σκιπίων ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπισκοπῶν περιῄει.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὧδε συγκλείσας οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἀρκέσειν ἐνόμιζεν, οὔτε τροφῆς ἔτι προσιούσης σφίσιν οὔτε ὅπλων οὔτ' ἐπικουρίας· 94. Ῥητογένης δέ, ἀνὴρ Νομαντῖνος, ᾧ Καραύνιος ἐπίκλησις ἦν, ἄριστος ἐς ἀρετὴν Νομαντίνων, πέντε πείσας φίλους, σὺν παισὶν ἄλλοις τοσοῖσδε καὶ ἵπποις τοσοῖσδε ἐν νυκτὶ συννεφεῖ διῆλθε λαθὼν τὸ μεταίχμιον, κλίμακα φέρων πτυκτήν, καὶ φθάσας ἐς τὸ περιτείχισμα ἀνεπήδησεν αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ φίλοι, καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν φύλακας ἀνελόντες τοὺς μὲν θεράποντας ἀπέπεμψαν ὀπίσω, τοὺς δ' ἵππους διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναγαγόντες ἐξίππευσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀρουακῶν πόλεις σὺν ἱκετηρίαις, δεόμενοι Νομαντίνοις συγγενέσιν οὖσιν ἐπικουρεῖν. τῶν δ' Ἀρουακῶν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὑπήκουον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπέπεμπον δεδιότες. Λουτία δὲ πόλις ἦν εὐδαίμων, τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀφεστῶσα ἀπὸ Νομαντίνων,

spring to the place assigned to him when any signal of an attack was given. So carefully was everything arranged by Scipio. CHAP. XV

93. The Numantines made several attacks here and there upon those guarding the walls. Swift and terrible was the appearance of the defenders, the signals being everywhere hoisted, the messengers running to and fro, those who manned the walls springing to their places in crowds, and the trumpets sounding on every tower, so that the whole circuit of fifty stades at once presented to all beholders a most formidable aspect. This circuit Scipio traversed each day and night for the purpose of inspection. He was convinced that the enemy thus enclosed, and unable to obtain food, arms or succour from without, could not hold out very long.

94. But Rhetogenes, surnamed Caraunius, the bravest of all the Numantines, induced five of his friends to take an equal number of servants and horses, and cross the space between the two armies secretly, on a cloudy night, carrying a folding scaling-bridge. Arriving at the wall he and his friends sprang upon it, slew the guards on either side, sent back the servants, drew the horses up the bridge, and rode off to the towns of the Arevaci, bearing olive branches and entreating them, as blood relations, to help the Numantines. But some of the Arevaci, fearing the Romans, would not even listen to them, but sent them away immediately. There was a rich town named Lutia, distant 300 stades from Numantia, whose young The exploits of Rhetogenes

CAP. XV

ἧς οἱ μὲν νέοι περὶ τοὺς Νομαντινους ἐσπουδάκεσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐνῆγον, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' ἐμήνυσαν κρύφα τῷ Σκιπίωνι. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ὀγδόης ὥρας πυθόμενος ἐξήλαυνεν αὐτίκα σὺν εὐζώνοις ὅτι πλείστοις, καὶ ἅμα ἕῳ τὴν Λουτίαν φρουρᾷ περιλαβὼν ἦτει τοὺς ἐξάρχους τῶν νέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξωρμηκέναι τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον, ἐκήρυξε διαρπάσειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας παραλάβοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δείσαντες προσῆγον αὐτούς, ἐς τετρακοσίους γενομένους· ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμὼν ἀνέστησε τὴν φρουράν, καὶ διαδραμὼν αὖθις ἅμ' ἕῳ τῆς ἐπιούσης παρῆν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

95. Νομαντῖνοι δὲ κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πέντε ἄνδρας ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, οἷς εἴρητο μαθεῖν εἰ μετριοπαθῶς σφίσι χρήσεται παραδοῦσιν αὐτούς. Αὔαρος δ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἀνδρείας τῶν Νομαντίνων ἐσεμνολόγησε, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν ἁμάρτοιεν, ὑπὲρ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας πατρίου κακοπαθοῦντες ἐς τοσόνδε κακοῦ. "διὸ καὶ μάλιστα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σκιπίων, ἄξιόν ἐστι σέ, τοσῆσδε ἀρετῆς γέμοντα, φείσασθαι γένους εὐψύχου τε καὶ ἀνδρικοῦ, καὶ προτεῖναι τὰ φιλανθρωπότερα τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν, ἃ καὶ δυνησόμεθα ἐνεγκεῖν, ἄρτι πειρώμενοι μεταβολῆς. ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί, τὴν πόλιν ἢ παραλαβεῖν, εἰ τὰ μέτρια κελεύοις, ἢ μαχομένην ὑπεριδεῖν ἀπολέσθαι." ὁ μὲν Αὔαρος ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (ἤσθετο γὰρ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τὰ ἔνδον) ἔφη δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τὰ κατὰ

men sympathised with the Numantines and urged their city to send them aid. The older citizens secretly communicated this fact to Scipio. Receiving this intelligence about the eighth hour, he marched thither at once with as many light-armed troops as possible. Surrounding the place about daylight, he demanded that the leaders of the young men should be delivered up to him. When the citizens replied that they had fled from the place, he sent a herald to tell them that if these men were not surrendered to him he would sack the city. Being terrified by this threat, they delivered them up, in number about 400. Scipio cut off their hands, withdrew his force, rode away, and was back in his camp at dawn the next day. CHAP. XV

95. The Numantines, being oppressed by hunger, sent five men to Scipio to ask whether he would treat them with moderation if they would surrender. Their leader, Avarus, discoursed much about the policy and bravery of the Numantines, and added that even now they had done no wrong, but had fallen into their present misery for the sake of their wives and children, and for the freedom of their country. "Therefore above all, Scipio," he said, "it is worthy of you, a man renowned for virtue, to spare a brave and manly race and to extend to us, as a choice between evils, the humaner terms. terms which we shall be able to bear, now that we have at last experienced a change of fortune. It rests now not with us but with you whether you receive the surrender of our city by offering us fair terms, or allow it to perish in a last struggle." When Avarus had thus spoken, Scipio (who knew from prisoners the state of affairs inside) said merely that they must Negotiations with Scipio

CAP. XV σφᾶς καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ὧν ἀπαγγελθέντων οἱ Νομαντῖνοι, χαλεποὶ καὶ τέως ὄντες ὀργὴν ὑπ' ἐλευθερίας ἀκράτου καὶ ἀηθείας ἐπιταγμάτων, τότε καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἠγριωμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι γεγονότες τὸν Αὔαρον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πέντε πρέσβεις ἀπέκτειναν ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς ἴσως διῳκημένους παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

96. Μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ πάντων αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐδεστῶν ἐπιλιπόντων, οὐ καρπὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ πρόβατον, οὐ πόαν, πρῶτα μέν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν πολέμων ἀνάγκαις, δέρματα ἕψοντες ἐλιχμῶντο, ἐπιλιπόντων δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν δερμάτων ἐσαρκοφάγουν ἕψοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων κοπτόμενα ἐν μαγειρείοις, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις τῶν νοσούντων κατεφρόνουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἐβιάζοντο οἱ δυνατώτεροι. κακῶν τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἠγριωμένοις μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τῶν τροφῶν, τεθηριωμένοις δὲ τὰ σώματα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ λοιμοῦ καὶ κόμης καὶ χρόνου. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐκείνης συνενεγκεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἔνθα συνέταξε, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προσελθεῖν ἐς ἕτερον χωρίον. οἱ δ' ὑπερεβάλοντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ὁμολογήσαντες ὅτι πολλοὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔτι ἔχονται καὶ ἐθέλουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου. τὴν οὖν ἡμέραν ᾔτουν ἐς τοῦ θανάτου τὴν διάθεσιν.

97. Τοσόσδε ἔρως ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἦν ἐν πόλει βαρβάρῳ τε καὶ σμικρᾷ. ἐς γὰρ

surrender their arms and place themselves and their city in his hands. When this answer was made known, the Numantines, who were previously savage in temper because of their absolute freedom and quite unaccustomed to obey the orders of others, and were now wilder than ever and beside themselves by reason of their hardships, slew Avarus and the five ambassadors who had accompanied him, as bearers of evil tidings and thinking that perhaps they had made private terms for themselves with Scipio. CHAP. XV

96. Soon after this, all their eatables being consumed, having neither grain, nor flocks, nor grass, they began, as people are sometimes forced to do in war, to lick boiled hides. When these also failed, they boiled and ate the bodies of human beings, first of those who had died a natural death, chopping them in small bits for cooking. Afterwards being nauseated by the flesh of the sick, the stronger laid violent hands upon the weaker. No form of misery was absent. They were rendered savage in mind by their food, and their bodies were reduced to the semblance of wild beasts by famine, plague, long hair, and neglect. In this condition they surrendered themselves to Scipio. He commanded them the same day to bring their arms to a place designated by him, and on the following day to assemble at another place. But they put off the day, declaring that many of them still clung to liberty and desired to take their own lives. Wherefore they asked for a day to arrange for death. Numantia surrenders

97. Such was the love of liberty and of valour which existed in this small barbarian town. With Heroism of the Numantines

CAP. XV

ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπ' εἰρήνης γενόμενοι οἷα μὲν καὶ ὅσα Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, οἵας δὲ συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἔθεντο ἐπὶ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, οὐδέσι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὑποστάντων, οἷον δ' ὄντα τὸν τελευταῖον στρατηγόν, ἓξ μυριάσιν αὐτοὺς περικαθήμενον, προυκαλέσαντο πολλάκις ἐς μάχην. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἄρα στρατηγικώτερος αὐτῶν, ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἰὼν θηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαζόμενος, ἀμάχῳ κακῷ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ ληφθῆναί τε δυνατὸν ἦν ἄρα Νομαντίνους, καὶ ἐλήφθησαν μόνῳ.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περὶ Νομαντίνων εἰπεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ἐς τὴν ὀλιγότητα αὐτῶν καὶ φερεπονίαν ἀφορῶντι, καὶ ἔργα πολλά, καὶ χρόνον ὅσον διεκαρτέρησαν· οἱ δὲ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτούς, οἱ βουλόμενοι, διεχρῶντο, ἕτερος ἑτέρως· οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐξήεσαν τρίτης ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ δεδομένον χωρίον, δυσόρατοί τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτοι πάμπαν ὀφθῆναι, οἷς τὰ μὲν σώματα ἦν ἀκάθαρτα καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ὀνύχων καὶ ῥύπου μεστά, ὠδώδεσαν δὲ χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐσθὴς αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειτο πιναρὰ καὶ ἥδε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον δυσώδης. ἐφαίνοντο δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐλεεινοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε, φοβεροὶ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων· ἔτι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐνέωρων ἔκ τε ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ πόνου καὶ συνειδότος ἀλληλοφαγίας.

98. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς θρίαμβον, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαψε, δύο μὲν τάσδε πόλεις δυσμαχωτάτας ἑλὼν στρατηγὸς ὅδε Ῥωμαίων, Καρχηδόνα μὲν αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων

only 8000 fighting men before the war began, how many and what terrible reverses did they bring upon the Romans! What treaties did they make on equal terms with the Romans, which the latter would not consent to make with any other people! How often did they challenge to open battle the last general sent against them, who had invested them with an army of 60,000 men! But he showed himself more experienced in war than themselves, by refusing to join battle with wild beasts when he could reduce them by that invincible enemy, hunger. In this way alone was it possible to capture the Numantines, and in this way alone were they captured. CHAP. XV

Reflecting upon their small numbers and their endurance, their valiant deeds and the long time for which they held out, it has occurred to me to narrate these particulars of the Numantine history. First of all, those who wished to do so killed themselves, in various ways. Then the rest went out on the third day to the appointed place, a strange and shocking spectacle. Their bodies were foul, their hair and nails long, and they were smeared with dirt. They smelt most horribly, and the clothes they wore were likewise squalid and emitted an equally foul odour. For these reasons they appeared pitiable to their enemies, but at the same time there was something fearful in the expression of their eyes—an expression of anger, pain, weariness, and the consciousness of having eaten human flesh.

98. Having chosen fifty of them for his triumph, Scipio sold the rest and razed the city to the ground. So this Roman general overthrew two most powerful cities,—Carthage, by decree of the Senate, on account of its greatness as a city and as an imperial power,

CAP. XV διὰ μέγεθος πόλεως τε καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ εὐκαιρίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, Νομαντίαν δὲ σμικράν τε καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον, οὕπω τι Ῥωμαίων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγνωκότων, αὐτός, εἴτε συμφέρειν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε ἄκρος ὢν ὀργὴν καὶ φιλόνεικος ἐς τὰ λαμβανόμενα, εἰθ' ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι κακοῖς· καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι νῦν, ἀπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἃς ἐπέθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, Ἀφρικανόν τε καὶ Νομαντῖνον. τότε δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν Νομαντίνων τοῖς ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσι διελών, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι χρηματίσας, καὶ εἴ τι ἦν ὕποπτον, ἐπιπλήξας τε καὶ ζημιώσας χρήμασιν, ἀπέπλευσεν ἐπ' οἴκου.

XVI

CAP. XVI 99. Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, ὡς ἔθος, ἐς τὰ προσειλημμένα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἔπεμψαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς καταστησομένους αὐτὰ ἐς εἰρήνην, ὅσα Σκιπίων τε ἔλαβε καὶ Βροῦτος πρὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑπηγάγετο ἢ ἐχειρώσατο. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, ἀποστάσεων ἄλλων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενομένων, Καλπούρνιος Πίσων στρατηγὸς ᾑρέθη. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο μὲν Σέρουιος Γάλβας, Κίμβρων δ' ἐπιστρατευόντων τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ Σικελίας πολεμουμένης τὸν δεύτερον δουλικὸν πόλεμον, στρατιὰν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν οὐκ ἔπεμπον ὑπ' ἀσχολίας, πρέσβεις δὲ ἀπεστέλλον, οἳ τὸν πόλεμον ἔμελλον ὅπῃ δύναιντο καταθήσεσθαι. Κίμβρων δὲ ἐξελαθέντων, Τίτος Δείδιος ἐπελθὼν Ἀρουακῶν μὲν

and its advantages by land and sea; Numantia, small and with a sparse population, on his own responsibility, the Romans knowing nothing about the transaction as yet. He destroyed it either because he thought that it would be for the advantage of the Romans, or because he was a man of passionate nature and vindictive towards captives, or, some hold, because he thought that great calamities are the foundation of great glory. At any rate, the Romans to this day call him Africanus and Numantinus from the ruin he brought upon those two places. Having divided the territory of the Numantines among their near neighbours and transacted certain business in the other cities, censuring or fining any whom he suspected, he sailed for home. CHAP. XV

XVI

99. The Romans, according to their custom, sent ten senators to the newly acquired provinces of Spain, which Scipio, or Brutus before him, had received in surrender, or had taken by force, to settle their affairs on a peace basis. At a later time, other revolts having taken place in Spain, Calpurnius Piso was chosen as commander. He was succeeded by Servius Galba. When the Cimbri invaded Italy, and Sicily was torn by the second servile war, the Romans were too much preoccupied to send soldiers to Spain, but sent legates to settle the war as best they could. When the Cimbri were driven out Titus Didius was sent to Spain, and he slew about 20,000 of the Arevaci. He also removed CHAP. XVI Late history B.C. 112

CAP. XVI

ἔκτεινεν ἐς δισμυρίους, Τερμησὸν δέ, μεγάλην πόλιν ἀεὶ δυσπειθῆ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην, ἐξ ἐρυμνοῦ κατήγαγεν ἐς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν οἰκεῖν ἀτειχίστους. Κολένδαν δὲ προσκαθίσας ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ παρέλαβεν ἐγχειρίσασαν ἑαυτήν, καὶ τοὺς Κολενδέας ἅπαντας μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀπέδοτο.

100. Πόλιν δ' ἑτέραν τῆς Κολένδης πλησίον ᾤκουν μιγάδες Κελτιβήρων, οὓς Μᾶρκος Μάριος συμμαχήσαντας αὐτῷ κατὰ Λυσιτανῶν, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτρεπούσης, ᾠκίκει πρὸ πέντε ἐνιαυτῶν. ἐλήστευον δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας οὗτοι· καὶ κρίνας αὐτοὺς ὁ Δείδιος ἀνελεῖν, συνθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων ἔτι παρόντων, ἔφη τοῖς ἐπιφανέσιν αὐτῶν ἐθέλειν τὴν Κολενδέων χώραν αὐτοῖς προσορίσαι πενομένοις. ἀσπαζομένους δὲ ὁρῶν ἐκέλευε, τῷ δήμῳ ταῦτα μετενεγκόντας, ἥκειν μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τὴν χώραν μεριουμένους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο, προσέταξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος ἐξελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐνεδρευομένους ἔσω παρελθεῖν ὡς ἀπογραψόμενος αὐτῶν ἔνδον τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν μέρει μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐν μέρει δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοίη πόσην χώραν αὐτοῖς δέοι διελεῖν. ὡς δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα, περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Δείδιος ἔκτεινε πάντας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Δείδιος μὲν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, πάλιν δὲ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἀποστάντων Φλάκκος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἔκτεινε δισμυρίους. ἐν δὲ Βελγήδῃ πόλει ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς ἀπόστασιν ὁρμῶν τὴν βουλὴν

Termes, a large city always insubordinate to the Romans, from its strong position into the plain, and ordered the inhabitants to live without walls. He also besieged the city of Colenda and captured it eight months after he had invested it, and sold all the inhabitants with their wives and children. CHAP. XVI B.C. 98

100. There was another city near Colenda inhabited by mixed tribes of Celtiberians who had been the allies of Marcus Marius in a war against the Lusitanians, and whom he had settled there five years before with the approval of the Senate. They were living by robbery on account of their poverty. Didius, with the concurrence of the ten legates who were still present, resolved to destroy them. Accordingly, he told their principal men that he would allot the land of Colenda to them because they were poor. Finding them very much pleased with this offer, he told them to communicate it to the people, and to come with their wives and children to the parcelling out of the land. When they had done so he ordered his soldiers to vacate their camp, and these people, whom he wanted to ensnare, to go inside, so that he might make a list of their names within, the men on one register and the women and children on another, in order to know how much land should be set apart for them. When they had gone inside the ditch and palisade, Didius surrounded them with his army and killed them all, and for this he was actually honoured with a triumph. At a later period, the Celtiberians having revolted again, Flaccus was sent against them and slew 20,000. The people of the town of Belgida were eager for revolt, and when their senate hesitated they set fire to the senate-house and burned the senators. When Infamous behaviour of Didius

CAP. XVI

οἰκνοῦσαν ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς αἰτίους.

101. Τοσάδε μὲν ηὗρον ἄξια λόγου Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τότε πρὸς Ἴβηρας αὐτοὺς γενόμενα· χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον στασιαζόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Σύλλα τε καὶ Κίννα, καὶ ἐς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος διῃρημένων, Κόιντος Σερτώριος, ἐκ τῆς Κίννα στάσεως αἱρεθεὶς τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Ἰβηρίαν τε αὐτὴν ἐπανέστησε Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ πολὺν στρατὸν ἀγείρας, καὶ βουλὴν τῶν ἰδίων φίλων ἐς μίμημα τῆς συγκλήτου καταλέξας, ἤλαυνεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τόλμης καὶ φρονήματος λαμπροῦ, καὶ τἄλλα ὢν ἐς θρασύτητα περιώνυμος, ὥστε τὴν βουλὴν δείσασαν ἑλέσθαι τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστης τότε δόξης στρατηγούς, Καικίλιόν τε Μέτελλον μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, ἵνα τὸν πόλεμον, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, ἐξωθοῖεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν διχοστασίᾳ τότε μάλιστα οὔσης. ἀλλὰ Σερτώριον μὲν τῶν στασιωτῶν τις αὐτοῦ Περπέρνας ἀνελὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ Σερτωρίῳ στρατηγὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀποστάσεως, Περπέρναν δ' ἔκτεινε μάχῃ Πομπήιος, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε, θορυβήσας δὴ τῷ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους, διελύθη. τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ δηλώσει τὰ περὶ Σύλλαν ἐμφύλια.

102. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Σύλλα θάνατον Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἱρεθεὶς Ἰβηρίας στρατηγεῖν, ὥστε καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς δεήσειεν, ὅσα τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐσαλεύετο ἢ Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι ἔλειπε, πολέμῳ συνηνάγκασε πάντα ὑπακούειν. καί τινα αὖθις ἀφιστάμενα Ὀκταούιος

Flaccus arrived there he put the authors of this crime to death. CHAP. XVI

101. These are the events which I have found most worthy of mention in the relations of the Romans with the Spaniards as a nation until that time. At a later period, when the dissensions of Sulla and Cinna arose in Rome, and the country was divided by civil wars into hostile camps, Quintus Sertorius, one of Cinna's party, who had been chosen to the command in Spain, stirred up that country against the Romans. He raised a large army, created a senate of his own friends after the manner of the Roman Senate, and marched towards Rome full of confidence and high courage, for he had been renowned for daring elsewhere. The Senate in great alarm sent against him their most famous generals, first Caecilius Metellus with a large army, and then Gnaeus Pompeius with another army, in order to repel in any way possible this war from Italy, which was terribly distracted with civil strife. But Sertorius was murdered by Perpenna, one of his own partisans, who proclaimed himself general of the faction in place of Sertorius. Pompey slew Perpenna in battle, and so this war, which had greatly alarmed the Romans, came to an end ; but I shall speak of this more particularly in my account of the civil wars of Sulla. B.C. 82 Sertorius in Spain B.C. 72

102. After the death of Sulla, Gaius Caesar was sent as praetor into Spain with power to make war wherever it was needful. All of those Spaniards who were doubtful in their allegiance, or had not yet submitted to the Romans, he brought under subjection by force of arms. Some, who afterwards rebelled, were subdued by his adopted son B.C. 61

CAP. XVI Καῖσαρ ὁ τοῦ Γάιου παῖς, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλην, ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μοι δοκοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ἱσπανίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐς τρία διαιρεῖν καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν, ἐτησίους μὲν ἐς τὰ δύο ἡ βουλή, τὸν δὲ τρίτον βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν.

Octavius Caesar, surnamed Augustus. From that time it appears that the Romans have divided Iberia (which they now call Hispania) into three parts and sent a governor to govern each, two being chosen annually by the Senate,[1] and the third by the emperor to hold office during his pleasure.

CHAP. XVI
B.C. 25

[1] Appian is in error here. Two were imperial, one senatorial.

BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

Η'

ΑΝΝΙΒΑΙΚΗ

Ι

CAP. I

1. Ὅσα δὲ Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐσβαλών, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπέμεινε πολεμῶν, ἔδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἕως αὐτὸν Καρχηδόνιοί τε κινδυνεύοντες περὶ τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα μετεπέμψαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήλασαν, ἥδε ἡ γραφὴ δηλοῖ. ἥ τις δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε ἀληθὴς καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἀκριβέστατα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρικῇ συγγραφῇ δεδήλωται, συγγράψω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅσον ἐς ἀνάμνησιν.

2. Ἀμίλχαρ ᾧ Βάρκας ἐπικλησις ἦν, Ἀννίβου τοῦδε πατήρ, ἐστρατήγει Καρχηδονίων ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν. δόξας δὲ πρᾶξαι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐδιώκετο, καὶ δεδιὼς ἔπραξεν ἐς τοὺς Νομάδας αἱρεθῆναι στρατηγὸς πρὸ τῶν εὐθυνῶν. γενόμενος δὲ χρήσιμος ἐν τῷδε, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν θεραπεύσας ἁρπαγαῖς καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἤγαγεν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ ἐπέρασε τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅθεν λάφυρα πολλὰ

BOOK VII

THE HANNIBALIC WAR

I

1. WHAT Hannibal the Carthaginian did to, and suffered from, the Romans during the sixteen years that he persisted in war against them, from his first march from Spain to Italy until he was recalled by the Carthaginians (their own city being in danger), and driven out by the Romans, this book will show. What Hannibal's real reasons for that invasion were, as well as his public pretext, have been very clearly set forth in my Spanish history, yet I shall mention them here by way of reminder. CHAP. I

2. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the father of this Hannibal, was the commander of the Carthaginian forces in Sicily when they contended with the Romans for the possession of that island. Being prosecuted by his enemies on a charge of maladministration, and fearing a conviction, he managed to get himself chosen general against the Numidians before the time of rendering his accounts. Having proved useful in this war and having secured the favour of the army by plunder and largesses, he passed over the straits into Spain and made an expedition against Gades without the authority of Carthage. From Hamilcar Barca

CAP. I διέπεμπεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, θεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰ δύναιτο μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατηγίας τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ κατακτωμένου πολλὴν κλέος τε μέγα ἦν, καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπιθυμία πάσης Ἰβηρίας ὡς εὐμαροῦς ἔργου. Ζακανθαῖοι δέ, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, καὶ γίγνεται Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος Ἰβηρίας, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἶβηρα ποταμόν· καὶ τόδε ταῖς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων σπονδαῖς ἐνεγράφη. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Βάρκας μὲν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ἰβηρίαν καθιστάμενος ἔν τινι μάχῃ πεσὼν ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσδρούβας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται, ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ Βάρκᾳ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν κτείνει θεράπων ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, οὗ τὸν δεσπότην ἀνῃρήκει.

3. Τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε στρατηγὸς Ἰβήρων ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποδείκνυται, φιλοπόλεμος καὶ συνετὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Ἀννίβας ὅδε, Βάρκα μὲν υἱὸς ὤν, Ἀσδρούβου δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, νέος δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ὡς μειράκιον ἔτι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ κηδεστῇ συνών. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπεψήφισεν. οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας, περὶ οὗ τάδε συγγράφω, γίγνεται στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' Ἰβηρσι· τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν τῶν Βάρκα τε καὶ Ἀσδρούβου τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἐκείνων διωκόντων, καὶ Ἀννίβου τοῦδε καταφρονούντων ὡς ἔτι νέου, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦθ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἡγούμενος, καὶ νομίζων οἱ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος φόβων περιέσεσθαι, ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοὺς

thence he sent much booty to Carthage in order to win the favour of the multitude, so that if possible he might ward off censure on account of his command in Sicily. Having gained much territory he acquired a great reputation, and the Carthaginians were filled with a desire to possess the whole of Spain, thinking that it would be an easy task. Thereupon the Saguntines and other Greeks who were settled in Spain had recourse to the Romans, and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian possessions in that country, namely, that they should not cross the river Ebro, and a clause to this effect was inserted in the treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians. After this, Hamilcar, while settling the affairs of Carthaginian Spain, was killed in battle, and Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, succeeded him as general. The latter while hunting was killed by a slave whose master he had put to death. CHAP. I

3. After them this Hannibal was chosen by the army as the third commander in Spain because he seemed to have great aptitude and fondness for war. He was the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hasdrubal's wife, a very young man whose early years had naturally been passed in the company of his father and his brother-in-law. The people of Carthage confirmed his election as general. In this way Hannibal, whose history I am about to write, became the commander of the Carthaginians against the Spaniards. But the enemies of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal in Carthage persecuted the friends of those men, despising Hannibal on account of his youth, and he, believing that this persecution was originally directed against himself and that he might secure his own safety by means of his country's fears, began B.C. 220 Hannibal in Spain

CAP. I

μέγαν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπενόει. ὑπολαβὼν δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι χρόνιόν τε Καρχηδονίοις ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλην αὐτῷ δόξαν, εἰ καὶ τύχοι πταίσας, τό γε ἐγχείρημα οἴσειν, λεγόμενος δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ βωμῶν ἔτι παῖς ὁρκωθῆναι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβουλεύων οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείψειν, ἐπενόει παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβῆναι, καὶ παρεσκεύαζέ τινας ἐς πρόφασιν κατηγορεῖν Ζακανθαίων. γράφων τε ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ προστιθεὶς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι κρύφα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν αὐτῶν ἀφιστᾶσιν, ἔτυχε παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πράσσειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἴβηρα διαβὰς τὴν Ζακανθαίων πόλιν ἡβηδὸν διέφθειρε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐλέλυντο αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ γενόμεναι αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

4. Ἀννίβας δὲ ὅσα μὲν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔπραξαν, ἡ Ἰβηρικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ· ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Κελτιβήρων τε καὶ Λιβύων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ὅτι πλείστους, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παραδοὺς Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν, ἄγων πεζοὺς ἐνακισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. Γαλατῶν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ὠνούμενος, τοὺς δὲ πείθων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, διώδευε τὴν χώραν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, καὶ μηδεμίαν μήτε δίοδον μήτε ἄνοδον εὑρών (ἀπόκρημνα γάρ ἐστιν ἰσχυρῶς), ἐπέβαινε κἀκείνοις ὑπὸ τόλ-

to think about involving it in a great war. Believing, as was the fact, that a war between the Romans and Carthaginians, once begun, would last a long time, and that the undertaking in itself would bring great glory to himself, even if he should fail (it was said, also, that he had been sworn on the altar by his father, while yet a boy, that he would be an eternal enemy of Rome), he resolved to cross the Ebro in defiance of the treaty. For a pretext, he procured B.C. 219 certain persons to make accusations against the Saguntines. By continually forwarding these accusations to Carthage, and by also accusing the Romans of secretly inciting the Spaniards to revolt, he obtained permission from Carthage to take such steps as he should think fit. Thereupon he crossed the Ebro and destroyed the city of Saguntum with all the inhabitants of military age. Thus the treaty, made between the Romans and the Carthaginians after the war in Sicily, was broken. CHAP. I

4. What Hannibal himself and what the other B.C. 218 Carthaginian and Roman generals after him did in Spain, I have related in the Spanish history. Having collected a large army of Celtiberians, Africans, and other nationalities, and put the command of Spain in the hands of his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed over the Pyrenees into the country of the Celts, which is now called Gaul, with 90,000 foot, about 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. He passed through the country of the Gauls, conciliating some with money and some by persuasion, and overcoming others by force. When he came to the Alps and found no road through or over them (for they are exceedingly precipitous), he nevertheless boldly began to climb them, suffering greatly Hannibal marches over the Alps

CAP. I μης, κακοπαθῶν χιονος τε πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ κρύους, τὴν μὲν ὕλην τέμνων τε καὶ κατακαίων, τὴν δὲ τέφραν σβεννὺς ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκ τοῦδε ψαφαρὰν γιγνομένην σφύραις σιδηραῖς θραύων, καὶ ὁδὸν ποιῶν ἣ καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐντριβὴς καὶ καλεῖται δίοδος Ἀννίβου. τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιλειπουσῶν ἠπείγετο μέν, ἔτι λανθάνων ὅτι καὶ πάρεστιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἕκτῳ δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξ Ἰβήρων ἀναστάσεως μηνί, πλείστους ἀποβαλών, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέβαινε.

II

CAP. II 5. Καὶ μικρὸν ἀναπαύσας προσέβαλε Ταυρασίᾳ, πόλει Κελτικῇ. κατὰ κράτος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξελών, τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἔσφαξεν ἐς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἄλλης Κελτικῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ποταμὸν Ἠριδανὸν τὸν νῦν Πάδον λεγόμενον ἐλθών, ἔνθα Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτοῖς τοῖς καλουμένοις Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ὁ δ' ὕπατος ὁ Ῥωμαίων Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, Καρχηδονίοις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πολεμῶν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπύθετο, τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ὅδε Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πράγμασι καταλιπὼν διέπλευσεν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ὅθεν ὁδεύων τε καὶ συμμάχους ὅσους δύναιτο ἀγείρων ἔφθισεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον Ἀννίβαν. καὶ Μάλλιον μὲν καὶ Ἀτίλιον, οἳ τοῖς Βοιοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ὡς οὐ δέον αὐτοὺς ἔτι στρατηγεῖ ὑπάτου παρόντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν παραλαβὼν ἐς

from the cold and the deep snow. He cut down and burned wood, quenching the ashes with water and vinegar. Having thus rendered the rocks brittle he shattered them with iron hammers and opened a passage which is still in use over the mountains and is called Hannibal's pass. As his supplies began to fail he pressed forward, the Romans remaining in ignorance even after he had actually arrived in Italy. With great difficulty, six months after leaving Spain, and after suffering heavy losses, he descended from the mountains to the plain. CHAP. I

II

5. After a brief pause he attacked Taurasia, a Gallic town, took it by storm, and put the prisoners to death, in order to strike terror into the rest of the Gauls. Then he advanced to the river Eridanus, now called the Po, where the Romans were at war with the Gallic tribe called the Boii, and pitched his camp. The Roman consul, Publius Cornelius Scipio, was at that time contending with the Carthaginians in Spain. When he learned of Hannibal's incursion into Italy, he, like Hannibal, left his brother, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, in charge of affairs in Spain and sailed for Etruria. Marching thence, and collecting as many allies as possible, he came before Hannibal to the Po. He sent Manlius and Atilius, who were conducting the war against the Boii, back to Rome, on the ground that they had no right to command when a consul was present, and taking their forces drew them up for battle CHAP. II Battle of Ticinus

CAP. II μάχην ἐξέτασσε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ γενομένης ἀκροβολίας τε καὶ ἱππομαχίας, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἀνεχώρουν ἀσφαλῶς τετειχισμένην, τὸν Πάδον ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν περάσαντές τε καὶ λύσαντες τὰς γεφύρας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ζεύξας ἐπέρα, (6) τὸ δ' ἔργον εὐθὺς τόδε, πρῶτον ἢ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν διαβάσει, παρὰ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα Κελτοῖς ἐξῆρε τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὡς ἄμαχον στρατηγὸν καὶ τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ χρώμενον. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἐν βαρβάροις τε καὶ τεθηπόσιν αὐτόν, καὶ δι' ἄμφω δυναμένοις ἀπατᾶσθαι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κόμην ἐνήλασσε συνεχῶς ἐσκευασμέναις ἐπινοίαις· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ περιιόντα τὰ ἔθνη πρεσβύτην ὁρῶντες, εἶτα νέον, εἶτα μεσαιπόλιον, καὶ συνεχῶς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου, θαυμάζοντες ἐδόκουν θειοτέρας φύσεως λαχεῖν.

Σεμπρώνιος δ' ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος, ἐν Σικελίᾳ τότε ὢν καὶ πυθόμενος, διέπλευσε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτοῦ διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἅπαντες ἐς μάχην ἥξειν. ποταμὸς δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Τρεβίας, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ ἕω, χειμερίου τε τῆς τροπῆς οὔσης καὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ κρύους, ἐπέρων βρεχόμενοι μέχρι τῶν μαστῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ ἐς δευτέραν ὥραν ἀνέπαυσε τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τότε ἐξῆγεν.

7. Παράταξις δ' ἦν ἑκατέρων . . . τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον, ἀμφὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Ἀννίβας δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσιν ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλέφαντας,

with Hannibal. After a skirmish and a cavalry engagement, the Romans were surrounded by the Africans and fled to their camp. Night coming on, they took refuge in Placentia, a place strongly fortified, crossing the Po by bridges which they afterwards demolished. Nevertheless Hannibal made a new bridge and crossed the river. CHAP. II

6. This exploit, following almost immediately on the passage of the Alps, at once exalted Hannibal's fame among the Cisalpine Gauls as an invincible commander and one most signally favoured by fortune. Moreover, being surrounded by men who were doubly easy to dupe, being barbarians and also filled with awe of him, he frequently changed his clothes and his hair, continually devising new fashions. When the Gauls saw him moving among their people now an old man, then a young man, and again a middle-aged man, and continually changing from one to the other, they were astonished and thought that he partook of the divine nature.

Sempronius, the other consul, being then in Sicily and learning what had happened, embarked his forces, came to Scipio's aid, and encamped at a distance of forty stades from him. They were all to join battle on the following day. The river Trebia separated the hostile armies, which the Romans crossed before daylight on a raw, sleety morning of the spring equinox, wading in the water up to their breasts. Hannibal allowed his army to rest on till the second hour and then marched out.

7. The order of battle on each side was <as follows. The Roman cavalry> were posted on the wings in order to protect the infantry. Hannibal ranged his elephants opposite the Roman horse and his foot- Battle of Trebia

CAP. II τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι τοὺς πεζούς· τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκέλευσεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀτρεμεῖν ἕως αὐτός τι σημήνῃ. γενομένων δ' ἐν χερσὶ πάντων, οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἵπποι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οὐ φέροντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ὄψιν οὔτε τὴν ὀδμήν, ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ πεζοί, καίπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τετρυμένοι τε καὶ μαλακοὶ ὄντες, ὅμως ὑπὸ τόλμης τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπεπήδων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτά, καὶ τινῶν καὶ τὰ νεῦρα ὑπέκοπτον, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐνέκλινον ἤδη. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐσήμηνε τὴν ἵππον κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐσκεδασμένων δ' ἄρτι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων διὰ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μόνων τε ὄντων καὶ κακοπαθούντων καὶ δεδιότων τὴν περικύκλωσιν, φυγὴ πανταχόθεν ἦν ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα. καὶ ἀπώλλυντο οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων καταλαμβανόντων ἅτε πεζούς, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραφέροντος· τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν χιόνα τήξαντος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας, καὶ οὔτε στῆναι διὰ τὸ βάθος οὔτε νεῖν διὰ τὰ ὅπλα ἐδύναντο. Σκιπίων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑπόμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν ὀλίγου μὲν ἐδέησε τρωθεὶς διαφθαρῆναι, μόλις δ' ἐς Κρεμῶνα διεσώθη φερόμενος. ἐπίνειον δὲ ἦν τι βραχὺ Πλακεντίας, ᾧ προσβαλὼν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπώλεσε τετρακοσίους καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτρώθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πάντες ἐχείμαζον, Σκιπίων μὲν ἐν Κρεμῶνι καὶ Πλακεντίᾳ, Ἀννίβας δὲ περὶ Πάδον.

8. Οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη πταίοντες περὶ Πάδον (ἥττητο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Βοιῶν πρὸ Ἀννίβου), στρατιάν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄλλην κατέλεγον, σὺν τοῖς οὖσι περὶ τὸν Πάδον ὡς εἶναι τρισκαίδεκα τέλη, καὶ τοῖς

soldiers against the legions, and he ordered his own cavalry to remain quiet behind the elephants until he should give the signal. When battle was joined the horses of the Romans, terrified by the sight and smell of the elephants, broke and fled. The foot-soldiers, although suffering much and weakened by cold, wet clothes and want of sleep, nevertheless boldly attacked these beasts, wounded them, and cut the hamstrings of some, and were already pushing back the enemy's infantry. Hannibal, observing this, gave the signal to his horse to outflank the enemy. The Roman horse having been just dispersed by fear of the elephants, the foot-soldiers were left without protection, and were now in difficulties. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they everywhere broke in flight to their own camp. Many were cut off by the enemy's horse, who naturally overtook foot-soldiers, and many perished in the swift stream, for the river was now swollen with melting snow so that they could not wade, on account of its depth, nor could they swim, on account of the weight of their armour. Scipio, who followed trying to rally them, was wounded and almost killed, and was with difficulty rescued and carried to Cremona. There was a small arsenal near Placentia to which Hannibal laid siege, where he lost 400 men and was himself wounded. And now they all went into winter quarters, Scipio in Cremona and Placentia, and Hannibal on the Po. CHAP. II

8. When the Romans in the city learned of this third defeat on the Po (for they had in fact been beaten by the Boii before Hannibal arrived), they levied a new army of their own citizens which, with those already on the Po, amounted to thirteen

CAP. II συμμάχοις ἑτέραν διπλασίονα ταύτης ἐπήγγελλον. ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος εἶχε πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους. καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμπον, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σαρδόνα κἀκείνην πολεμουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἐς Σικελίαν. τὰ πλέονα δ' ἦγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν οἱ μετὰ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Σεμπρώνιον αἱρεθέντες ὕπατοι, Σερουίλιός τε Γναῖος καὶ Γάιος Φλαμίνιος. ὧν ὁ μὲν Σερουίλιος ἐπὶ τὸν Πάδον ἐπειχθεὶς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκδέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος (ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἀνθύπατος αἱρεθεὶς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν διέπλευσε), Φλαμίνιος δὲ τρισμυρίοις τε πεζοῖς καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἱππεῦσι τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν Ἰταλίαν ἐφύλασσεν, ἣν καὶ μόνην ἄν τις εἴποι κυρίως Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπεννῖνα κατέρχεται μὲν ἐκ μέσων τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ πάντα καθαρῶς Ἰταλία, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον φθάνοντα νῦν μέν ἐστι καὶ ταῦτα Ἰταλία, ὅτι καὶ Τυρρηνία νῦν Ἰταλία, οἰκοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰόνιον ἀκτήν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ Κελτοί, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιθέμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν. ὅτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων Κάμιλλος ἐδίωκε μέχρι τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν, ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν ὑπερβάντες αὐτά, ἀντὶ ἠθῶν τῶν ἰδίων, παρὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον οἰκῆσαι· καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς χώρας ἔτι νῦν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, Ἰταλίαν Γαλατικήν.

9. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς ἐς πολλὰ ὁμοῦ διῄρηντο· Ἀννίβας δὲ τούτων αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τῷ ἦρι, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθὼν ἐδήου τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης. οἱ δὲ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῦ πάνυ ἔδεισαν, οὐ

legions, and they called for double that number from the allies. At this time the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. Some of these they sent to Spain, some to Sardinia (for they were at war there also), and some to Sicily. The greater part were dispatched against Hannibal under Cn. Servilius and Gaius Flaminius, who had succeeded Scipio and Sempronius as consuls. Servilius hastened to the Po, where he received the command from Scipio, and the latter, having been chosen proconsul, sailed for Spain. Flaminius, with 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, guarded Italy within the Apennines, which alone can be properly called Italy. The Apennines extend from the centre of the Alpine range to the sea. The country on the right-hand side of the Apennines is Italy proper. The other side, extending to the Adriatic, is now called Italy also, just as Etruria is now called Italy, but is inhabited by people of Greek descent, along the Adriatic shore, the remainder being occupied by Gauls, the same people who at an early period attacked and burned Rome. When Camillus drove them out and pursued them to the Apennines, it is my opinion that they crossed over these mountains and made a settlement near the Adriatic instead of their former abode. Hence this part of the country is still called Gallic Italy.

CHAP II

B.C. 217

9. Thus had the Romans divided their large armies at this juncture for many campaigns. Hannibal, learning this fact, moved secretly in the early spring, devastated Etruria, and advanced towards the neighbourhood of Rome. The citizens became greatly alarmed as he drew near, for they had no

CAP. 11 παρούσης σφίσιν ἀξιομάχου δυνάμεως. ἐστράτευον δὲ ὅμως ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ Κεντήνιον αὐτοῖς τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἰδιωτῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρχῆς παρούσης, ἐπέστησάν τε καὶ ἐξέπεμπον ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς ἐς τὴν Πλειστινην λίμνην, τὰ στενὰ προληψόμενον, ᾗ συντομώτατόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὁ τοῖς τρισμυρίοις τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰταλίαν φυλάσσων, αἰσθόμενος τῆς σπουδῆς Ἀννίβου, μετέβαινεν ὀξέως, οὐ διαναπαύων τὴν στρατιάν. δέει τε περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἀπειροπόλεμός τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ δημοκοπίας ἠρημένος, ἠπείγετο Ἀννίβᾳ συμπλεκῆναι.

10. Ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς τε ὁρμῆς καὶ ἀπειρίας, ὄρος μέν τι καὶ λίμνην προυβάλετο πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ψιλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἱππέας ἐς φάραγγα ἀποκρύψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φλαμίνιος κατιδὼν ἅμα ἕῳ σμικρὸν μέν τι διέτριψε, τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύων ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ χαρακοποιούμενος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐξῆγεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην αὔους ὄντας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου. τῆς δ' ἐνέδρας ἐκφανείσης ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς τοῦ τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς λίμνης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτός τε ἀνῃρέθη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δισμύριοι. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔτι μυρίους, ἔς τινα κώμην ὀχυρὰν συμφυγόντας, Μαάρβαλ ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἀννίβου, μεγίστην καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ δόξαν ἔχων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐλεῖν εὐχερῶς, οὐδὲ ἀξιῶν ἀπεγνωκόσι μάχεσθαι, ἔπεισε τὰ ὅπλα ἀποθέσθαι, συνθέμενος ἀπολύσειν ὅπῃ

force at hand fit for battle. Nevertheless, they enrolled an army of 8000 out of those who were left, over whom Centenius, one of the patricians, although a private citizen, was appointed commander, there being no regular officer present, and sent into Umbria to the Plestine marshes to occupy the narrow passages which offered the shortest way to Rome. In the meantime Flaminius also, who guarded the interior of Italy with 30,000 men, learning of the rapidity of Hannibal's movement, changed his position hastily, giving his army no chance to rest. Fearing for the safety of the city and being inexperienced in war (for he had won his way to office by demagogue's tricks), he hastened to engage with Hannibal. CHAP. II

10. The latter, well aware of his eagerness and inexperience, adopted a position with a mountain and a lake [Thrasimenus] before him, concealing his light-armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine. Flaminius, seeing the enemy's camp in the early morning, delayed a little, to let his men rest from their toilsome march and to fortify his camp, after which he led them straightway to battle, although they were still weary with night-watches and hard labour. When the ambush revealed itself, he was caught between the mountain and the lake and the enemy, and was killed, with 20,000 of his men. The remaining 10,000 escaped to a village strongly fortified by nature. Maharbal, Hannibal's lieutenant, who had himself acquired very great renown in war, not being able to take them easily and thinking it unwise to fight with desperate men, persuaded them to lay down their arms, agreeing that they should go free wherever they pleased. Battle of Lake Thrasimenus

CAP. II θέλοιεν. ὡς δὲ ἀπέθεντο, λαβὼν ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἀννίβαν γυμνούς. ὁ δ' οὐ φάμενος εἶναι κύριον χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν Μαάρβαλ, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων φιλανθρωπευσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν, θηρεύων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, εἶχε δήσας. τὴν δὲ λείαν τοῖς συστρατεύουσι Κελτοῖς ἀποδόμενος, ἵνα καὶ τούσδε θεραπεύσειε τῷ κέρδει, προύβαινεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, αἰσθομένου μὲν ἤδη τῶν γιγνομένων τοῦ περὶ Παίδον στρατηγοῦ Σερουιλίου, καὶ τετρακισμυρίοις ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίας ἐπειγομένου, Κεντηνίου δὲ ἤδη τοῖς ὀκτακισχιλίοις τὰ στενὰ προειληφότος.

11. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ τήν τε λίμνην εἶδε τὴν Πλειστίνην καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτήν, καὶ τὸν Κεντήνιον ἐν μέσῳ κρατοῦντα τῆς διόδου, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ὁδῶν ἐξήταζεν εἴ τις εἴη περίοδος. οὐδεμίαν δὲ φαμένων εἶναι τρίβον, ἀλλ' ἀπόκρημνα πάντα καὶ φαραγγώδη, δι' αὐτῶν ὅμως ἔπεμπε τοὺς ψιλοὺς νύκτωρ τὸ ὄρος περιιέναι, καὶ Μαάρβαλ μετ' αὐτῶν. τεκμηράμενος δ' ὅτε δύναιντο περιελθεῖν, προσέβαλε τῷ Κεντηνίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον. καὶ συνεστώτων ἑκατέρων, πάνυ προθύμως ὁ Μαάρβαλ ἐκ κορυφῆς ἄνωθεν ὤφθη τε καὶ ἠλάλαξεν. Ῥωμαίων δ' εὐθὺς ἦν φυγὴ καὶ φόνος κεκυκλωμένων, καὶ τρισχίλιοι μὲν ἔπεσον ὀκτακόσιοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις διέφυγον. πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐν ἄστει, καὶ δείσαντες μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλθοι, τό τε τεῖχος ἐπλήρουν λίθων καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ὥπλιζον, ὅπλων μὲν ἀποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ λάφυρα ἐκ τῶν

When they had complied with this agreement he brought them disarmed to Hannibal. The latter, denying that Maharbal had authority to make such an agreement without his consent, nevertheless treated the Roman allies with kindness and sent them home without ransom, in order to conciliate their towns. But he kept all the Romans prisoners. He gave the booty to the Gauls who were serving with him, in order to attach them to him by the hope of gain, and then marched forward. Servilius, the general on the Po, had already heard what had happened, and was hastening to Etruria with 40,000 men, while Centenius, with his 8000, had already occupied the narrow passage previously mentioned. CHAP. II

11. When Hannibal saw the Plestine marsh and the mountain overhanging it, and Centenius between him and them commanding the passage, he inquired of the guides whether there was any way round. When they said there was no path, but that the whole region was rugged and precipitous, he nevertheless sent the light-armed troops, under the command of Maharbal, to explore the district and pass around the mountain by night. When he judged that they had had time to reach their destination he attacked Centenius in front. While the engagement was in progress, Maharbal was seen pushing forward strenuously on the summit above, where he raised a shout. The Romans thus surrounded at once took to flight, and there was a great slaughter among them, 3000 being killed and 800 taken prisoners. The remainder escaped with difficulty. When this news reached the city they feared lest Hannibal should march against them at once. They collected stones upon the walls, and armed the old men. Being in

Hannibal destroys the detachment of Centenius

CAP. II ἱερῶν καταφέροντες, ἃ ἐκ πολέμων ἄλλων κόσμος αὐτοῖς περιέκειτο· δικτάτορά τε, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ, Φάβιον εἵλοντο Μάξιμον.

III

CAP. III 12. Ἀννίβας δέ, θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον αὖθις ἐτράπη, καὶ τὴν παράλιον ὁδεύων ἐπόρθει, λείαν τε περιήλαυνε πολλήν. Σερουίλιος δ' ὕπατος ἀντιπαριὼν αὐτῷ κατῆρεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ἀπέχων Ἀννίβου μίαν ἡμέραν· ἔνθα τὴν στρατιὰν συνεῖχε καὶ τοὺς ἔτι φίλους Κελτῶν ἀπεθάρρυνεν, ἕως ἀφικόμενος Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ δικτάτωρ Σερουίλιον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν ὡς οὔτε ὕπατον οὔτε στρατηγὸν ἔτι ὄντα δικτάτορος ῥηθέντος, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ παρακολουθῶν ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκ ἦει, πολλάκις ἐκείνου προκαλουμένου, πολιορκεῖν δ' οὐδένα εἴα, παραφυλάσσων καὶ ἐπικείμενος. ὁ δέ, τῆς χώρας ἐξαναλωμένης, τροφῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ αὐτὴν αὖθις περιὼν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐξέτασσε, προκαλούμενος ἐς μάχην. Φάβιος δ' οὐ συνεπλέκετο, καταγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ Μινουκίου Ῥούφου, ὃς ἵππαρχος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔγραφε δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ὀκνοίη Φάβιος ὑπὸ δειλίας. διαδραμόντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ θυσίας τινὰς τοῦ Φαβίου, ὁ Μινούκιος ἡγούμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ συνεπλέκη τινὰ μάχην τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, καὶ δόξας πλέον ἔχειν θρασύτερον ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέ-

want of arms they took down from the temples those that had been hung there as trophies of former wars, and, as was customary in times of great danger, they chose a dictator, Fabius Maximus. CHAP. II Fabius Maximus chosen dictator

III

12. But divine Providence turned Hannibal away toward the Adriatic again, where he ravaged the sea-coast as he went and gathered much plunder. The consul Servilius, marching parallel with him, came to Ariminum, being distant from Hannibal by one day's march. He retained his army there and tried to hearten those Gauls who were still friendly to Rome. When Fabius Maximus, the dictator, arrived, he sent Servilius to Rome, for he was no longer either consul or general after a dictator had been chosen. Fabius followed Hannibal closely, but did not come to an engagement with him, although often challenged. He kept careful watch on his enemy's movements, and lay near him and prevented him from besieging any town. After the country was exhausted Hannibal began to be short of provisions. So he traversed it again, drawing his army up each day and offering battle. But Fabius would not come to an engagement, although his master of horse, Minucius Rufus, disapproved of his policy, and wrote to his friends in Rome that Fabius held back on account of cowardice. When, however, Fabius had occasion to hurry to Rome to perform certain sacrifices, the command of the army fell to Minucius, and he had a sort of fight with Hannibal, and as he thought he had the best of it he wrote more boldly to the CHAP. III Policy of Fabius Maximus

CAP. III στελλε τῇ βουλῇ, τὸν Φάβιον αἰτιώμενος οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νικῆσαι. καὶ ἡ βουλή, ἐπανεληλυθότος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤδη τοῦ Φαβίου, ἴσον ἰσχύειν αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπαρχον ἀπέφηνεν.

13. Οἱ μὲν δὴ μερισάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπέδευον, καὶ τῆς ψυχμῆς ἑκάτερος εἴχοντο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, Φάβιος μὲν ἐκτρύχειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος μάχῃ διακριθῆναι. συνιόντος δὲ ἐς μάχην τοῦ Μινουκίου, Φάβιος τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀτρεμοῦσαν ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Μινουκίου τραπέντας ἀνελάμβανε, τοὺς δ' Ἀννίβου διώκοντας ἀπεκρούετο. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ὧδε τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπεκούφισε τῷ Μινουκίῳ, οὐδὲν ἐπιμηνίσας τῆς διαβολῆς· ὁ δὲ Μινούκιος αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς ἀπειρίαν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέδωκε τῷ Φαβίῳ, ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς ἄνδρα τεχνίτην μάχης ἕνα καιρὸν εἶναι τὴν ἀνάγκην. οὗ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὕστερον πολλάκις ἐμέμνητο, οὐκ ὢν εὐχερὴς οὐδ' οὗτος ἐς μάχας μᾶλλον τόλμῃ ἢ τέχνῃ χρῆσθαι. Φάβιος μὲν οὖν αὖθις ὁμοίως ἐφύλασσε τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθεῖν ἐκώλυεν, οὐ συμπλεκόμενος αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ παντί, τοῖς δ' ἀποσκιδναμένοις μόνοις ἐπιτιθέμενος, καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἀπορήσοντα τροφῶν αὐτίκα τὸν Ἀννίβαν.

14. Στενῆς δὲ διόδου πλησιαζούσης, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτὴν οὐ προείδετο, Φάβιος δὲ προπέμψας τετρακισχιλίους κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐπὶ λόφου καρτεροῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας ὡς ᾔσθετο ληφθεὶς ἐν

Senate accusing Fabius of not wanting to win; and the Senate, when Fabius had returned to the camp, voted that his master of horse should share the command equally with him. CHAP. III

13. They accordingly divided the army and encamped near each other; and each held to his own opinion, Fabius seeking to wear out Hannibal by delay and meanwhile to receive no damage from him, while Minucius was eager for a decisive fight. Shortly afterward Minucius joined battle, and Fabius meanwhile, foreseeing what would happen, drew up his own forces without moving. In this way he was enabled to receive Minucius when he was beaten, and to drive Hannibal's men back from the pursuit. Thus did Fabius alleviate Minucius' disaster, bearing him no malice for his slander. Then Minucius, recognising his own want of experience, laid down his command and delivered his part of the army to Fabius, who held to the belief that the only time to fight against a consummate military genius is when necessity compels. This maxim, at a later time, was often remembered by Augustus, who was slow to fight and preferred to win by art rather than by valour. Fabius continued to watch Hannibal as before and prevented him from ravaging the country, not coming to an engagement with his whole army, but merely cutting off stragglers, well knowing that Hannibal would soon be short of supplies. Rashness of Minucius Rufus

14. They were now approaching a narrow pass of which Hannibal was ignorant, but Fabius sent forward 4000 men to occupy it, while he himself encamped with the rest of his forces on a strong hill on the other side of Hannibal. When Hannibal Hannibal caught in a trap

CAP. III μέσῳ Φαβίου τε καὶ τῶν στενῶν φυλασσομένων, ἔδεισε μὲν ὡς οὔ ποτε πρότερον· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε διέξοδον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν ἀπόκρημνα καὶ δύσβατα, οὐδ' ἤλπιζε Φάβιον ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν βιάσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν χωρίων ὀχυρότητα. ὧδε δ' ἔχων ἀπορίας τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντας κατέσφαξεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ νεωτερίσειαν, βοῦς δὲ ὅσας εἶχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ (πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν), τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δᾷδας περιέθηκε, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης τὰς δᾷδας ἐξάψας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πῦρ ἔσβεσε, καὶ σιγὴν βαθεῖαν ἔχειν παρήγγειλε, τοῖς δ' εὐτολμοτάτοις τῶν νέων ἐκέλευσε τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνειν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἄνω πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, ἃ ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε Φαβίου καὶ τῶν στενῶν. αἱ δ' ὑπό τε τῶν ἐλαυνόντων ἐπειγόμεναι, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκκαίοντος αὐτάς, ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἀφειδῶς καὶ βιαίως, εἶτα κατέπιπτον καὶ αὖθις ἀνεπήδων.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἑκατέρωθεν, ὁρῶντες ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἀννίβου στρατοπέδῳ σιγὴν καὶ σκότον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσι πῦρ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀκριβῶς ἐπινοῆσαι, ὁ μὲν Φάβιος εἴκαζεν εἶναί τι στρατήγημα τοῦτο Ἀννίβου, καὶ συνεῖναι μὴ δυνάμενος ἀτρέμα συνεῖχε τὴν στρατιάν, τὴν νύκτα ὑφορώμενος· οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ὑπέλαβον, ἅπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, φεύγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις, ἄνω διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιαζόμενον, καὶ μετεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν φαντασίαν τοῦ πυρὸς καταθέοντες ὡς ἐκεῖ ληψόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν κακοπαθοῦντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς εἶδε καταβάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, διέδραμεν ἐς

discovered that he had been caught between Fabius and the defended pass he was more alarmed than he had ever been before, for there was no way of escape, but he was surrounded by insurmountable precipices; nor could he hope to overcome Fabius, or those defending the pass, on account of the strength of their position. In this desperate situation he put to death his prisoners, who numbered about 5000, lest they should turn upon him in the hour of danger. Then he tied torches to the horns of all the cattle he had in the camp (and there were many), and when night came he lighted the torches, extinguished all the camp fires, and commanded the strictest silence. Then he ordered the most courageous of his young men to drive the cattle quickly up the rocky places between Fabius and the pass. These, urged on by their drivers and burned by the torches, ran recklessly and furiously up the mountain side, falling down, and springing to their feet again. CHAP. III

15. The Romans on either side, when they observed the silence and darkness in Hannibal's camp and the many and various lights on the mountain side, could not exactly make out what was taking place, because it was night. Fabius, indeed, suspected that it was some stratagem of Hannibal's, but not being sure he kept his army in its position on account of the darkness. But those who held the pass imagined, just as Hannibal wished, that in his extremity he was trying to escape by scaling the cliffs above. So they hastened away to the place where they saw the lights, thinking that there they would catch Hannibal in difficulties. But he, when he saw them coming down from the pass, made for it

CAP. III αὐτὰ τοῖς ταχυτάτοις ἄνευ φωτὸς μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἵνα διαλάθοι, καταλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατυνάμενος ἐσήμηνε τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀντεβόησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον ἐξέφηναν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δὴ τότε ᾔσθοντο τῆς ἀπάτης, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ ἄλλος Ἀννίβου καὶ οἱ τὰς βοῦς ἐλαύνοντες ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἀδεῶς διέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου τότε ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτός τε περιῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζε, καὶ ἐς Γερωνίαν τῆς Ἰαπυγίας ἐπειχθείς, ἣ σίτου πλήρης ἦν, ἐξεῖλεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις ἀδεῶς ἐχείμαζεν.

16. Ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ τότε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος εἵπετο, καὶ τῆς Γερωνίας ἀποσχὼν δέκα σταδίους ἐστρατοπέδευε, λαβὼν ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν Αὔφιδον. ληγόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἓξ μηνῶν ἐφ' οὓς αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς δικτάτορας, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι Σερουίλιός τε καὶ Ἀτίλιος ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὰς ἐπανῆεσαν, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ὁ Φάβιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπῄει, γίγνονται δέ τινες ἐν τῷδε τῷ χειμῶνι Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀκροβολισμοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυδέστερα καὶ εὐθαρσέστερα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπέστελλε μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα Καρχηδονίοις ὑπερεπαίρων, τότε δὲ ἀπολωλότων αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἠπόρει, καὶ στρατιὰν ᾔτει καὶ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντα ἐπισκώπτοντες τὰ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τότε ὑπεκρίνοντο ἀπορεῖν ὅτι, τῶν νικώντων οὐκ αἰτούντων χρήματα ἀλλὰ πεμπόντων ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰτοίη, λέγων νικᾶν. οἷς

with a flying detachment, in dead silence and without light, in order to conceal the movement. Having seized the pass and strengthened his position he made a signal by trumpet, and the army in camp answered him with a shout and immediately lighted a fire. Then the Romans saw that they had been deceived, but the remainder of Hannibal's army and those who drove the cattle advanced to the pass without fear, and when he had brought them all together he moved forward. Thus did Hannibal beyond expectation rescue himself and his army from danger. Thence he advanced hastily to Geronia, a city of Iapygia, which was well stored with provisions, captured the town, and wintered there in safety and abundance.

He escapes from Fabius

16. Fabius, still pursuing the same policy as before, followed and encamped at a distance of ten stades from Geronia, with the river Aufidus flowing between them. But the six months which limited the terms of dictators among the Romans having now expired, the consuls Servilius and Atilius resumed their office and came to the camp, and Fabius returned to Rome. During the winter frequent skirmishes took place between Hannibal and the Romans, in which the latter were generally successful, and showed greater courage. Hannibal, although in his despatches to the Carthaginians he invariably exaggerated his achievements, now, having lost many men and being in want of assistance, asked them to send him soldiers and money. But his enemies, who jeered at all his doings, now too replied that they could not understand how Hannibal should be asking for help when he said he was winning victories, since victorious generals did not ask for money but sent it

The Carthaginians refuse to send reinforcements to Hannibal

CAP. III οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πεισθέντες οὔτε στρατιὰν ἔπεμπον οὔτε χρήματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ταῦτ' ὀδυρόμενος ἔγραφεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἀρχομένου θέρους μεθ' ὅσης δύναιτο στρατιᾶς καὶ χρημάτων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ πορθεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπέκεινα, ἵνα δηῶτο πᾶσα καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κάμνοιεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν.

17. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Ἀννίβαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῷ τε μεγέθει τῆς ἥττης τῆς Φλαμινίου καὶ Κεντηνίου περιαλγοῦντες ὡς ἀνάξια σφῶν καὶ παράλογα καὶ ἀθρόα παθόντες, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως οὐ φέροντες ἔνδον ὄντα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἄλλα τε κατέλεγον ἐκ Ῥώμης τέλη στρατιωτῶν τέσσαρα μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πανταχόθεν ἤγειρον ἐς Ἰαπυγίαν. ὑπάτους τε αἱροῦνται ἐκ μὲν δόξης πολεμικῆς Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον τὸν Ἰλλυριοῖς πολεμήσαντα, ἐκ δὲ δημοκοπίας Τερέντιον Οὐάρρωνα, πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους δοξοκοπίας ὑπισχνούμενον. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραπέμποντες ἐξιόντας ἐδέοντο κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρύχειν χρόνῳ τε καὶ στρατείαις συνεχέσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ λιμῷ καὶ ἀργίᾳ τῆς γῆς δημουμένης. οἱ δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσλαβόντες, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισμυρίους ἱππέας δ' ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ κώμῃ τινὶ καλουμένῃ Κάνναις. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευεν. φύσει δὲ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος ὁ Ἀννίβας καὶ οὔ ποτε φέρων ἀργίαν, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἀπορίας αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούσης ἐξέτασσε συνεχῶς

home to their own people. The Carthaginians followed their suggestion and sent neither soldiers nor money. Hannibal, lamenting this, wrote to his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, asking him to make an incursion into Italy at the beginning of summer with what men and money he could raise, and ravage the other extremity so that the whole country might be wasted at once and the Romans exhausted by the double encounter. CHAP. III

17. Such was the situation of Hannibal's affairs. The Romans, however, distressed by the magnitude of the disasters to Flaminius and Centenius, and considering such a succession of surprising defeats unworthy of their dignity, and that a war within their own territory was in itself intolerable, were furious against Hannibal, and levied four new legions in the city to serve against him, and hurried the allied forces from all quarters to Iapygia. As consuls they chose Lucius Aemilius, who had acquired military fame in the war against the Illyrians, and Terentius Varro, a demagogue who had won popular favour by the usual high-sounding promises. When they sent the consuls forward they begged them as they were leaving the city to end the war by battle, and not to exhaust the city by delay, by continued service, by taxes, and by hunger and idleness due to the devastation of the fields. The consuls on taking command of the army in Apulia had altogether 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, and they encamped near a village called Cannae. Hannibal encamped opposite them. He was by nature ready to fight and ever impatient of idleness, but now more so than ever because he was troubled by lack of supplies, for which reason he continually offered battle. He feared

B.C. 216

The new Consuls

CAP. III ἐς μάχην, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ μισθοφόροι μετάθοιντο διὰ τὴν ἀμισθίαν ἢ σκεδασθεῖεν ἐπὶ συλλογὴν ἀγορᾶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους. 18. γνώμη δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ἦν, Αἰμιλίου μὲν ὑπομένειν ἐκτρύχοντας Ἀννίβαν οὐ δυνησόμενον ἀντέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, μηδὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἔρχεσθαι γεγυμνασμένῳ πολέμοις καὶ εὐτυχίαις ἀνδρὶ καὶ στρατῷ, Τερεντίου δ', οἷα δημοκόπου, μνημονεύειν ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐξιοῦσιν ἐνετέλλετο, καὶ κρῖναι τὴν μάχην ὀξέως. τούτοιν Αἰμιλίῳ μὲν προσετίθετο Σερουίλιος ὁ πέρυσιν ὕπατος ἔτι παρών, Τερεντίῳ δὲ ὅσοι τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἡγοῦντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἀντεχόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν ἑτέρων, ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς χορτολογοῦσιν αὐτῶν ἢ ξυλευομένοις ἐπιτιθέμενος ὑπεκρίνετο ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ περὶ ἐσχάτην ποτὲ φυλακὴν ἐκίνει τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἀναζευγνύς. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος ἰδὼν ἐξῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀπαγορεύοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τότε τοῦ Αἰμιλίου. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, οἰωνίζετο ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθασι, καὶ πέμψας ὀδεύοντι ἤδη τῷ Τερεντίῳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπαίσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐπαινῇ μέν, αἰδούμενος οἰωνοῖς ἀπειθῆσαι, τὰς δὲ κόμας ἐν ὄψει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐτίλλετο καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ὡς τὴν νίκην ἀφῃρημένος ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας τοῦ συνάρχου. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνηγανάκτει.

also lest his mercenaries should desert him, as they had not received their pay, or disperse through the country in search of food. For this reason he kept challenging the enemy.

Their disagreement

18. The opinions of the consuls were diverse. Aemilius thought that it was best to exhaust Hannibal by delay, as he could not hold out long for want of provisions, rather than come to an engagement with a general and army schooled by successful war. But Varro, like the demagogue he was, reminded his colleague of the charge which the people had laid upon them at their departure, and wished to bring matters to a speedy decision by battle. Servilius, the consul of the previous year, who was still present, supported the opinion of Aemilius, but all the senators and so-called knights who were officers in the army agreed with Varro. While they were still disputing, Hannibal set upon some detachments of theirs that were collecting wood and forage, and pretended to be defeated, and about the last watch put the bulk of his army in motion as if in retreat. Varro, seeing this, led out the army with the thought of pursuing Hannibal in his flight. Aemilius even then protested, and as Varro did not obey he consulted the omens, according to the Roman custom, by himself, and sent word to Varro, just as he was starting, that the day was unpropitious. The latter thereupon came back, not venturing to disregard the omen, but he tore his hair in the sight of the whole army, and cried out that victory had been snatched from him by the envy of his colleague; and the troops shared his indignation.

IV

CAP. IV

19. Ἀννίβου δ', ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἐξέπιπτεν, αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανελθόντος καὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκφήναντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐδίδασκε τὸν Τερέντιον πάνθ' ὑπονοεῖν τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἀλλ' ὡς εἶχεν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐσδραμών, παρόντων ἔτι τῶν τε ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ ταξιάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ᾐτιᾶτο περὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν τὸν Αἰμίλιον προφασίσασθαι καὶ νίκην φανερὰν ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὀκνοῦντα ὑπὸ δειλίας, ἢ οἱ φθονοῦντα διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ βοῶντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἡ στρατιὰ περιεστῶσα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήκουε, καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἐβλασφήμουν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε τοῖς ἔνδον συμφέροντα μάτην, Τερεντίῳ δέ, πλὴν Σερουιλίου, τῶν ἄλλων συντιθεμένων εἶξεν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐξέτασσεν αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος· παρεχώρει γὰρ ὁ Τερέντιος. Ἀννίβας δ' ᾔσθετο, καὶ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν (οὐ γάρ πω πρὸς μάχην διετέτακτο), τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ κατέβαινον ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἑκάτεροι, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐς τρία τεταγμένοι, μικρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες, καὶ μέρος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἶχε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑκατέρωθεν. στρατηγοὶ δ' ἐφειστήκεσαν τῷ μέσῳ μὲν Αἰμίλιος, τῷ δὲ λαιῷ Σερουίλιος, Τερέντιος δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ δεξιά, χιλίους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἔχων ἱππέας ἐπειλεγμένους, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονοίη. οὕτω μὲν ἐτάξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι· 20. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας πρῶτα μέν, εἰδὼς περὶ μεσημβρίαν εὗρον ζοφώδη τὸν χῶρον ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιπνέοντα,

IV

CHAP. IV

Preparations for battle

19. Hannibal, when his scheme failed, returned forthwith to his camp, thus showing that his retreat was feigned, but even this did not teach Varro to suspect every movement of Hannibal. Hurrying armed as he was to the praetorium, he complained in the presence of the senators, centurions, and tribunes that Aemilius had made a pretence about the omen in order to snatch a sure victory from the city, either hesitating from cowardice or moved by jealousy towards himself. While he was thus venting his wrath the soldiers standing around the tent overheard him and joined in the censure of Aemilius. The latter nevertheless continued to give good advice to those within, but in vain. When all the others, Servilius alone excepted, sided with Varro, he yielded, and on the following day himself drew up the army in order of battle as commander, for Varro yielded to him that position. Hannibal perceived the movement but did not come out of his camp because he was not yet ready for battle. On the next day both armies came down to the open field. The Romans were drawn up in three lines with a small interval between them, each part having infantry in the centre, with light-armed troops and cavalry on the wings. Aemilius commanded the centre, Servilius the left wing, and Varro the right. Each had a thousand picked horse at hand to carry aid wherever it should be needed. Such was the Roman formation.

Battle of Cannae

20. Hannibal first of all, knowing that a stormy east wind began to blow in that region regularly

CAP. IV προύλαβεν ὅπῃ κατὰ νώτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἔμελλεν ἕξειν· ἔπειτα ἐς ὄρος περίφυτον καὶ φαραγγώδες ἱππέας προενήδρευσε καὶ ψιλούς, οἷς εἴρητο, ὅταν αἱ φάλαγγες ἔργων ἔχωνται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπίῃ, κατόπιν γίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων. ἄνδρας τε πεντακοσίους Κελτίβηρας ἐπὶ τοῖς μακροῖς ξίφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄλλα ξίφη βραχύτερα περιέζωσεν, οἷς ἔμελλεν αὐτὸς ὅτε δέοι χρῆσθαι σημανεῖν. σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν κἀκεῖνος ἐς τρία διῄρει, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπέτασσεν ἐκ μεγάλων διαστημάτων, εἰ δύναιντο κυκλώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐπέστησε δὲ τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Μάγωνα τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἀννωνα· τὸ δὲ μέσον αὐτὸς εἶχε κατὰ δόξαν Αἰμιλίου τῆς ἐμπειρίας. δισχίλιοί τε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι παρέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ Μαάρβαλ ἑτέρους ἔχων χιλίους ἐφήδρευεν ὅπῃ τι πονούμενον ἴδοι. καὶ τάδε πράσσων ἐς δευτέραν παρέτεινεν ὥραν, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα θᾶσσον ἐπέλθοι.

21. Γενομένων δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν ἑκατέροις, οἱ στρατηγοὶ διέθεον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτούς, καὶ ὑπεμίμνησκον οἱ μὲν γονέων τε καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς προγεγενημένης ἥττης, ὡς ἐν τῇδε τῇ μάχῃ περὶ σωτηρίας κριθησομένους, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε προγεγονότων ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατορθωμάτων, καὶ ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν ἡττημένων. ἐπεὶ δ' αἵ τε σάλπιγγες ἤχησαν καὶ αἱ φαλάγγες ἐβόησαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται καὶ λιθοβόλοι προδραμόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀλλήλων κατῆρχον, μετὰ δὲ

about noon, chose a position where he would have the wind at his back. Then on a wooded hill cut by ravines he placed some cavalry and light-armed troops in ambush, to whom he gave orders that when the battle was joined and the wind had risen, they should fall upon the enemy's rear. He also armed 500 Celtiberians with daggers under their clothes (in addition to their long swords) which they were to use at a signal from himself. He too divided his whole army into three lines of battle and extended his horse at long distances on the wings in order to outflank the enemy if possible. He gave the command of the right wing to his brother Mago, and of the left to his nephew Hanno, retaining the centre for himself on account of Aemilius' reputation as an experienced commander. He had 2000 picked horse, and Maharbal had 1000 others, in reserve for emergencies. In making these arrangements he protracted the time till about the second hour so that the wind might come to his aid the sooner. CHAP. IV

21. When all was in readiness on either side the commanders rode up and down the ranks encouraging their soldiers. The Romans were exhorted to remember their parents, wives, and children, and the defeat which they had suffered. They were admonished that in this battle they would be fighting for existence. Hannibal reminded his men of their former exploits and their victories over these same enemies, and said that it would be shameful to be vanquished now by the vanquished. When the trumpets sounded the foot-soldiers raised a shout and the archers, slingers, and stone-throwers advanced and began the battle. After them the

CAP IV τούτους αἱ φάλαγγες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, φόνος τε καὶ πόνος ἦν πολὺς ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζομένων ἑκατέρων. ἐν ᾧ σημαίνει μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοῖς ἱππεῦσι κυκλοῦσθαι τὰ κέρατα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ὀλιγώτεροι τῶν πολεμίων ὄντες ἀντιπαρῆγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκτείναντες ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ἠγωνίζοντο ὅμως ὑπὸ προθυμίας, καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ Μαάρβαλ ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ σφᾶς ἐπῆγον κραυγῇ ἀπλέτῳ καὶ βαρβαρικῇ, νομίσαντες ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς ἐναντίους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑπέμενον.

22. Διαπιπτούσης δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ σημεῖον ἐπῆρε τοῖς Κελτίβηρσι τοῖς πεντακοσίοις. οἱ δὲ τῆς τάξεως ἐκδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δόρατα καὶ τὰ ξίφη τὰ φανερὰ ὤρεγον ὥσπερ αὐτομολοῦντες. καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτῶν αὐτίκα παρεῖλεν, ἐν δὲ μόνοις, ὡς ᾤετο, τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἔστησεν ὀπίσω· οὐ γὰρ ἐδοκίμαζε καταδεῖν αὐτομόλους ἐν ὄψει πολεμίων, οὐδὲ ὑπώπτευεν ἐν χιτῶσι μόνοις ὁρῶν, οὐδὲ καιρὸς ἦν ἐν τοσῷδε πόνῳ. σπεῖραι δ' ἕτεραι Λιβύων προσεποιήσαντο φεύγειν ἄχρι τῶν ὀρῶν, συναλαλάξασαι μέγα. σύμβολον δ' ἦν ἡ βοὴ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. καὶ εὐθὺς οἵ τε ψιλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνοντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατέβαινε πολὺ καὶ ζοφῶδες, ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ὄψεις μετὰ κονιορτοῦ φερόμενον· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυε προορᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους. τά τε βέλη Ῥωμαίοις μὲν πάντα ἀμβλύτερα διὰ

legions took up the work. Now began a great slaughter and a great struggle, each side fighting furiously. Meanwhile Hannibal gave the signal to his horse to surround the enemy's wings. The Roman horse, although inferior in number, advanced against them, and extending their line of battle to a dangerous thinness, nevertheless fought valiantly, especially those on the left toward the sea. Hannibal and Maharbal together now led against them the cavalry they had kept around their own persons, with loud barbarian shouts, thinking to terrify their enemies. Yet the Romans received their onslaught also without flinching and without fear. CHAP. IV

22. When Hannibal saw that this manœuvre too had failed, he gave the signal to his 500 Celtiberians. These passing out of their own line of battle went over to the Romans, holding out their shields, spears, and the swords they wore openly, as if deserters. Servilius commended them and at once took away their arms and stationed them in the rear, in their tunics alone as he supposed, for he did not think it wise to put deserters in chains in the sight of the enemy, nor did he have any suspicion of men whom he saw with nothing but their tunics, nor was there time to take counsel in the thick of the fray. Then some of the African cohorts made a pretence of flight toward the mountains, uttering loud cries. This was the signal to those concealed in the ravines to turn upon the pursuers. Straightway the light-armed troops and cavalry that had been placed in ambush showed themselves, and simultaneously a strong and blinding wind rose, carrying dust into the eyes of the Romans, which quite prevented them from seeing their enemies. The impetus of the Roman missiles

CAP. IV τὴν ἀντίπνοιαν ἦν, τοῖς δὲ ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτυχῆ, τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν βολὴν συνωθοῦντος. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν αὐτὰ προορῶντες οὔτ' ἀφιέναι καλῶς δυνάμενοι, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς περιπταίοντες, ἤδη ποικίλως ἐθορυβοῦντο.

23. Τότε δὴ τὸν καιρὸν ὁρῶντες τὸν ἐπηγγελμένον σφίσιν οἱ πεντακόσιοι, τὰ ξίφη τὰ βραχύτερα ἐκ τῶν κόλπων ἐπισπάσαντες πρώτους ἀνῄρουν ὧν ἦσαν ὀπίσω, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους, ἁρπάσαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ξίφη τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ τὰ δόρατα, πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτον καὶ μετεπίδων ἀφειδῶς· καὶ φόνον εἰργάζοντο πλεῖστον οὗτοι μάλιστα, ἅτε πάντων ὄντες ὀπίσω. τό τε κακὸν ἤδη πολὺ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ποικίλον ἦν, πονουμένοις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, κεκυκλωμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀναιρουμένοις δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναμεμιγμένων. οὐδ' ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους σφίσιν ἐκ μετώπου· οὐδ' ἐπεγίγνωσκον ἔτι αὐτοὺς εὐμαρῶς, Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ κονιορτὸς ἠνώχλει, καὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδ' εἰκάσαι τὸ συμβαῖνον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ φόβῳ, πάντα πλείω νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας οὐ τοσαύτας, οὐδὲ τοὺς πεντακοσίους εἰδότες ὅτι ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι, ἀλλ' ὅλον σφῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ αὐτομόλων ἡγούμενοι κεκυκλῶσθαι, τραπέντες ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Τερέντιος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆρχε τῆς φυγῆς, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ τὸ λαιὸν ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ Σερουίλιος ἡγούμενος πρὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον

was lessened by the opposing wind, while that of the enemy's was increased and their aim made surer. The Romans, not being able to see and avoid the enemy's weapons nor to take good aim with their own, stumbled against each other and soon fell into disorder of various kinds. CHAP. IV

23. At this juncture the 500 Celtiberians, seeing that the promised opportunity had come, drew their daggers from their bosoms and first slew those who were just in front of them, then, seizing the swords, shields, and spears of the dead, made an onslaught on the whole line, darting from one to another indiscriminately, and they accomplished a very great slaughter, inasmuch as they were in the rear of all. The Romans were now in great and manifold trouble, assailed by the enemy in front, by ambuscades in flank, and butchered by foes amid their own ranks. They could not turn upon these last on account of the pressure of the enemy in front, and because it was no longer easy to distinguish these assailants, since they had possessed themselves of Roman shields. Most of all were they harassed by the dust, which prevented them from even guessing what was taking place. But (as usually happens in cases of disorder and panic) they considered their condition worse than it was, and the ambuscades more numerous than they were. They did not even know that the 500 were 500, but thought that their whole army was surrounded by cavalry and deserters. So they turned and broke into headlong flight, first those on the right wing, where Varro himself led the retreat, and after them the left wing, whose commander, Servilius, however, went to the assistance of Aemilius. Around these the bravest of

CAP. IV διέδραμε· καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν ὅσον ἄριστον ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

24. Καταθορόντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ ἵππων, ἐπεζομάχουν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι τοῖς Ἀννίβου κεκυκλωμένοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας σὺν εὐψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ λαμπρὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐμπίπτοντες σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἀνηροῦντο, περιτρέχοντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὁτὲ μὲν ἐξοτρύνοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸ λείψανον τῆς νίκης ἐκπονῆσαι, ὁτὲ δ' ἐπιπλήσσοντός τε καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος, εἰ τὸ πλῆθος νενικηκότες ὀλίγων οὐ περιέσονται. Ῥωμαῖοι δ', ἕως μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ Αἰμίλιος καὶ ὁ Σερουίλιος περιῆσαν, πολλὰ δρῶντές τε καὶ πάσχοντες ὅμως ὑπέμενον ἐν τάξει· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεσον αὐτῶν οἱ στρατηγοί, διὰ μέσων βιαζόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν μάλα καρτερῶς κατὰ μέρη διέφευγον, οἱ μέν, ἔνθαπερ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα δύο ὄντα· καὶ σύμπαντες οἵδε ἐγένοντο ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἷς ὁ Ἀννίβας φυλακὴν ἐπέστησεν· οἱ δ' ἐς Κάννας, περὶ δισχιλίους, καὶ παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς οἵδε οἱ δισχίλιοι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὀλίγοι δ' ἐς Κανύσιον διέδρασαν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐσκεδάσθησαν ἀνὰ τὰς ὕλας.

25. Τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων μάχης, ἀρξαμένης μὲν ὑπὲρ ὥραν δευτέραν, ληξάσης δὲ πρὸ δύο τῆς νυκτὸς ὡρῶν, οὔσης δ' ἔτι νῦν ἀοιδίμου Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ· ἀπέθανον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ὥραις πεντακισμύριοι, καὶ ζώντων ἐλήφθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἀπό τε τῆς βουλῆς πολλοὶ παρόντες ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ

the horse and foot rallied, to the number of about 10,000.

Total defeat of the Roman army

24. The generals and after them all the others who had horses dismounted and fought on foot with Hannibal's cavalry, who surrounded them. They charged the enemy with fury and performed many brilliant exploits, the fruit of military experience, aided by courage and despair. But they fell on all sides, Hannibal circling round them and encouraging his soldiers, now exhorting them to make their victory complete, now rebuking and reproaching them because, after they had scattered the main body of the enemy, they could not overcome the small remainder. As long as Aemilius and Servilius survived the Romans stood firm, although giving and receiving many wounds, but when their generals fell they forced their way through the midst of their enemies most bravely, and escaped in various directions. Some took refuge in the two camps where the others had preceded them in their flight. These were altogether about 15,000, whom Hannibal straightway besieged. Others, to the number of about 2000, took refuge in Cannae, and these surrendered to Hannibal. A few escaped to Canusium. The remainder were dispersed in groups through the woods.

Roman losses

25. Such was the result of the battle between Hannibal and the Romans at Cannae, which was begun after the second hour of the day and ended within two hours of nightfall, and which is still famous among the Romans as a disaster; for in these few hours 50,000 of their soldiers were slain and a great many taken prisoners. Many senators who were present lost their lives and with them all

CAP. IV ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ταξίαρχοί τε πάντες καὶ λοχαγοὶ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δύο. ὁ δὲ φαυλότατός τε καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν αἴτιος ἀρχομένης τῆς τροπῆς ἐπεφεύγει. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δύο ἔτεσιν ἤδη περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἀννίβᾳ πολεμοῦντες ἀπωλωλέκεσαν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίων τε καὶ συμμάχων ἐς δέκα μυριάδας.

26. Ἀννίβας δὲ νίκην ἀρίστην τε καὶ σπάνιον ἐξενεγκάμενος ἡμέρας μιᾶς στρατηγήμασι τέσσαρσι, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τῇ φορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑποκριθεῖσιν αὐτομολεῖν καὶ τοῖς προσποιηθεῖσι φεύγειν καὶ τοῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς φάραγξι κεκρυμμένοις, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πεσόντας ἐπήει, θεώμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀνῃρημένους ᾤμωξε, καὶ δακρύσας εἶπεν οὐ χρῆζειν ἑτέρας τοιᾶσδε νίκης. ὃ καὶ Πύρρον φασὶν εἰπεῖν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἠπείρου βασιλέα, Ῥωμαίων κἀκεῖνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κρατοῦντα σὺν ὁμοίᾳ ζημίᾳ. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ μείζονι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ἑσπέρας ἑλόμενοι Πόπλιον Σεμπρώνιον, ἐβιάσαντο τοὺς Ἀννίβου φύλακας ὕπνου καὶ κόπου πλήρεις ὄντας, καὶ διέδραμον ἐς Κανύσιον περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ βραχυτέρῳ πεντακισχίλιοι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Τερέντιος δὲ στρατὸν ἀγείρας τοὺς διερριμμένους ἐπειρᾶτο παραθαρρύνειν, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας τῶν χιλιάρχων τινὰ Σκιπίωνα ἐς Ῥώμην διέδραμεν.

V

CAP. V 27. Ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἀπαγγελθείσης τῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐθρήνουν τε τοὺς οἰκείους

the military tribunes and centurions, and their two best generals. The most worthless one, who was the cause of the calamity, had made good his escape at the beginning of the rout. The Romans, in their two years' war with Hannibal in Italy, had now lost, of their own and their allied forces, about 100,000 men. CHAP. IV

26. Hannibal gained this rare and splendid victory by employing four stratagems in one day; the force of the wind, the feigned desertion of the Celtiberians, the pretended flight, and the ambuscades in the ravines. Immediately after the battle he went to view the dead. When he saw the bravest of his friends lying among the slain he burst into tears and said that he did not want another such victory. It is said that Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, made the same exclamation before him, when he too gained a victory over the Romans in Italy, with like loss to himself. Those of the fugitives who had taken refuge in the larger camp, in the evening chose Publius Sempronius as their general, and forced a passage through Hannibal's guards, who were tired and drowsy. These men, to the number of about 10,000, made their way to Canusium about midnight. But the 5000 in the smaller camp were captured by Hannibal the following day. Varro, having collected the remains of the army, sought to revive their fainting spirits, put them under the command of Scipio, one of the military tribunes, and himself hastened to Rome. Hannibal's strategy

V

27. When the disaster was announced in the city, the men thronged the streets, uttering lamentations CHAP. V

CAP. V

ἀνακαλοῦντες, καὶ σφᾶς ὡς αὐτικα ἁλωσομένους ὠλοφύροντο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἱκέτευον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων λῆξαί ποτε τὰς συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς ἱλάσκοντο τοὺς θεούς, εἴ τι μήνιμα ἐνοχλεῖ, κορεσθῆναι τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Κόιντον μὲν Φάβιον, τὸν συγγραφέα τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπε χρησόμενον περὶ τῶν παρόντων, δούλους δὲ ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιδόντων ἠλευθέρου, ὅπλα τε καὶ τόξα τοὺς ἐν ἄστει πάντας ἐργάζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ ὅς, τινὰς συνέλεγεν. Κλαύδιόν τε Μάρκελλον μέλλοντα πλεῖν ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβου πόλεμον μετέφερεν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν στόλον ἐμερίσατο τῷ συνάρχῳ Φουρίῳ, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς δούλους ἄγων καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἐδύνατο τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ συμμάχων, γενομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας, ἐς τὸ Τεανὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ ὅ τι πράξειν ὁ Ἀννίβας μέλλοι παρεφύλασσεν.

28. Ἀννίβου δὲ δόντος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν, εἰ θέλοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν ἄστει λύσασθαι χρημάτων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Γναῖος Σεμπρώνιος, ὁρκώσαντος ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήξειν, οἱ μὲν οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἁλόντων, περιστάντες τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπηγγέλλοντο λύσεσθαι τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστος ἰδίοις χρήμασι, καὶ παρεκάλουν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦτο

for their relatives and calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as being soon to fall into the enemy's hands. The women prayed in the temples with their children that there might sometime be an end to the calamities of the city. The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with what had already happened. The Senate sent Quintus Fabius (the same who wrote a history of these events) to the temple of Delphi to seek an oracle concerning the present position of affairs. They freed about 8000 slaves with the masters' consent, and ordered everybody in the city to go to work making arms and projectiles. They also, in spite of the situation, collected a certain number of allies. Further they changed the destination of Claudius Marcellus, who was about to sail to Sicily, and sent him to fight against Hannibal. Marcellus divided the fleet with his colleague Furius and sent a part of it to Sicily, while he himself took the manumitted slaves and as many citizens and allies as he could collect, amounting altogether to 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and marched to Teanum where he waited to see what Hannibal would do next.

CHAP. V

Consternation in Rome

28. Hannibal allowed his captives to send messengers to Rome in their own behalf, to see if the citizens would ransom them with money. Three were chosen by them, of whom Gn. Sempronius was the leader, and Hannibal exacted an oath from them that they would return to him. The relatives of the prisoners, collecting around the senate-house, declared their readiness to redeem their friends severally with their own money and begged the

CAP. V

σφίσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῖς συνεδάκρυε καὶ συνεδεῖτο· τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἠξίουν ἐπὶ τοσαῖσδε συμφοραῖς ἄλλους τοσούσδε βλαβῆναι τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ δούλους μὲν ἐλευθεροῦν τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ὑπερορᾶν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐθίζειν τῷδε τῷ ἐλέῳ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἢ νικᾶν μαχομένους ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν ὡς οὐκ ὂν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐλεεῖσθαι τὸν φυγόντα. πολλῶν δὲ παραδειγμάτων ἐς ἑκάτερα λεχθέντων, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι λύσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἡγουμένη, πολλῶν σφίσιν ἔτι κινδύνων ἐπόντων, οὐ συνοίσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ δ' ἀπάνθρωπον, εἰ καὶ σκυθρωπὸν εἴη, πρός τε τὰ μέλλοντα χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταπλήξειν Ἀννίβαν τῷ τολμήματι. Σεμπρώνιος οὖν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπανῆεσαν. ὁ δ' ἔστι μὲν οὓς ἀπέδοτο τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἔστι δ' οὓς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνῄρει, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου καὶ ἐπέρα. ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς, μονομαχεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θεαταῖς τοῖς Λίβυσιν ἠνάγκασε, πατέρας τε υἱοῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων ὑπεροψίας ὠμῆς.

29. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐπιὼν τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ Πετηλίνοις μηχανήματα προσῆγεν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τόλμης μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεξέθεον αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα ἔδρων, τάς τε μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οὐχ ἧσσον αὐτοῖς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνδριζομένων.

Senate to allow them to do so, and the people joined them with their own prayers and tears. Some of the Senators thought it was not wise, after such great calamities, to expose the city to the loss of so many more men, or to disdain free men while giving liberty to slaves. Others thought that it was not fitting to accustom men to flight by such compassion, but rather to teach them to conquer or die in the field, knowing that even the fugitive's own friends would not be allowed to pity him. Many precedents having been adduced on either side, the Senate finally decided that the prisoners should not be ransomed by their relatives, being of opinion that while so many dangers were still impending present clemency would tend to future harm, while severity, although painful, would be for the public advantage hereafter, and at the present time would startle Hannibal by its very boldness. Accordingly Sempronius and the two prisoners who accompanied him returned to Hannibal. The latter sold some of his prisoners, put others to death in anger, and made a bridge of their bodies with which he passed over the stream. The senators and other distinguished prisoners in his hands he compelled to fight with each other, as a spectacle for the Africans, fathers against sons, and brothers against brothers. He omitted no act of disdainful cruelty.

CHAP. V

Senate refuses to ransom prisoners

29. Hannibal next turned his arms against the territory of the Roman allies and, having devastated it, laid siege to Petilia. The inhabitants, although few in number, made courageous sallies against him (their women joining in the fight) and performed many noble deeds of daring. They burned his siege engines unceasingly, and in these enterprises the

Siege and capture of Petilia

CAP. V ὀλιγώτεροι δε γιγνόμενοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔργον ἐκακοπάθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας αἰσθανόμενος περιετείχισεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ἄννωνα ἐπέστησε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ. οἱ δ', ἐπιτείνοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς ἀχρείους σφῶν ἐς μάχας ἐξέβαλον ἐς τὸ μεσοτείχιον, καὶ κτιννυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄννωνος ἐφεώρων ἀλύπως ὡς εὐμοιρότερον ἀποθνήσκοντας. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάμπαν ἀποροῦντες ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ γενναῖα καὶ τότε ἔδρασαν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀτροφίας καὶ ἀσθενείας σωμάτων οὐδ' ὑποστρέψαι δυνάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων. καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶλεν ὁ Ἄννων, ἐκφυγόντων καὶ ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὀλίγων τῶν δραμεῖν δυνηθέντων. τούτους διερριμμένους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι σπουδῇ συνῆγον, καὶ γενομένους ἐς ὀκτακοσίους κατήγαγόν τε καὶ συνῴκισαν μετὰ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀγάμενοι τῆς τε περὶ σφᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς προθυμίας.

30. Τῶν δὲ Κελτιβήρων ἱππέων, οἳ ἐμισθοφόρουν Ἀννίβᾳ, λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατήγουν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοσούσδε ἑτέρους τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ σφίσιν αἰτήσαντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον ἐκείνων ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οἳ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν, ὅτε πλησίον Ἀννίβου στρατοπεδεύοιεν, ἀναμιγνύμενοι μετέπειθον αὐτούς. καὶ πολλῶν μετατιθεμένων τε καὶ αὐτομολούντων ἢ ἀποδιδρασκόντων οὐδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ πιστόν, ὑποπτευόμενόν τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτόν. κάκιον οὖν ἔπρασσεν ὁ Ἀννίβας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε.

women were no less manly than the men. But their numbers were reduced by each assault, and they began to suffer the pangs of hunger. When Hannibal perceived this he drew a line of circumvallation around them and left Hanno to finish the siege. As their sufferings increased they first thrust outside the walls all those who were incapable of fighting and looked on without grieving while Hanno slew them, considering that theirs was the happier lot; for which reason the remainder, when reduced to the last extremity, made a sally against the enemy, and after again performing many splendid acts of bravery, being unable in their starved and exhausted condition even to return, they were all slain by the Africans. Hanno possessed himself of the town, but even so a few escaped from it, who had sufficient strength to run. These wanderers the Romans carefully collected, to the number of about 800, and replaced them in their own country after the war, admiring their loyalty to Rome and their astonishing zeal. CHAP. V

30. As the Celtiberian horse, who were serving with Hannibal as mercenaries, were seen to be splendid fighters, the Roman generals in Spain obtained an equal number from the towns under their charge and sent them to Italy to counteract the others. These, whenever encamped near Hannibal, mingled with their fellow-countrymen and sought to win them over. Thus it came about that many of them went over to the Romans and others deserted or ran away, while even the remainder were no longer trusted by Hannibal, as he suspected them and they him. Hannibal's fortunes therefore began to decline from this point. B.C. 215

CAP. V

31. Ἀργύριππα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ Δαυνίᾳ, ἣν Διομήδης ὁ Ἀργεῖος λέγεται κτίσαι. καί τις ἔκγονος εἶναι τοῦ Διομήδους νομιζόμενος, Δάσιος, ἀνὴρ εὐμετάβολός τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ οὐ Διομήδους ἄξιος, Ῥωμαίων περὶ Κάννας τὴν μεγάλην ἥτταν ἡττημένων ἀπέστησε τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς Λίβυας ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων. τότε δ' αὖ δυσπραγοῦντος Ἀννίβου ἔλαθεν ἐς Ῥώμην διιππεύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαχθεὶς ἔφη δύνασθαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα ἰάσασθαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν αὖθις ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέβαλον δ' εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν δεδιὼς ἠλᾶτο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δὲ Ἀργύριππα ἑτέρων ἐνδόντων εἷλε Φάβιος Μάξιμος νυκτός, καὶ κτείνας ὅσους ηὗρε Λιβύων, φρουρὰν ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει.

VI

CAP. VI

32. Τάραντα δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κονωνεὺς ὧδε προύδωκεν. κυνηγετεῖν εἴθιστο ὁ Κονωνεύς, καὶ φέρων ἀεί τι τῷ φρουράρχῳ Λιουίῳ συνήθης ἐκ τοῦδε ἐγεγένητο. ὡς δὲ ἐν πολεμουμένῃ χώρᾳ, νυκτὸς ἔφη δεῖν κυνηγετεῖν καὶ νυκτὸς φέρειν τὰ λαμβανόμενα. νυκτὸς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιγομένων, συνθέμενος Ἀννίβᾳ καὶ στρατιώτας λαβών, τοὺς μὲν ἔκρυψεν ἐν λόχμῃ τινὶ πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ δι' ὀλίγου, τοὺς δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ προσιέναι,

CHAP. V

B.C. 213

Dasius of Arpi

31. There is a city called Arpi in Daunia which is said to have been founded by Diomedes, the Argive. Here a certain Dasius, who was said to be a descendant of Diomedes, a very fickle-minded person, quite unworthy of such an ancestor, after the terrible defeat of the Romans at Cannae drew his people over to the Carthaginian side. But now when Hannibal was suffering reverses, he rode secretly to Rome, and being introduced to the Senate, said that he could bring the city back to the Roman allegiance and thus atone for his error. The Romans very nearly killed him and drove him from the city forthwith. Then, being in equal fear of them and of Hannibal, he became a wanderer through the country. Hannibal burned his wife and children alive. Arpi was betrayed by others to Fabius Maximus, who captured it by night, and having put to death all the Carthaginians he found there, established a Roman garrison in the city.

VI

CHAP. VI

B.C. 212

Capture of Tarentum

32. Tarentum, which was held by a Roman garrison, was betrayed by Cononeus in the following manner. Being in the habit of hunting and always bringing a present of game to Livius, the commander of the garrison, he became very familiar with him. As war was raging in the country he said that it was necessary to hunt and bring in his game by night. For this reason the gates were opened to him by night, and he then made an arrangement with Hannibal in pursuance of which he took a body of soldiers, some of whom he concealed in a thicket near the town, while others he ordered to follow at no great

CAP. VI θώρακας ἔνδοθεν ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ ξίφη, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐς κυνηγέτας ἐσκευασμένους. κάπρον τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπιθεὶς ἦκε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. καὶ τῶν φυλάκων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν, ἀνοιξάντων, οἱ μὲν συνεσελθόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνοίξαντας αὐτίκα διεχρῶντο, οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κατὰ σπουδὴν συνεσέπιπτον ἐκείνοις, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς λόχμης ἐδέχοντο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἔσω παρελθὼν τῆς μὲν ἄλλης πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐκράτει, καὶ τοὺς Ταραντίνους ἑταιρισάμενος τὴν ἄκραν ἔτι φρουρουμένην ἐπολιόρκει.

33. Ὧδε μὲν Κονωνεὺς Τάραντα προύδωκε· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὅσοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶχον, ἐς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων τέ τινες προσεχώρουν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἐν Μεταποντίῳ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμὼν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχων ἦλθε, βελῶν τε καὶ ὀργάνων πολλῶν ὑπόρουν, ὡς ἀπὸ τείχους εὐμαρῶς ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ὑπόρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας. πύργους τε οὖν καὶ καταπέλτας ἐπάγων καὶ χελώνας ἔνια διέσειε, καὶ δρεπάνοις ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπάλξεις τε κατέσυρε καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεγύμνου. οἱ δὲ λίθους μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἀφιέντες πολλὰ συνέτριβον, βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέσπων, καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθέοντες ἄφνω συνετάρασσον ἀεί τι καὶ κτείναντες ἐπανήεσαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ πνεῦμά ποτε λάβρον ἐθεάσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους δᾷδας ἡμμένας καὶ στύππιον καὶ πίσσαν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μηχανήμασιν ἐπερρίπτουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκδραμόντες ὑπέθηκαν. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῆσδε τῆς πείρας περιετείχισε τὴν πόλιν,

distance, and still others to go with him, clad outwardly in hunting garments but girded with breastplates and swords underneath. Then he set a wild boar on poles, and came by night to the gates. When the guards had opened the gates as usual, those who came with him entered and slew the gate-men immediately. Those following behind burst in with their comrades, admitted the detachment from the thicket, and opened the gates to Hannibal. When the latter was once inside he speedily possessed himself of the remainder of the town, and having conciliated the Tarentines laid siege to the citadel, which was still held by the Romans. In this way was Tarentum betrayed by Cononeus. CHAP. VI

33. The Romans who held the citadel were about 5000 in number, and some of the Tarentines came to their aid. The prefect of the guard at Metapontum joined them with half of his force, and they had an abundance of missiles and engines with which they expected to drive Hannibal easily back from the walls. But Hannibal also had a plentiful supply of these things. Accordingly he brought up towers, catapults, and pent-houses with which he shook some of the walls, pulled off the parapets with hooks attached to ropes, and laid bare the defences. The garrison hurled stones down upon the engines and broke many of them, turned aside the hooks with slip-knots, and making frequent and sudden sallies constantly threw the besiegers into confusion and returned after killing many. One day when they noticed that the wind was violent some of the Romans threw down firebrands, flax, and pitch upon the engines, while others darted out and put fire under them. Hannibal, despairing of his attempt, Citadel holds out

CAP. VI

χωρίς γε τοῦ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μέρους· οὐ γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο δυνατόν. καὶ παραδοὺς Ἄννωνι τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἀνεχώρει.

34. Λιμένες δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐκ πελάγους ἐσπλέοντι διὰ ἰσθμοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ἀπέκλειον γεφύραις, ὧν τότε κρατοῦντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων φρουροὶ σφίσι μὲν ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ θαλάσσης, Ταραντίνοις δ' ἐκώλυον ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ὅθεν ἠπόρουν ἀγορᾶς οἱ Ταραντῖνοι, ἕως ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐδίδαξε λεωφόρον ὁδόν, ἣ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ἔφερεν ἀπὸ τῶν λιμένων ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιον θάλασσαν, ὀρύξαντας, ἰσθμὸν ἕτερον ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω πράξαντες εἶχόν τε ἀγοράν, καὶ τριήρεσι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων φρουροὺς ναῦς οὐκ ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔβλαπτον, ὅτε μὴ χειμὼν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἐκείνοις ἀφῃροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς Θουρίων σῖτόν τε ναυσὶ πεμπόντων καὶ τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λίβυες πυθόμενοι καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔλαβον αὐτῷ τε σίτῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἁπάσας. πρεσβευομένων δὲ θαμινὰ τῶν Θουρίων, καὶ ἀξιούντων λύσασθαι τοὺς εἰλημμένους, οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς φοιτῶντας αὐτῶν μετέπειθον ἐς Ἀννίβαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ὅσους εἶχε Θουρίων αἰχμαλώτους, εὐθὺς ἀπέλυεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους σφῶν βιασάμενοι, τὰς πύλας Ἄννωνι ἀνέῳξαν. καὶ Θούριοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις Τάραντα περιποιούμενοι ἔλαθον οὕτως ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι· ἡ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει

threw a wall around the city except on the sea side, where it was not possible to do so. Then entrusting the siege to Hanno he withdrew into Iapygia. CHAP VI

34. The port of Tarentum is on the north side as one sails in from the sea through a narrow passage. This passage was closed by bridges which were now under the control of the Roman garrison, by which means they brought in their own provisions by sea and prevented the Tarentines from supplying themselves. For this reason the latter began to suffer from want, until Hannibal came back and suggested the making of another passage by excavating the public highway, which ran through the midst of the city from the harbour to the sea on the south. When this was done they had provisions in plenty, and with their triremes they harassed the Roman garrison, who had no ships, even coming close to the walls, especially in calm weather, and intercepting the supply ships coming to them. Thus the Romans in turn began to suffer from want. When the people of Thurii sent them some ships laden with corn by night, under a convoy of triremes, the Tarentines and the Carthaginians in league with them, getting wind of the affair, laid a trap for them and captured them all, including the corn and the crews. The Thurians sent numerous messengers to negotiate the ransoming of the captives, and the Tarentines won the negotiators over to Hannibal, who thereupon released all the Thurian prisoners he held. These, when they came home, forced their relatives to open the gates to Hanno. Thus the Thurians, while endeavouring to save Tarentum for the Romans, unexpectedly themselves fell into the power of the

Hannibal captures Thurii

CAP. VI φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Βρεντέσιον λαθοῦσα διεπλευσεν.

35. Μεταποντῖνοι δ', ἐξ οὗ σφῶν ὁ φρούραρχος τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄγων ἐς Τάραντα ᾤχετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀλίγους γενομένους ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Ἀννίβᾳ προσέθεντο. προσέθετο δὲ καὶ ἡ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίνων τε καὶ Θουρίων Ἡράκλεια, δέει μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ Ἀννίβου. τοῦ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτους καὶ Λευκανῶν τινες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οἷς Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος ἀνθύπατος ἐπελθὼν ἐπολέμει. Λευκανὸς δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἔτι Ῥωμαίοις ἐμμενόντων Φλάουιος, φίλος ὢν καὶ ξένος Γράκχου, προδιδοὺς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἔς τι χωρίον ἐλθόντα συνθέσθαι Λευκανῶν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὡς μετανοοῦσι, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν πίστεις. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποτοπήσας εἵπετο μεθ' ἱππέων τριάκοντα. Νομάδων δὲ πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐνέδρας κυκλωσαμένων, ὁ μὲν Φλάουιος ἐξίππευσεν ἐς ἐκείνους, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος συνεὶς τῆς προδοσίας καθήλατο μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γενναῖα δρῶν κατεκόπη μετὰ πάντων πλὴν τριῶν, οὓς μόνους εἶλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, πολλὴν ποιησάμενος σπουδὴν λαβεῖν ζῶντα Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἀνθύπατον. αἰσχρῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον ἀγάμενος ὅμως τῆς τελευταίας ἀρετῆς ἔθαψε, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔπεμψεν.

Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἰάπυξιν ἐθέριζε καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐσώρευε, 36. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἐπιθέσθαι

Carthaginians. The Roman garrison in Thurii escaped secretly by sea to Brundusium.

35. The Metapontines, after their prefect had taken half of his force to Tarentum, slew the remainder, who were few in number, and went over to Hannibal. Heraclea, which lies midway between Metapontum and Tarentum, followed their example, being moved by fear rather than inclination. Thus Hannibal was again in the more favourable position. In the following year some of the Lucanians also revolted from Rome, and Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, marched against them. But a certain Lucanian named Flavius, of the party that still remained faithful to the Romans, who was a friend and guest of Gracchus, treacherously persuaded him to come to a certain place to make an agreement with the Lucanian generals, who had, he said, repented, and to exchange pledges with them. Suspecting nothing, he went to the place with thirty horsemen, where he found himself surrounded by a large force of Numidians in ambush. Flavius rode over to them, and Gracchus, discovering the treachery, leaped from his horse along with his companions, and after performing many noble deeds of valour was slain with all the others, except three. These were the only ones captured by Hannibal, although he had exerted himself to the utmost to take the Roman proconsul alive. Although he had basely entrapped him, nevertheless in admiration of his bravery in the final struggle he gave him a funeral and sent his bones to Rome. After this he passed the summer in Apulia and collected large supplies of corn.

B.C. 211 Metapontum and Heraclea surrender

36. The Romans decided to attack the Capuans,

CAP. VI Καπυαιοις ἐγνωκότων ἔπεμπεν Ἄννωνα μετὰ χιλίων πεζῶν καὶ χιλίων ἱππέων ἐσδραμεῖν νυκτὸς ἐς Καπύην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσέδραμε Ῥωμαίους λαθών, οἱ δ' ἡμέρας γενομένης, ὡς πλέονας εἶδον ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, τὸ συμβὰν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρουν, τὰ δὲ θέρη τὰ Καπυαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Καμπανῶν προκατελάμβανον. ὀδυρομένοις δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῖς Καμπανοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔφη πολὺν ἔχειν σῖτον ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ, καὶ πέμποντας ἐκέλευε λαμβάνειν ὁσάκις θέλοιεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑποζύγια μόνον οὐδ' ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία ἔπεμπον ἀχθοφορήσοντα τοῦ σίτου· καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν τῇ διόδῳ, μετελθόντος ἐς αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἰαπύγων Ἀννίβου, καὶ παρὰ τὸν Κάλωρα ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύοντος, πλησίον Βενεβενδέων, οὓς μόνους ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις ἔτι συμμάχους ὄντας. τότε δὲ Ἀννίβου παρόντος ἁπάντων κατεφρόνουν.

37. Συνέβη δὲ Ἀννίβαν μέν, καλοῦντος αὐτὸν Ἄννωνος, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθεῖν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Βενεβεντὸν στρατοπέδῳ μετ' ὀλίγης φρουρᾶς καταλιπόντα, δυοῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγούντοιν ὑπάτοιν, Φουλουίου τε Φλάκκου καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀππίου, τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῖν πυθόμενον ἐπιδραμεῖν τοῖς Καμπανοῖς διαφέρουσι τὰ θέρη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οἷα ἀπαρασκεύους διαφθεῖραι, καὶ τὸν σῖτον Βενεβενδεῦσι δοῦναι, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν ἁρπάσαι, καὶ Καπύην ἔτι ὄντος ἐν Λευκανοῖς Ἀννίβου περιταφρεῦσαί τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ περιτειχίσαι πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ. καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐκτὸς ἄλλο ποιή-

and Hannibal sent Hanno with 1000 foot and as many horse to enter Capua by night. This he did without the knowledge of the Romans. At daylight the Romans discovered what had taken place by observing greater numbers of men on the walls. So they turned back from the city forthwith and began hurriedly to reap the harvest of the Capuans and the other inhabitants of Campania. When the Campanians bewailed their losses Hannibal said to them that he had plenty of corn in Iapygia, and he gave an order that they should send and get it as often as they wished. Accordingly they sent not only their pack animals and men, but also their women and children, to bring loads of corn. They had no fear of danger on the way because Hannibal had transferred his headquarters from Iapygia to Campania and was encamped on the river Calor near the country of the Beneventines, whom alone they feared, because the Beneventines were still in alliance with Rome. But at this time, owing to the presence of Hannibal, they despised everybody.

CHAP. VI

Romans besiege Capua

37. It happened, however, that Hannibal was called by Hanno into Lucania, leaving the greater part of his baggage under a small guard in the camp near Beneventum. One of the two Roman consuls who were in command there (Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius), learning of this, fell upon the Campanians who were bringing corn and slew many, as they were unprepared for an attack, and gave the corn to the Beneventines. He also took Hannibal's camp and plundered his baggage, and, while Hannibal was still in Lucania, dug a trench round Capua, and surrounded the entire city with a wall. Then the two consuls built another wall outside of

B.C. 212

CAP. VI σαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μεσον εἶχον ἀντὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπάλξεις δ' ἦσαν αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν ἐς Καπυαίους πολιορκουμένους αἱ δ' ἐς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντας ἐπεστραμμέναι, ἥ τε ὄψις ἦν πόλεως μεγάλης σμικροτέραν ἐχούσης ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἐς τὴν Καπύην διάστημα διστάδιον ἦν μάλιστα· ἐν ᾧ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο πεῖραι καὶ συμβολαὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, πολλὰ δ' ὡς ἐν θεάτρῳ μεσοτειχίῳ μονομάχια, προκαλουμένων ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀρίστων. καί τις Καπυαῖος, Ταυρέας, Ῥωμαίων ἐν μονομαχίῳ Κλαύδιον Ἄσελλον περιφεύγων ὑπεχώρει, μέχρι τοῖς Καπυαίων τείχεσιν ὁ Ἄσελλος ἐγκύρσας καὶ τὸν ἵππον οὐ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῆς ῥύμης ἐπιστρέψαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων πυλῶν ἐς τὴν Καπύην ἐσήλατο σὺν ὁρμῇ, καὶ διιππεύσας τὴν πόλιν ὅλην κατὰ τὰς ἑτέρας ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίους.

38. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω παραβόλως διεσώζετο, Ἀννίβας δὲ τῆς χρείας ψευσθεὶς ἐφ' ἣν ἐς Λευκανοὺς μετεκέκλητο, ἀνέστρεφεν ἐς Καπύην, μέγα ποιούμενος μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὔκαιρον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένην. προσβαλὼν δὲ τῷ περιτειχίσματι καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθείς, μηδ' ἐπινοῶν ὅπως ἂν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσπέμψειεν ἢ σῖτον ἢ στρατιάν, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ συμβαλεῖν δυναμένου διὰ τὴν ἐπιτείχισιν πάντῃ περιλαμβάνουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πυνθανόμενος μὲν κἀκείνους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πιέζεσθαι, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Καπύης ἀναστήσειν, ἢ αὐτός τι Καπύης μεῖζον ἐργάσεσθαι. συντόνῳ δὲ σπουδῇ διελθὼν ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πολέμια, τῶν μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντων αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν,

this and used the space between the two walls as a camp. They erected battlements also, some toward the besieged Capuans and others toward the enemy outside, and the appearance was that of a great city enclosing a smaller one. The space between the enclosing wall and Capua was about two stades, and in it many enterprises and encounters took place each day and many single combats, as in a theatre surrounded by walls, for the bravest were continually challenging each other. A certain Capuan named Taureas had a single combat with the Roman Claudius Asellus, and seeking to escape, retreated, Asellus pursuing till he came to the walls of Capua. The latter not being able to turn his horse dashed at full speed through the gate into Capua, and galloping through the whole city, rode out at the opposite gate and joined the Romans on the further side, and was thus marvellously saved. CHAP. VI

38. Hannibal, having failed in the task that called him to Lucania, turned back to Capua, considering it very important to prevent so large and important a city from falling into the Romans' hands. He accordingly attacked their enclosing wall, but as he accomplished nothing and could devise no way to introduce either provisions or soldiers into the city, and as none of them could communicate with him on account of walls which completely surrounded them, he hastened towards Rome with his whole army, having learned that the Romans also were hard pressed by famine and hoping thus to draw their generals away from Capua, or to accomplish something himself more important than Capua. Moving with the greatest celerity through many hostile peoples, some of whom were not able to hinder him, while others B.C. 211

Hannibal marches to Rome

CAP. VI τῶν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ὑποστάντων, ἀπὸ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ποταμοῦ.

39. Καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐθορυβήθη θόρυβον οἷον οὐ πρότερον, οἰκεῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἱκανόν (ὃ γὰρ εἶχον, ἐν Καμπανίᾳ τότε ἦν), πολεμίου δὲ στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε σφίσιν ἐπιστάντος ἄφνω, καὶ στρατηγοῦ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ εὐτυχίαν ἀμάχου. ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι φέρειν ὅπλα τὰς πύλας ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπήδων, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδία λίθους καὶ βέλη παρέφερον. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέθεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ δρόμῳ. βοῆς δὲ παμμιγοῦς καὶ θρήνων καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ παρακελεύσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους πάντα μεστὰ ἦν. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οἳ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνιῆνος ἐκδραμόντες ἔκοπτον. μικρὸν δέ τι πολίχνιον Ῥωμαῖοί ποτε ἐπιτειχίζοντες Αἰκανοῖς Ἄλβην ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μητροπόλεως ἐκάλεσαν· σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ἐπισύροντες ἢ διαφθείροντες, ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀλβανῶν σύγκρισιν, Ἀλβησέας αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. τούτων τότε τῶν Ἀλβησέων ἐς Ῥώμην δισχίλιοι δρόμῳ διέθεον, τοῦ κινδύνου μετασχεῖν, καὶ ἅμα ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ ὡπλίζοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐφρούρουν. τοσῇδε προθυμίᾳ βραχὺ πολίχνιον ἐκ τοσῶνδε ἀποικιῶν ἐχρήσατο μόνη, οἷόν τι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Μαραθῶνα μικρὰ πόλις ἡ Πλαταιέων ἔδραμε τοῦ τότε κινδύνου μετασχεῖν.

40. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ἄππιος μὲν Καπύῃ παρέμενε, κἀκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἐλεῖν Καπύην, Φούλουιος δὲ Φλάκκος ἑτέραις ὁδοῖς ἐπειχθεὶς ἀλήκτῳ τάχει ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, μέσον ἔχων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα. τῷ δ' Ἀννίβᾳ τὴν

dared not even try, he encamped at the river Anio, two and thirty stades from Rome. CHAP. VI

39. The city was thrown into consternation as never before. They were without any adequate force of their own (what they had being in Campania), and now this strong, hostile army came suddenly against them under a general of invincible bravery and good fortune. Nevertheless, they did what they could in the circumstances. Those who were able to bear arms manned the gates, the old men mounted the walls, and the women and children brought stones and missiles, while those who were in the fields flocked in all haste to the city. Confused cries, lamentations, prayers, and mutual exhortations on every side filled the air. Some went out and cut down the bridge over the river Anio. The Romans had at one time fortified a small town to control the Aequi, which they called Alba after their mother city. Its inhabitants in the course of time, either because of carelessness of pronunciation or corruption of language, or to distinguish them from the Albanians, were called Albenses. Two thousand of these Albenses hastened to Rome to share the danger. As soon as they arrived they armed themselves and mounted guard at the gates. Such zeal did this small town, alone out of so many colonies, exhibit, just as the little city of Plataea hastened to the aid of the Athenians at Marathon to share their danger. Consternation in the city

40. Appius, one of the Roman generals, remained at Capua, as he too believed that he could capture the place. Fulvius Flaccus, the other, marched with unresting haste by other roads and encamped opposite Hannibal, with the river Anio flowing Flaccus follows Hannibal

CAP. VI γέφυραν εὑρόντι λελυμένην καὶ τὸν Φούλουιον ἀντικαθήμενον, ἔδοξε τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιοδεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φούλουιος ἀντιπαρώδευεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐνήδρευε, Νομάδας ἱππέας ὑπολιπών, οἱ τῶν στρατῶν ἀναστάντων τὸν Ἀνιῆνα ἐπέρασαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδῄουν, μέχρι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν γενόμενοι καὶ φοβήσαντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐς Ἀννίβαν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρήγγελτο. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ τάς τε πηγὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῆλθε, καὶ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ οὐ πολλή, λέγεται μὲν νυκτὸς σὺν τρισὶν ὑπασπισταῖς λαθὼν κατασκέψασθαι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐρημίαν καὶ θόρυβον τὸν ἐπέχοντα ἰδεῖν, ἀναστρέψαι δ' ἐς Καπύην, εἴτε θεοῦ παράγοντος αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὡς καὶ τότε, εἴτε τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν καὶ τύχην δείσας, εἴτε, ὡς αὐτὸς τοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν προτρέπουσιν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἐθέλων τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι δέει Καρχηδονίων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτὸς ἀποθοῖτο· οὐ γὰρ ὅ γε σὺν Φουλουίῳ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ πάμπαν ἀξιόμαχος. ὁ δὲ Φούλουιος ἀναστρέφοντι παρείπετο, κωλύων τε προνομεύειν καὶ φυλασσόμενος μηδὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας παθεῖν.

VII

CAP. VII 41. Ὁ δ' ἐπιτηρήσας νύκτα ἀσέληνον, καὶ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ Φούλουιος ἔσπερας τεῖχος μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανεν ἐγεῖραι, τάφρον δ' ὀρυξάμενος καὶ διαστήματα

between them. When Hannibal found that the bridge had been destroyed and that Fulvius was occupying the opposite bank, he decided to go around by the sources of the stream. Fulvius moved parallel with him on the other side, but even so Hannibal laid a trap for him. He left some Numidian horse behind, who, as soon as the armies had moved off, crossed the Anio and ravaged the Roman territory until they had come very near to the city itself, and had carried consternation into it, when they rejoined Hannibal according to their orders. The latter, when he had passed around the sources of the stream, whence the road to Rome was not long, is said to have reconnoitred the city with a bodyguard of three men secretly by night, and to have observed the lack of forces and the confusion prevailing. Nevertheless he went back to Capua, either because divine Providence turned him aside this time as in other instances, or because he was intimidated by the valour and fortune of the city, or because, as he said to those who urged him to attack it, he did not wish to bring the war to an end, lest the Carthaginians should deprive him of his command. At any rate, the army under Fulvius was by no means a match for him. Fulvius, however, followed him as he retreated, preventing him from foraging and taking care not to fall into any traps. CHAP. VI

VII

41. Hannibal, having waited for a moonless night, and a position where Fulvius, at the close of day, had not had time to throw up a wall, but had ceased CHAP. VII

CAP. VII ἀντὶ πυλῶν καταλιπὼν καὶ τὸ χῶμα προβαλὼν ἀντὶ τείχους ἡσύχαζεν, ἔς τε λόφον ὑπερκείμενον αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ἔπεμψε λαθὼν ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἡσυχάζειν ἕως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν λόφον ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καταλαμβάνωσι, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιβήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Φουλουίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβιάζεσθαι διά τε τῶν διαστημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν χωμάτων, ὡς δύναιντο. σαλπικτὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ βυκανητάς τινας ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας, προσέταξεν, ὅταν ἔνδον γένωνται, τοὺς μὲν θόρυβον πολὺν ἐγείρειν περιθέοντας, ἵνα πολλοὶ δόξωσιν εἶναι, τοὺς δε ῥωμαΐζοντας βοᾶν ὅτι Φούλουιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς κελεύει, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκλιπόντας, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγὺς λόφον ἀναπηδᾶν. τόδε μὲν ἦν τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήντησεν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἐλέφαντες ἐσῆλθον τοὺς φύλακας καταπατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ σαλπικταὶ τὸ αὑτῶν ἐποίουν, καὶ ὁ θόρυβος Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀνισταμένοις ἐν μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἀδόκητος ἐμπεσὼν ἐπιφοβώτατος ἦν, τῶν τε ῥωμαϊζόντων ἀκούοντες ὅτι παρήγγελται φεύγειν ἐς τὸν λόφον, περὶ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνοντο.

42. Φούλουιος δὲ ἀεί τινα προσδοκῶν ἐνέδραν, καὶ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἀννίβου, εἴθ' ὑπ' οἰκείας τότε συνέσεως, εἴτε θεολήπτῳ γνώμῃ προσπεσών, εἴτε παρ' αἰχμαλώτου τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθών, τοὺς χιλιάρχους ὀξέως ἐπέστησε ταῖς ἐς τὸ λόφον ἀγούσαις ὁδοῖς, κωλύειν τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν φερομένους, καὶ μεταδιδάσκειν ὅτι τοῦτ' οὐχ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀλλ'

operations after merely digging a ditch with certain spaces in lieu of gates, and the earth thrown outward instead of a wall, quietly sent a body of cavalry to a fortified hill overlooking Fulvius' camp, and ordered them to keep silence until the Romans should attempt to occupy the hill, believing it to be deserted. Then he ordered his Indians to mount their elephants and break into the camp of Fulvius through the open spaces, and over the piles of earth, in any way they could. He also directed a number of trumpeters and horn-blowers to follow at a short distance. When the Indians should be inside the entrenchments some of them were ordered to run around and raise a great tumult so that they might seem to be very numerous, while others, speaking Latin, should call out that Fulvius, the Roman general, ordered the evacuation of the camp and the seizure of the neighbouring hill. Such was Hannibal's stratagem, and at first all went according to his intention. The elephants broke into the camp, trampling down the guards, and the trumpeters did as they were ordered. The unexpected clamour striking the ears of the Romans as they started out of bed in the pitch-dark night appalled them, and when they heard orders given in Latin directing them to take refuge on the hill, they proceeded to do so.

CHAP. VII

Hannibal breaks into the camp of Fulvius

42. But Fulvius, who was always looking out for some stratagem and suspecting one in everything that Hannibal did, being guided either by his own intelligence or by divine inspiration, or having learned the facts from some prisoner, quickly stationed his military tribunes in the roads leading to the hill to stop those who were rushing that way, and to tell them that it was not the Roman general

He is driven out

CAP. VII

Ἀννίβας ἐκήρυξεν ἐνεδρεύων. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς χώμασι φυλακὰς ἀκριβεῖς ἐπιστήσας, μή τις ἔφοδος ἔξωθεν ἄλλη γένοιτο, ἐβοηδρόμει μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντα ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. δᾳδάς τε ἥπτε καὶ πῦρ παντα-χόθεν ἤγειρε, καὶ καταφανὴς ἦν ἡ τῶν ἐσελθόντων ὀλιγότης, ὥστε αὐτῶν πάνυ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν δέους μεταβαλόντες, εὐμαρῶς οἷα ψιλοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες οὐκ ἔχοντες εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲν ἐς ἀναστροφήν, εἰλούμενοι περὶ σκηνὰς καὶ φάτνας, ἐβάλλοντο πρὸς ἁπάντων ἐπιτυχῶς διὰ τὴν στενότητα τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι περιαλγοῦντές τε καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντες, καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔχοντες, τοὺς ἐπιβάτας σφῶν ἀπεσείοντο καὶ κατεπάτουν σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ πάνυ ἠγριωμένοι, καὶ ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Φούλουιος μὲν δὴ Φλάκκος εὐσταθῶς καὶ εὐμηχάνως αἰφνιδίῳ συνενεχθεὶς ἐνέδρᾳ περιῆν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν περιέσωζεν ἀεὶ πεφρικότα τὰς Ἀννίβου μηχανάς.

43. Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπεὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπέτυχεν, ἐς Λευκανοὺς διελθὼν ἐχείμαζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆς ἦν οὐ συνήθους, ἐρωμένην τε εἶχεν ἄγριος ἀνήρ. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐτρέπετο πάντα. Φούλουιος δ' ἐς Καπύην πρὸς τὸν συστράτηγον ἐπανῄει, καὶ τοῖς Καπυαίοις προσέβαλλον ἄμφω καρτερῶς, ἐπειγόμενοι χειμῶνος ἐλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἕως Ἀννίβας ἠρεμεῖ. Καπυαῖοι δέ, τῶν τροφῶν σφᾶς ἐπιλειπουσῶν καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλων ἐπεισαγομένων,

but Hannibal who had given the command in order to lead them into an ambush. He himself stationed strong guards on the mounds to repel any new attack from without, and with others passed rapidly through the camp exclaiming that there was no danger and that those who had broken in with the elephants were but few. Torches were lighted and fires kindled on all sides. Then the smallness of the attacking force was so manifest that the Romans utterly despised them, and, turning from fear to wrath, slew them easily since they were few in number and light-armed. The elephants not having room to turn round, and being entangled among the tents and huts, furnished an excellent mark for darts by reason of the narrowness of the place and the size of their bodies, until, enraged with pain and unable to reach their enemies, they shook off their riders, trampled them under foot with fury and savage outcries, and broke out of the camp. Thus did Fulvius Flaccus by his constancy and skill bring to naught this unexpected ambush, frustrate Hannibal, and save his army, which had always been in terror of Hannibal's stratagems. CHAP. VII

43. When his scheme had failed, Hannibal moved his army to Lucania and went into winter quarters, and here this fierce warrior gave himself up to unaccustomed luxury and the delights of love. From this time, little by little, his fortune changed. Fulvius returned to his colleague at Capua and both of them pressed the siege vigorously, hastening to take the city during the winter while Hannibal remained quiet. The Capuans, their supplies being exhausted and no more being obtainable from any quarter, surrendered themselves to the Roman

Capua surrenders to Rome

CAP. VII ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς· ἐνεχείρισαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι Λιβύων αὐτοὺς ἐφρούρουν, αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῖς, Ἄννωνι ἑτέρῳ καὶ Βώσταρι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῇ μὲν πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ὅσους ηὗρον αὐτομολοῦντας, χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμον· Λιβύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοντο. καὶ Καπυαίων αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους μάλιστα τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὴν γῆν ἀφείλοντο μόνον. εὔφορος δ' ἐστὶν ἐς σῖτον ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην πᾶσα· πεδιὰς γάρ ἐστιν. Καπύη μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπανῆκτο, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο Λιβύων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεονέκτημα περιῄρητο.

44. Ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἳ μέρος εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως Τισίας φρουρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων, ἐθίσας ἀεί τι λῄζεσθαι καὶ φέρειν τῷ φρουράρχῳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνήθης ἐς πάντα γεγονὼς καὶ σχεδὸν συστράτηγος, ἤλγει τῶν φρουρῶν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὑβριζόντων· συνθέμενος οὖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῷ, καὶ πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβών, ἑκάστοτέ τινας ὡς αἰχμαλώτους ἐσῆγεν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐσέφερεν ὡς σκῦλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλέονες ἐγένοντο, ἐξέλυσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥπλισε, καὶ τὴν Λιβύων φρουρὰν ἀνεῖλε, καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄλλην ἐσηγάγετο. Ἀννίβου δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον παροδεύοντος αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν φρουροὶ καταπλαγέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐξέφυγον ἐς Ῥήγιον, οἱ δὲ Τισιᾶται παρέδωκαν αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ὁ

generals, together with the Carthaginian garrison and their two commanders, another Hanno and Bostar. The Romans stationed a garrison in the city and cut off the hands of all the deserters they found there. They sent the Carthaginian nobles to Rome and the rest they sold as slaves. Of the Capuans themselves they put to death those who had been chiefly responsible for the defection of the city, while from the others they only took away their land. All the country round about Capua is very fertile corn-land, being a plain. So Capua was once more restored to the Romans and the principal advantage possessed by the Carthaginians in Italy was taken from them. CHAP. VII

B.C. 210 Tisia in Bruttium lost and regained by Hannibal

44. In Bruttium, which is a part of Italy, there was a man of the town of Tisia (which was garrisoned by the Carthaginians) who was in the habit of plundering and sharing his booty with the commander of the garrison, and who had by this means so ingratiated himself with the latter that he almost shared the command with him. This man was incensed at the arrogant behaviour of the garrison toward his country. Accordingly, by an arrangement with the Roman general, with whom he exchanged pledges, he brought in a few soldiers each day as prisoners and lodged them in the citadel, to which place he took their arms also as spoils. When he had introduced a sufficient number he released and armed them, and destroyed the Carthaginian garrison, after which he brought in another garrison from the Roman forces. But as Hannibal passed that way not long afterwards, the guards fled in terror to Rhegium, and the inhabitants of Tisia delivered themselves up to Hannibal, who burned

CAP. VII

Ἀννίβας τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔκαυσε, τῇ δὲ πόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν ἄλλην.

45. Ἰαπύγων δ' ἐν πόλει Σαλαπίᾳ, Λιβύων ὑπηκόῳ, δύο ἤστην ἄνδρε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέροντε, ἀλλήλοιν δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαφόρω. τούτοιν Δάσιος μὲν τὰ Λιβύων ἡρεῖτο, Βλάτιος δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἤκμαζε τὰ Ἀννίβου, ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἦν ὁ Βλάτιος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠγείρετο τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἐσφετερισμένης ἀρχῆς ἀνελάμβανον, ἔπειθεν ὁ Βλάτιος τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῷ συμφρονῆσαι μόνης, μή τι πάθοι, Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴν βίᾳ λαβόντων, ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ' ὑποκρινάμενος συντίθεσθαι, κατεμήνυσε τοῦτο Ἀννίβᾳ. καὶ ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀννίβας, Δασίου μὲν κατηγοροῦντος, Βλατίου δ' ἀπολογουμένου καὶ συκοφαντεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν λέγοντος· ὃ καὶ τέως ἄρα προορῶν ἐτόλμησεν ἐχθρῷ προσενεγκεῖν λόγον τοιόνδε, ὡς ἀπίστῳ κατηγόρῳ διὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ἐσομένῳ. Ἀννίβας δ' οὔτε ἀπορρῖψαι τὸ ἔργον οὔτε τῷ παρ' ἐχθροῦ πιστεῦσαι ῥᾳδίως ἀξιῶν, μεθίστατο αὐτοὺς ὡς σκεψόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ. στενῆς δὲ τῆς ἐξόδου πάμπαν οὔσης, ὁ Βλάτιος ἔφη τῷ Δασίῳ, τοὺς ἄλλους λαθών, "οὐ σώσεις, ὦ ἀγαθέ, τὴν πατρίδα;" ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' εὐθὺς ἐκβοήσας ἐμήνυεν.

46. Καὶ ὁ Βλάτιος οἰκτισάμενος τότε μάλιστα ἀξιοπίστως εἶπεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοιτο ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τεχνίτου. "τοῦτο δ'," ἔφη, "τὸ νῦν ἐπιβούλευμα

those who had been guilty of the defection and placed another garrison in the town. CHAP. VII

45. In Salapia, a city in Iapygia subject to Carthage, were two men pre-eminent by birth, wealth, and power, but for a long time enemies to each other. One of these, named Dasius, sided with the Carthaginians, the other, Blatius, with the Romans. While Hannibal's affairs were flourishing Blatius remained quiet, but when the Romans began to recover their former supremacy he endeavoured to come to an understanding with his enemy, simply for the sake of their country, lest, if the Romans should take it by force, some irreparable harm should befall it. Dasius, pretending to agree with him, communicated the matter to Hannibal. Hannibal took the part of a judge between them, Dasius acting as accuser and Blatius defending himself, and saying that he was slandered by reason of his accuser's personal enmity. And it was because he had foreseen this all along, that Blatius ventured to make such a proposal to an enemy, knowing that their private enmity would cast discredit on his accusation. Hannibal thought that it was not wise either to shelve the matter altogether or to put too much faith in an accuser who was a personal enemy; so he dismissed them, saying that he would consider the matter by himself. As they were going out by a very narrow passage Blatius said to Dasius in a low tone, "Are you not willing to save your country, good sir?" Dasius immediately repeated the words in a loud voice, thus letting Hannibal know. The story of Dasius and Blatius

46. Then in a piteous tone Blatius cried out with much appearance of credibility that his cunning enemy had made a plot against him. "This present

CAP. VII καὶ τῆς πρότερον ἀμφιλογίας, εἴ τις ἦν, ῥύσεταί με. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ πρότερον ἐχθρῷ περὶ τοιῶνδε διεπίστευσεν, ἢ νῦν, εἰ καὶ τέως ἐπεπλάνητο, ἀπίστῳ καὶ κατηγόρῳ περὶ ἐκεῖνα γεγενημένῳ, κινδυνεύων ἔτι καὶ κρινόμενος καὶ ἀρνούμενος, αὖθις ἂν τὰ δεύτερα ταῦτ' ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πολλῶν μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δυναμένων, τοῦ δὲ κατηγόρου καὶ τόδε μέλλοντος εὐθὺς ὁμοίως ἐρεῖν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγεγένητο," ἔφη, "χρηστὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ φίλος, τί μοι συλλαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἔτι δυνατὸς ἦν; τί δ' ἂν ἐδεόμην ἐγὼ μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυναμένου;" ἃ μοι δοκεῖ προϊδὼν πάλιν ὁ Βλάτιος ψιθύρως ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Δασίῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν μείζονα, ἐπαγαγέσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν ἐς ἀπιστίαν τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν δίκην ὁ Βλάτιος ἀφίστατο μὴ μεταπείθειν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καταφρονῶν ἄρα ὡς ἐς πάντα γεγονότος ἀπίστου. ὁ δὲ αὖθις ὑπεκρίνετο συντίθεσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ᾔτει μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὀκνήσας ἔφη, "διαδραμοῦμαι μὲν ἐπί τι τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐγὼ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν (μηνύσας αὐτῷ τὸ πάνυ πορρωτάτω) καὶ στρατιὰν ἄξω λαβών· ἔστι γάρ μοι φίλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατοῦ· σὺ δ' ὑπομένειν μοι δεῦρο, καὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἐπιτηρεῖν."

47. Ὁ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτω, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέδραμε, λαθὼν Δάσιον, οὐκ ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁδὸν ἐλάσσονα. καὶ δοὺς τῇ βουλῇ

scheme," he said, "will relieve me also from all former suspicion, if there was any. For who would either previously have made a confidant of an enemy in such matters, or, if he had been so thoughtless before, would now, while still in danger and under trial and denying the charge against him, dare to speak thus again to one who was his betrayer and accuser in the first case, and especially in the judgment-hall where many can hear his words and where his accuser stands ready to repeat his words again as before? Even supposing the accuser had suddenly become friendly and well-disposed, how would he be able to co-operate with me in saving the country after what has happened? And why should I ask the aid of one who is not able to give any?" I think that Blatius foresaw all this when he whispered again to Dasius, and that by this course he brought his enemy into greater discredit, and even persuaded Hannibal to disbelieve the former accusations. Nor did Blatius, even after he had been acquitted, desist from persuading his enemy to change sides, for he despised him now as a person utterly untrustworthy. Dasius again pretended to agree with him and sought to learn the plan of the revolt. Blasius replied without hesitation: "I will ride to one of the Roman camps (indicating the one that was furthest distant) the commander of which is my particular friend, and obtain a force which I will bring thither. You will remain here and keep watch upon affairs in the city." CHAP. VII

47. Having spoken thus he immediately rode away, without the knowledge of Dasius, not to the camp he had named but to Rome, a shorter journey, and having given his son as a hostage to the Senate,

CAP. VII τὸν υἱὸν ὅμηρον, ἱππέας ἥτει χιλίους, μεθ' ὧν ἠπείγετο κατὰ σπουδήν, τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προορώμενος. ὁ δὲ Δάσιος ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἡμέραις τὸν ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ὁρῶν, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ὡς ἤδη πιστεύοντα αὐτῷ. νομίσας οὖν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ ὄντι τὸ πορρωτέρω στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι, διέδραμε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καταφρονῶν ὅτι φθάσει ἐκεῖνον ἐπανελθών, καὶ "νῦν μέν," ἔφη, "παραδώσω σοι τὸν Βλάτιον ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ στρατιὰν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει." καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκθέμενος, καὶ λαβών τινας, ἐπανῆγεν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς οὔπω τοῦ Βλατίου πλησιάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔνδον τε ἦν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Λιβύων ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἀνελὼν ἐφύλασσε μηδένα παρελθεῖν, καὶ πύλας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐκεκλείκει, τὰς δ' ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον Δασίου μόνας εἴασεν ἀνεῳχθαι. καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνας μέρος ἄπαν εἶχεν ἀνυπόπτως· τὰ δ' ἐντὸς ἐξετετάφρευτο καὶ διείληπτο, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐμπεσόντας ἐς ὅλην διαδραμεῖν. Δάσιος δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰς πύλας εἶδεν ἀνεῳγμένας, ἥσθη νομίσας προλαβεῖν τὸν ἐχθρόν, καὶ ἐσήλατο γεγηθώς. ὁ δ' ἐπικλείσας διέφθειρεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐσδραμόντας, ὠθουμένους ἐν στενῷ καὶ διαδρομὴν διὰ τὰς τάφρους οὐκ ἔχοντας. ὀλίγοι δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐξαλόμενοι διέφυγον.

he asked for a thousand horse, with which he hastened back with all speed, anticipating what would be the result. Dasius not seeing his enemy during the next few days thought that he had taken in hand the business they had agreed upon, as at last having confidence in him. Supposing, therefore, that Blatius had in fact gone to the more distant camp he rode to Hannibal, not doubting that he should get back before Blatius. "And now," said he to Hannibal, "I will deliver Blatius to you in the very act of bringing a hostile force into the city." Having exposed the affair and having received a military force, he hastened back to the town, not imagining that Blatius was yet anywhere near. But the latter was already inside, having slain the Carthaginian garrison, which was small, and taken care to prevent anybody from going out. He had also closed all the gates except that by which Dasius was expected to return. On that side there was nothing to excite suspicion, but the ground inside was intersected by ditches so that an attacking force should not be able to make its way through the whole town. Dasius was delighted when he saw the gates open, thinking that he had anticipated his enemy, and he entered the town rejoicing. Then Blatius shut the gate and slew him and his companions, who were squeezed together in a narrow place and had no way of passage through the ditches. A few of them escaped by leaping from the walls. Thus did Blatius overcome Dasius, for the third time meeting plot with counterplot.

CHAP. VII

VIII

CAP. VIII

48. Καὶ Βλάτιος μὲν οὕτω περιῆν Δασίου, τρὶς ἀντενεδρεύων, Φούλουιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Ἐρδονίαν ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀννίβας ἔλαθεν ἐσπέρας ἐγγὺς γενόμενος, καὶ ἀπεῖπε πυρὰ μὴ καίειν, καὶ σιωπὴν παρήγγειλεν. περὶ δὲ ἕω, γενομένης ὁμοῦ τι καὶ ὁμίχλης, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἠμύνοντο ἐκεῖνοι, σὺν θορύβῳ μὲν ὡς ἀπ' εὐνῆς, σὺν θάρσει δὲ οἷα ὀλίγους ποθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντας. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῷ πεζῷ τὴν πόλιν περιήει, κατασκεπτόμενος ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐπελπίζων, ἕως ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ, εἴτε προιδόμενος εἴτε κατὰ συντυχίαν, κυκλούμενος αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔπιπτον ἤδη λάβρως καὶ ἀθρόως, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες· καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος αὐτὸς ὁ Φούλουιος. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἔς τι χῶμα πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀναθορόντες αὐτό τε διέσωσαν, γενναίως ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκώλυσαν λαβεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον.

49. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τὴν Ἰαπύγων ἀποστάντων ἐδῄουν, Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν Καμπανῶν, ἐς Ῥωμαίους μεταθεμένων χωρὶς Ἀτέλλης μόνης. καὶ Ἀτελλαίους μετῴκιζεν ἐς Θουρίους, ἵνα μὴ τῷ Βρεττίων καὶ Λευκανῶν καὶ Ἰαπύγων ἐνοχλοῖντο πολέμῳ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐκπεσόντας ἐν Ἀτέλλῃ μετῴκιζον· ἔς τε τὴν Ἀννίβου ἔτι ὑπήκοον ἐσβαλόντες, Αὐλωνίαν τε

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Defeat and death of Fulvius

48. While Fulvius, the Roman consul, was besieging Herdonia, Hannibal approached him quietly one evening, having given orders that no fires should be lighted and that strict silence should be observed. Early in the morning, which happened to be foggy, he sent his cavalry to attack the Roman camp. The Romans hurried from their beds and defended themselves, in disorder, naturally, but with boldness, for they believed the enemy to be a few men who had come on the scene from somewhere or other. Meanwhile, Hannibal, with the infantry, was marching round to the other side of the town, in order to reconnoitre, and at the same time to encourage the people inside, when he fell in with the Romans in the course of his circuit, either by chance or by design, and surrounded them. Being attacked on both sides they fell confusedly and in heaps. About 8000 of them were killed, including the consul Fulvius himself. The remainder jumped up on to a mound in front of their camp, and by fighting bravely preserved it and prevented Hannibal from taking the camp.

49. After this, the Romans ravaged the country of the revolted Iapygians, and Hannibal that of the Campanians, all of whom had returned to the Roman allegiance except the Atellaei. The latter he settled in Thurii in order that they might not suffer by the war that was raging in Bruttium, Lucania, and Iapygia. The Romans settled the exiles of Nuceria in Atella and then, invading the territory still subject to Hannibal, they took Aulonia and overran B.C. 209

CAP. VIII εἶλον καὶ τὴν Βρεττίων γῆν ἐπέτρεχον, καὶ Τάραντα φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρθάλωνος ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιόρκουν. ὁ δὲ Καρθάλων, ὀλίγων Καρχηδονίων παρόντων, Βρεττίους ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν προσέλαβεν. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ὁ φρούραρχος ἦρα γυναικός, ἧς ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις στρατευόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν φρούραρχον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπάγουσι τὰς μηχανὰς ᾗ τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸς ἐφρούρει. Τάραντα μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ἀνέλαβον, εὔκαιρον ἐς πολέμους χωρίον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

50. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἐς αὐτήν, ὡς ἔμαθεν εἰλημμένην, παρῆλθεν ἀχθόμενος ἐς Θουρίους κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Οὐενουσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Κλαύδιός τε Μάρκελλος ὁ Σικελίαν ἑλών, πέμπτον ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ Τίτος Κρισπῖνος ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἄρχειν μάχης. λείαν δέ τινα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἀγομένην Μάρκελλος ἰδών, καὶ δόξας ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς ἄγοντας, ἐπέδραμεν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πρῶτος ἠγεῖτο, θυμικὸς ὢν ἐς μάχας καὶ παρακινδυνευτικὸς ἀεί. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν τῶν Λιβύων φανέντων καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν οὐραγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων πρῶτοι φυγῆς ἦρχον, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς ἑπομένων αὐτῶν, ἐμάχετο γενναίως, μέχρι κατακοντισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιστάς, ὡς εἶδε τὰ τραύματα πάντα ἐπὶ τῶν στέρνων, ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὡς στρατιώτην, ἐπέσκωψε δὲ ὡς στρατηγόν. καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ περιελών, τὸ μὲν σῶμα

the territory of the Bruttians. They also laid siege by land and sea to Tarentum, which was under the command of Carthalo. The latter, as he had few Carthaginian soldiers present, had taken Bruttians into his service. The captain of these Bruttians was in love with a woman whose brother was serving with the Romans, and the latter managed, by means of his sister, that this captain should surrender to the Romans, who brought their engines up to the part of the wall where he was in command. In this way the Romans again got possession of Tarentum, a place admirably situated for the purposes of war both by land and by sea.

CHAP. VIII

The Romans recover Tarentum

50. Hannibal was hastening to its relief when he learned of its capture. He turned aside to Thurii greatly disappointed, and proceeded thence to Venusia. There Claudius Marcellus, who had conquered Sicily and was now consul for the fifth time, and Titus Crispinus, took the field against him, not venturing, however, to offer battle. But Marcellus, happening to see a party of Numidians carrying off plunder, and thinking that they were only a few, attacked them confidently with three hundred horse. He led the attack in person, being a man of daring courage in battle and ever despising danger. Suddenly, a large body of Africans appeared and attacked him on all sides. Those Romans who were in the rear at once took to flight, but Marcellus, who thought that they were following him, fought valiantly until he was thrust through with a dart and killed. When Hannibal stood over his body and saw the wounds all on his breast, he praised him as a soldier but ridiculed him as a general. He took off his ring, burned his body with dis-

B.C. 208

Death of Marcellus

CAP. VIII ἔκαυσε λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τῷ παιδὶ προσέπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον·

51. Σαλαπίνοις δὲ μηνίων εὐθὺς ἐτύπωσεν ἐπιστολὴν τῇ σφραγῖδι Μαρκέλλου, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι πολλοὺς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτόμολον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἔπεμψε φέρειν, δηλοῦντα ὅτι στρατιὰ Μαρκέλλου κατόπιν ἔρχοιτο, καὶ ὁ Μάρκελλος αὐτὴν ὑποδέξασθαι κελεύοι. ἄρτι δ' εἰλήφεσαν Κρισπίνου γράμματα, περιπέμψαντος ἐς ἅπαντας ὅτι τῆς Μαρκέλλου σφραγῖδος Ἀννίβας κεκρατήκοι. τὸν οὖν ἄγγελον, ἵνα μὴ παραμένων ἐπιγνοίη τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπέπεμψαν ὑποσχόμενοι τὰ προστασσόμενα ποιήσειν, αὐτοὶ δ' ὁπλισάμενοι τὴν ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνέμενον. καὶ προσιόντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου μετὰ Νομάδων, οὓς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ὅπλοις ἐσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν πύλας ἐκ μηχανήματος ἀνέσπασαν ὡς δὴ Μαρκέλλου προσιόντος ἀσμενίζοντες, ἐσδεξάμενοι δὲ ὅσων εὐμαρῶς κρατήσειν ἔμελλον, αὖθις ἐκ τοῦ μηχανήματος αὐτὰς ἐπικαθῆκαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐσελθόντας ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δ' ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν ἔτι περιεστῶτας ἄνωθεν ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ κατετίτρωσκον. καὶ δευτέρας τῆσδε πείρας ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει σφαλεὶς ἀπεχώρει.

52. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀννίβου, τὴν στρατιὰν ἣν ἐξενάγησεν ἐν τοῖς Κελτίβηρσιν ἔχων, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν φιλίως αὐτὸν δεχομένων τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη, ὠδοποιημένα πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου, διώδευε δύο μησίν, ὅσα τέως Ἀννίβας ἓξ διῆλθεν. ἐσέβαλέ

tinguished honours, and sent his bones to his son in the Roman camp. CHAP. VIII

51. Being angry with the Salapians, Hannibal sent a Roman deserter to them with a letter stamped with the signet ring of Marcellus, before the latter's death had become generally known, saying that the army of Marcellus was following behind and that Marcellus gave orders that the gates should be opened to receive them. But the citizens had received letters a little before from Crispinus, who had sent word to all the surrounding towns that Hannibal had got possession of Marcellus' ring. So they sent Hannibal's messenger back in order that he might not by remaining there learn what was going on, and promised to do as they had been ordered. Then they armed themselves and having taken their station on the walls awaited the stratagem. When Hannibal came with his Numidians, whom he had armed with Roman weapons, they drew up the portcullis as though they were gladly welcoming Marcellus; but after they had admitted as many as they thought they could easily master, they dropped the portcullis and slew all those who had gained entrance. Upon those who were still standing around outside the walls they hurled missiles from above and covered them with wounds. Hannibal, having failed in his second attempt against the city, now withdrew. Hannibal foiled at Salapia

52. In the meantime his brother Hasdrubal, with the army he had enlisted in Celtiberia, marched to Italy. Being received in a friendly way by the Gauls he passed over the Alps by the road that Hannibal had opened, accomplishing in two months the journey which had previously taken Hannibal B.C. 207 Battle of Metaurus

CAP. VIII τε ἐς Τυρρηνίαν ἄγων πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους ἐπὶ ὀκτακισχιλίοις, ἱππέας δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπεμπε, δηλῶν ὅτι παρείη. τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἁλόντων, οἱ ὕπατοι Σαλινάτωρ καὶ Νέρων μαθόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Σήνας. ὁ δ' οὔπω μάχεσθαι κεκρικώς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνελθεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὑπεχώρει. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξας περὶ ἕλη καὶ τέλματα καὶ ποταμὸν οὐκ εὔπορον ἠλᾶτο, μέχρι φανείσης ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς διερριμμένους τε καὶ κεκμηκότας ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου, πλείστους μὲν αὐτῶν ἅμα τοῖς ταξιάρχοις συντασσομένους ἔτι καὶ συνιόντας διέφθειραν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀσδρούβαν, πλείστους δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον, καὶ μεγάλου δέους ἀπήλλαξαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀμάχου ἂν σφίσι του Ἀννίβου γενομένου, εἰ καὶ τήνδε τὴν στρατιὰν προσέλαβεν.

53. Θεὸς δέ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς ἐπὶ Κάνναις ἀτυχίας, οὐ πόρρω τε ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἰσοστάσιόν πως ἐκείνῃ γενόμενον· στρατηγοί τε γὰρ οἱ ἑκατέρων ἀπώλοντο, καὶ στρατοῦ πλῆθος ἐγγυτάτω μάλιστα ἐπ' ἴσης, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα πολλὰ γενέσθαι καὶ τοῖσδε κἀκείνοις συνηνέχθη, στρατοπέδων τε καὶ παρασκευῆς τῆς ἀλλήλων δαψιλοῦς ἐκράτουν ἑκάτεροι. οὕτω παραλλὰξ ἡ πόλις εὐτυχιῶν καὶ συμφορῶν ἐπειρᾶτο. Κελτιβήρων δ' ὅσοι διέφυγον ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ δ' ἐς Ἀννίβαν ἐχώρουν.

six. He debouched in Etruria with 48,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and fifteen elephants, and sent letters to his brother announcing his arrival. These letters were intercepted by the Romans, and the consuls, Salinator and Nero, learning the number of his forces, combined their own troops in one body, moved against him, and encamped opposite him near the town of Sena. He did not intend to fight yet, but was anxious to join his brother. So he retreated, broke camp at nightfall, and wandered among swamps and pools and along an unfordable river, until at daybreak the Romans came up with them, while they were scattered about and wearied with toil and want of sleep, and slew most of them with their officers, while they were still assembling and getting themselves in order of battle. Hasdrubal himself was slain with them. Many of them were taken prisoners. Thus was Italy delivered from a great fear, since Hannibal could never have been conquered if he had received this addition to his forces.

53. It seems to me that God gave this victory to the Romans as a compensation for the disaster of Cannae, as it came not long afterward and was in a way parallel to it. In both cases the commanding generals lost their lives, and an approximately equal number of men. In both cases the number of prisoners taken was large, and each side also captured the other's camp and a vast quantity of war material. Thus did Rome taste good and bad fortune alternately. Of the Celtiberians who escaped the slaughter, some made their way to their own country and some to Hannibal.

CAP. VIII 54. Ὁ δ' ἐπί τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ στρατιᾷ τοσῇδε δι' ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν αἰφνίδιον ἀπολωλυίᾳ δυσφορῶν, καὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων ἐν πόνοις ἀτρύτοις ἐξ οὗ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ διεπολέμει, πάντων τε ὧν εἰλήφει πρότερον ἐκπεπτωκώς, ἐς Βρεττίους, ὅπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὑπήκοον ἦν, ἀνεχώρει, καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ὡς ἑτέρας δυνάμεως ἀφιξομένης ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν μὲν αὐτῷ ναῦς ἑκατὸν στρογγύλας, ἐφ' ὧν σῖτός τε ἦν καὶ στρατιὰ καὶ χρήματα, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐρετικοῦ παραπέμποντος αὐτὰς ἄνεμος ἐς Σαρδόνα κατήνεγκε, καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδόνος στρατηγὸς ἐπιπλεύσας μακραῖς ναυσὶ κατέδυσε μὲν αὐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἑξήκοντα δ' ἔλαβεν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διέφυγον ἐς Καρχηδόνα. καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπορούμενός τε καὶ τὰ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀπεγνωκώς, οὐδὲ Μάγωνος αὐτῷ τι, τοῦ ξενολογοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίγυσιν, ἐπιπέμποντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιορωμένου, συνιδὼν ὅτι μένειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐ δυνήσεται, αὐτῶν ἤδη Βρεττίων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων ὅσον οὔπω γενησομένων κατεφρόνει, καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτοῖς πάνυ πολλάς, τάς τε ὀχυρὰς τῶν πόλεων μετῴκιζεν ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ ὡς βουλευούσας ἀπόστασιν, πολλούς τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτιώμενος διέφθειρεν, ἵνα τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν σφετερίζοιτο.

IX

CAP. IX 55. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ γίγνονται μὲν ὕπατοι Λικίνιός τε Κράσσος καὶ Πόπλιος Σκιπίων ὁ λαβὼν Ἰβηρίαν, τούτων δὲ

54. Hannibal was greatly depressed by the loss of his brother and of so great an army, destroyed suddenly through ignorance of the roads. Deprived of all that he had gained by the untiring labours of fourteen years, during which he had fought with the Romans in Italy, he withdrew to the Bruttians, the only people that remained subject to him. Here he remained quiet, awaiting new forces from Carthage. They sent him 100 merchant ships laden with supplies, soldiers, and money, but as they had no rowers they were driven by the wind to Sardinia. The praetor of Sardinia attacked them with his warships, sank twenty and captured sixty of them, while the remainder escaped to Carthage. Thus was Hannibal still further straitened and he despaired of assistance from the Carthaginians. Nor did Mago, who was collecting mercenaries in Gaul and Liguria, send him any aid, but waited to see what turn affairs would take. Perceiving that he could not stay there long, Hannibal now began to despise the Bruttians themselves as men who would soon be strangers to him, and he loaded them with taxes. He transferred their strong towns to the plains on the ground that they were planning a revolt, and despoiled many of their men, bringing accusations against them in order that he might confiscate their property. Such was his situation.

CHAP. VIII

Hannibal retires to Bruttium

IX

55. In Rome the consuls at this time were Licinius Crassus and Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain. Of these Crassus confronted Hannibal in Apulia,

CHAP. IX

B.C. 205

CAP. IX Κράσσος μὲν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν Ἀννιβᾳ περὶ Ἰαπυγίαν, Σκιπίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐδίδασκεν οὔ ποτε Καρχηδονίους οὐδ' Ἀννίβαν ἀποστήσεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέλθοι καὶ κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσειεν οἰκεῖον. λιπαρήσας τε πάνυ καρτερῶς, καὶ πείσας ὀκνοῦντας, ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ διέπλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν. ἔνθα στρατὸν ἀγείρας τε καὶ γυμνάσας ἐπέπλευσε Λοκροῖς ἄφνω τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, φρουρουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου· καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν κατασφάξας τε, καὶ παραδοὺς Πλημινίῳ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν. Πλημίνιος δὲ οὐδεμίαν ὕβριν ἢ ἀσέλγειαν ἢ ὠμότητα ἐς τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐκλιπών, ἐσύλησε λήγων καὶ τὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱερόν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συναμαρτόντων αὐτῷ φίλων διέφθειραν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ τὰς περιουσίας αὐτῶν ἔδοσαν Λοκροῖς ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν· ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐδύναντο τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες, τὸ λεῖπον ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ σφῶν ταμιείου τῇ θεῷ προσέθεσαν.

56. Τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου Κωνσεντίαν τε, μεγάλην πόλιν Βρεττίων, καὶ ἄλλας ἓξ ἐπ' αὐτῇ περιέσπασεν ἀπὸ Ἀννίβου Κράσσος. καὶ γιγνομένων ἐν Ῥώμῃ σημείων ἐκ Διὸς φοβερῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐπισκεπτόμενοι δέκα ἄνδρες ἔφασαν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τι ἐς Πεσινοῦντα τῆς Φρυγίας, ἔνθα σέβουσιν οἱ Φρύγες θεῶν μητέρα, πεσεῖσθαι τῶνδε τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ δεῖν αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην

while Scipio advised the people that they would never rid themselves of Hannibal and the Carthaginians who harassed them in Italy, except by sending a Roman army into Africa and so bringing danger to their own doors. By persisting strenuously and persuading those who hesitated he was himself chosen general for Africa and sailed forthwith to Sicily. Having collected and drilled an army there he sailed suddenly against Locri in Italy, which was garrisoned by Hannibal, and after slaying the garrison and putting the town under the command of Pleminius, embarked for Africa. Pleminius visited upon the Locrians every kind of outrage, licentiousness, and cruelty, and ended by actually robbing the temple of Proserpina. For this the Romans put him and his companions in wrong-doing to death in prison, and gave the property they left to the Locrians to be deposited in the treasury of the goddess. All the rest of the plunder that they could find they restored to the goddess, and what they could not find they made good out of their own public treasury.

Scipio sails to Sicily

56. During the same time Crassus detached Consentia, a large town of Bruttium, and six others, from Hannibal. As certain direful prodigies sent by Jupiter [1] had appeared in Rome, the decemviri who consulted the Sibylline books said that something would soon fall from heaven at Pessinus in Phrygia (where the Mother of the Gods is worshipped by the Phrygians), which ought to be brought to Rome.

B.C. 204

A sacred image brought to Rome

[1] Probably equivalent to "portents in the sky." Jupiter was a sky-god.

CAP. IX ἐνεχθῆναι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πεσεῖν τε προσηγγέλθη καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη τὸ βρέτας. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι καὶ νῦν μητρὶ θεῶν, ᾗ τότε ἐκομίσθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ναῦν, ἣ ἔφερεν αὐτό, ἰλύι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐνσχεθεῖσαν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ σαλεύεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν μάντεων προειπόντων ἕψεσθαι μόνως εἰ γυνὴ καθαρεύουσα ξένων ἀνδρῶν ἑλκύσειε, Κλαυδίαν Κόινταν, μοιχείας ἔγκλημα ἔχουσαν ἔτι ἄκριτον, καὶ δι' ἀσωτίαν ἐς αὐτὸ πιθανωτάτην οὖσαν, ἐπιθειάσαι τε πολλὰ περὶ τῆς ἀναμαρτησίας, καὶ ἀναδήσασθαι τῇ μίτρᾳ τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἡ θεὸς ἕσπετο. Κλαυδία μὲν δὴ ἐξ αἰσχίστης δόξης ἐς ἀρίστην μετέβαλε, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κλαυδίας ἐκέλευε τὰ Σιβύλλεια διὰ τοῦ παρὰ σφίσιν ἀρίστου τὸ βρέτας ἐκ Φρυγίας μεταγαγεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐν τῷ τότε σφίσι δοκοῦντα εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα τὸν Νασικᾶν ἐπίκλην, ἐπεπόμφεσαν, υἱὸν μὲν ὄντα Γναίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πεσόντος, ἀνεψιὸν δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελομένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρώτου κληθέντος Ἀφρικανοῦ. ὧδε μὲν ἡ θεὸς ἐς Ῥώμην δι' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρίστων ἀφικνεῖτο.

57. Ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδονίων συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἡττωμένων, ὅσοι Βρεττίων ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκον, ἀφίσταντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δ' ἐξέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων δυνάμενοι λάθρᾳ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπρέσβευον, τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ὑποδεικνύοντες. Ἀννίβας δὲ ἐς μὲν Πετηλίαν ἔνοπλος παρῆλθεν, οὐκέτι Πετηλίνων

Not long after, the news came that it had fallen, and the image of the Goddess was brought to Rome, and still to this day they keep holy to the Mother of the Gods the day on which it arrived. It is said that the ship which bore it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber, and could by no means be moved until the soothsayers proclaimed that it would follow only when drawn by a woman who had never committed adultery. Claudia Quintia, who was under accusation of that kind but had not yet been tried (being suspected of it on account of her profligate life), vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence, and fastened her girdle to the ship, whereupon the goddess followed. Thus Claudia acquired the greatest fame in place of her previous bad reputation. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been admonished by the Sibylline books to send "their best man" to bring the image from Phrygia. Scipio Nasica, son of Gn. Scipio, who had been general in Spain and had lost his life there, and cousin of Scipio Africanus the elder, who deprived the Carthaginians of their supremacy, was judged to be their best man, and sent. In this way was the goddess brought to Rome by the best of their men and women. CHAP. IX

57. When the Carthaginians were continually beaten by Scipio in Africa those of the Bruttians who heard of it revolted from Hannibal, some of them slaying their garrisons and others expelling them. Those who were not able to do either of these things sent messengers to the Senate secretly to explain the necessity under which they had acted and to declare their goodwill. Hannibal came with his army to Petelia, which was not now occupied by Hannibal's troubles in Bruttium

CAP. IX

ἐχόντων αὐτήν· ἐκβαλὼν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκει Βρεττίοις. ᾐτιᾶτο δ' ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀρνουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὑπεκρίνετο πιστεύειν. "ἵνα δ'," ἔφη, "μηδ' ὑπονοῆσθε," τοὺς μὲν δυνατοὺς παρέδωκε τοῖς Νομάσι, κεχωρισμένως τηρεῖν αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τὰ ὅπλα παρείλετο, τοὺς δὲ δούλους καθοπλίσας ἐπέστησε τῇ πόλει φύλακας. καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐποίει. Θουρίων δὲ τρισχιλίους Καρχηδονίοις μάλιστα εὔνους ἐξελόμενος, καὶ πεντακοσίους ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ἔδωκεν. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐγκρατῆ φρουρὰν καταλιπών, ἐς Κρότωνα τοὺς τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους μετῴκιζε, τὴν πόλιν εὔκαιρον ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ταμιεῖον αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὁρμητήριον ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιθέμενος.

58. Καρχηδονίων δ' αὐτὸν μετακαλούντων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν κινδυνευούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνειε, πεμψάντων, ἤχθετο μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίας τε καὶ ἀχαριστίας ἐς πεῖραν ἐρχόμενος διὰ μακροῦ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐδεδοίκει τοῦ τοσοῦδε πολέμου πρῶτος ἐμβαλὼν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐγνώκει δ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ὅμως ἕπεσθαι, καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλάς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης. τῶν δ' ἔτι ὑπηκόων οἱ πόλεων ὡς ἀλλοτρίων καταφρονῶν, ἔγνω διαρπάσαι πάσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πλουτίσας,

the Petelians, as he had expelled them and given the town to the Bruttians. He accused the latter of sending an embassy to Rome, and when they denied it pretended to believe them, but in order, as he said, that there might be no ground even for suspicion, he delivered their principal citizens over to the Numidians, who were ordered to guard each one of them separately. He then disarmed the people, armed the slaves, and stationed them as guards over the city. He also visited the other cities and did the same in them. But in the case of Thurii he selected 3000 citizens, who were particularly friendly to the Carthaginians, and 500 others from the country, but gave the goods of the remainder as spoils to his soldiers. Leaving a strong garrison in the city he settled these 3500 people at Croton, which he judged to be well situated for his operations, and where he established his magazines and his headquarters against the other towns. CHAP. IX

58. When the Carthaginians summoned him to hasten to the aid of his own country, which was in danger from Scipio, and sent Hasdrubal, their admiral, to him that there might be no delay, he lamented the perfidious and ungrateful conduct of the Carthaginians toward their generals, of which he had had long experience. Moreover, he feared that he should be charged with having caused so great a war by his original attack on the Romans in Spain. Nevertheless, he determined to obey, as necessity compelled him, and accordingly he built a large fleet, for which Italy supplied abundant timber. Despising the cities still allied to him as foreigners, he resolved to plunder them all, and thus, by enriching his army, render himself secure against his calum- B.C. 203 Hannibal recalled by Carthage

CAP. IX εὔνουν ἐς τὰς ἐν Καρχηδόνι συκοφαντίας ἐπαγαγέσθαι. αἰδούμενός τε αὐτὸς παρασπονδεῖν, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἐπὶ προφάσει περιέπεμπε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας ὀψόμενον. ὁ δὲ ἐς ἑκάστην πόλιν ἐσιὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν, αὐτούς τε καὶ δούλους αὐτῶν, ὅσα δύναιντο λαβόντας, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων μεθίστασθαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διήρπαζεν. τούτων ἔνιοι πυνθανόμενοι, πρὶν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἥκειν, τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ συνέβαινεν ὅπου μὲν κρατεῖν τὰς πόλεις ὅπου δὲ τοὺς φρουρούς, σφαγή τε ποικίλη καὶ γυναικῶν ὕβρις καὶ παρθένων ἀπαγωγαί, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐν πόλεσιν ἑαλωκυίαις, ἐγίγνοντο.

59. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς συστρατευομένους οἱ τῶν Ἰταλῶν εἰδὼς εὖ γεγυμνασμένους, ἔπειθε πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἐς τὴν Λιβύην αὐτῷ συστρατεῦσαι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τὰ ἡμαρτημένα σφίσιν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας δεδιότες εἵποντο, φεύγοντες τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντες ὤκνουν. ἀθροίσας οὖν τούσδε τοὺς ὑπομένειν ἀξιοῦντας ὡς δή τι λέξων αὐτοῖς ἢ χαριούμενος τῶν γεγονότων ἢ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκήψων, περιέστησε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡπλισμένην ἄφνω, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράποδα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅσα θέλουσιν ἐπιλέξασθαι. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπελέξαντο, οἱ δὲ ᾐδοῦντο συστρατιώτας πολλὰ συνειργασμένους σφίσιν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας, τοῦ μὴ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι χρησίμους. ἐπικατέσφαξε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵππους

niators in Carthage. But being ashamed to commit such a breach of faith himself, he sent Hasdrubal, the admiral, about, on pretence of inspecting the garrisons. The latter, as he entered each city, ordered the inhabitants to take what things they and their slaves could carry, and move away. Then he plundered the rest. Some of them, learning of these proceedings before Hasdrubal came, attacked the garrisons, overcoming them in some places and being overcome by them in others. Indiscriminate slaughter ensued, accompanied by the violation of wives and the abduction of virgins, and all the horrors that usually take place when cities are captured. CHAP. IX

59. Hannibal himself, knowing that the Italians in his army were extremely well-drilled soldiers, sought to persuade them by lavish promises to accompany him to Africa. Those of them who had been guilty of crimes against their own countries willingly expatriated themselves and followed him. Those who had committed no such wrong hesitated. Collecting, therefore, those who had decided to remain, as though he wished to say something to them, or to reward them for their services, or to give them some command as to the future, he surrounded them with his army unexpectedly, and directed his soldiers to choose from among them such as they would like to have for slaves. But when some had made their selections accordingly, though others were ashamed to reduce their comrades in so many engagements to servitude, Hannibal shot down all the rest of the men with darts in order that the Romans might not avail themselves of such a splendid body of men. With them he slaughtered also about 4000 horses and a

He tries to take his Italian soldiers thither

CAP. IX ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πλῆθος ὑποζυγίων, οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπάγεσθαι.

60. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τὰς ναῦς τὸ πλῆθος ἐμβιβάσας τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνέμενεν, ὀλίγους ἐς φυλακὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Πετηλῖνοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι Ἰταλοὶ ἐπέθεντο, καί τινας αὐτῶν κατασφάξαντες ἀπέδρασαν. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἀνήγετο, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ὁμαλῶς πορθήσας τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐμπλήσας κακῶν μυρίων καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον ἔσχατον πολλάκις συναγαγών, τοῖς τε ὑπηκόοις αὐτοῦ καὶ συμμάχοις ἐνυβρίσας ὡς πολεμίοις· ἅτε γὰρ καὶ τέως αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ χρείᾳ χρώμενος, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἔτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι κατεφρόνησεν ὡς πολεμίων.

61. Ἀννίβου δ' ἀποπλεύσαντος ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσοι μετέθεντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, συνέγνω τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἀμνηστίαν ἐψηφίσατο, Βρεττίων δὲ μόνων, οἳ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ προθυμότατοι ἐγεγένηντο, χώραν τε πολλὴν ἀφείλετο καὶ ὅπλα, εἴ τινα ἦν ἔτι χωρὶς ὧν Ἀννίβας ἀφῄρητο· ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀπεῖπεν αὐτοῖς μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ὡς οὐδ' ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν, ὑπηρέτας δὲ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς τοῖς ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀπιοῦσιν ἐς τὰς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας, οἷα θεράποντας, ἀκολουθεῖν. τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἦν Ἀννίβου τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν γενομένης ἐσβολῆς.

large number of pack animals, which he was not able to transport to Africa.

He embarks for Africa

60. Thereupon he embarked his army and waited for a wind, having left a few garrisons on the land. These the Petelians and other Italians attacked, slew some of them, and then ran away. Hannibal put out for Africa, having devastated Italy for sixteen successive years, and inflicted countless evils upon the inhabitants, and reduced them several times to the last extremity, and treated his own subjects and allies with contumely as enemies. For, as he had made use of them before not from any good-will but from necessity, now that they could be of no further service to him he scorned them and considered them enemies.

Punishment of the Bruttians

61. When Hannibal had departed from Italy the Senate pardoned all the Italian peoples who had sided with him, and voted a general amnesty except to the Bruttians, who remained most loyal to him to the end. From these they took away a considerable part of their land, and also their arms, if there were any that Hannibal had not taken. They were also forbidden to be enrolled in the military forces thereafter, as being not even free persons, but were required to attend as servants upon the consuls and praetors, when they went to govern their provinces, for the performance of official duties. Such was the end of Hannibal's invasion of Italy.

BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS

Θ

ΛΙΒΥΚΗ

I

CAP. I 1. Καρχηδόνα τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Φοίνικες ᾤκισαν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα πρὸ ἁλώσεως Ἰλίου, οἰκισταὶ δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο Ζῶρός τε καὶ Καρχηδών, ὡς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζουσι, Διδὼ γυνὴ Τυρία, ἧς τὸν ἄνδρα κατακαίνει Πυγμαλίων Τύρου τυραννεύων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκρυπτεν. ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἐνυπνίου τὸν φόνον ἐπέγνω, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι Πυγμαλίωνος τυραννίδα ἔφευγον, ἀφικνεῖται πλέουσα Λιβύης ἔνθα νῦν ἔστι Καρχηδών. ἐξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδέοντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι. τοῖς δὲ ἐνέπιπτε μέν τι καὶ γέλωτος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Φοινίκων μικρολογίᾳ, καὶ ᾐδοῦντο ἀντειπεῖν περὶ οὕτω βραχυτάτου· μάλιστα δ' ἠπόρουν ὅπως ἂν πόλις ἐν τηλικούτῳ διαστήματι γένοιτο, καὶ ποθοῦντες ἰδεῖν ὅ τι ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ σοφόν, συνέθεντο δώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δέρμα περιτεμόντες ἐς ἱμάντα ἕνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Βύρσα ὀνομάζεται.

BOOK VIII—PART I

THE PUNIC WARS

I

CHAP. I

First Phoenician settlement

1. The Phoenicians founded Carthage, in Africa, fifty years before the capture of Troy. Its founders were either Zorus and Carchedon, or, as the Romans and the Carthaginians themselves think, Dido, a Tyrian woman, whose husband had been slain clandestinely by Pygmalion, the ruler of Tyre. The murder being revealed to her in a dream, she embarked for Africa with her property and a number of men who desired to escape from the tyranny of Pygmalion, and arrived at that part of Africa where Carthage now stands. Being repelled by the inhabitants, they asked for as much land for a dwelling-place as an ox-hide would encompass. The Africans laughed at the paltriness of the Phoenicians' request, and were ashamed to deny so small a favour. Besides, they could not imagine how a town could be built in so narrow a space, and wishing to unravel the subtlety they agreed to give it, and confirmed the promise by an oath. The Phoenicians, cutting the hide round and round into one very narrow strip, enclosed the place where the citadel of Carthage now stands, which from this affair was called Byrsa (a hide).

CAP. 1

2. Χρόνῳ δ', ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἀμείνους ὄντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ναυσί τε χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν οἷα Φοίνικες ἐργαζόμενοι, τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἔξω τῇ Βύρσῃ περιέθηκαν. καὶ δυναστεύοντες ἤδη Λιβύης ἐκράτουν καὶ πολλῆς θαλάσσης, ἐκδήμους τε πολέμους ἐστράτευον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ νήσους ἄλλας ὅσαι τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης εἰσί, καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμπον. ἥ τε ἀρχὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο δυνάμει μὲν ἀξιόμαχος τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ, περιουσίᾳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Περσικήν. ἑπτακοσίοις δ' αὐτοὺς ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι Σικελίαν ἀφείλοντο, καὶ Σαρδὼ μετὰ Σικελίαν, δευτέρῳ δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἔς τε τὴν ἀλλήλων ἐμβαλόντες μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, οἱ μὲν Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθουν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἑξῆς, οἱ δὲ Λιβύην Κορνηλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, μέχρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἐλέφαντας, καὶ χρήματα σφίσιν ἐπέταξαν ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ. δεύτεραί τε σπονδαὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις αἵδε διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, μέχρι λύσαντες αὐτὰς τρίτον πόλεμον καὶ τελευταῖον ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνα Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσκαψαν Σκιπίωνος τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἐπάρατον ἔγνωσαν. αὖθις δ' ᾤκισαν ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα τῆς προτέρας, ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ χωρίον. τούτων τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν ἡ Σικελικὴ γραφὴ δηλοῖ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενα ἡ Ἰβηρική, καὶ ὅσα Ἀννίβας ἐς Ἰταλίαν

2. Later on, using this as a base and getting the upper hand of their neighbours in war, and engaging in traffic by sea, like all Phoenicians, they built the outer city round Byrsa. Gradually acquiring strength they mastered Africa and a great part of the Mediterranean, carried war abroad into Sicily and Sardinia and the other islands of that sea, and also into Spain, while they sent out numerous colonies. They became a match for the Greeks in power, and next to the Persians in wealth. But about 700 years after the foundation of the city the Romans took Sicily and Sardinia away from them, and in a second war Spain also. Then, each invading the other's territory with immense armies, the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ravaged Italy for sixteen years in succession, while the Romans, under the leadership of Cornelius Scipio the elder, carried the war into Africa until they deprived the Carthaginians of their hegemony, their navy and their elephants, and required them to pay an indemnity within a certain time. This second treaty between the Romans and the Carthaginians lasted fifty years, until, upon an infraction of it, the third and last war broke out between them, in which the Romans under Scipio the younger razed Carthage to the ground and decreed that it should be accursed. But they subsequently occupied a spot very near the former one with colonists of their own, because the position is a convenient one for governing Africa. Of these matters the Sicilian part is shown in my Sicilian history, the Spanish in the Spanish history, and what

CHAP I

Punic wars

CAP. I ἐσβαλὼν ἔπραξεν, ἡ Ἀννιβαϊκὴ· τὰ δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ γενόμενα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἥδε συνάγει.

3. Ἤρξαντο δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ πόλεις τινὰς ἑλόντες, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει καταλιπόντες Ἀτίλιον Ῥῆγλον, ὃς ἄλλας τε πόλεις διακοσίας προσέλαβεν, αἳ Καρχηδονίων ἔχθει πρὸς αὐτὸν μετετίθεντο, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους στρατηγὸν ἤτουν, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀναρχίαν κακοπραγεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιππον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμπον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτίλιος ἀμφὶ λίμνῃ στρατοπεδεύων ὥρᾳ καύματος περιώδευε τὴν λίμνην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπλων τε βάρει καὶ πνίγει καὶ δίψει καὶ ὁδοιπορίᾳ κακοπαθῶν, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἄνωθεν. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασε περὶ ἑσπέραν καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοὺς διεῖργεν, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὸν Ξάνθιππον ἐκπλήξων, ὁ δὲ συντεταγμένην τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπαφίησι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐλπίσας κεκμηκότος καὶ κακοπαθοῦντος περιέσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πρὸς τῶν νικώντων ἔσεσθαι. τῆσδε μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Ξάνθιππος οὐκ ἀπέτυχεν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ὁ Ἀτίλιος ἦγεν, ὀλίγοι μόλις αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀσπίδα πόλιν διέδρασαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀτίλιος, ὕπατος γεγονώς, αἰχμάλωτος ἦν.

4. Τόνδε μὲν δὴ μετ' οὐ πολὺ κάμνοντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σὺν οἰκείοις πρέσβεσιν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐργασόμενον σφίσι διαλλαγὰς ἢ ἐπανή-

Hannibal did in his Italian campaigns in the Hannibalic history. This book comprises the operations in Africa from the earliest period. CHAP I

3. The events begin with the Sicilian war, when the Romans sent 350 ships to Africa, captured a number of towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took some 200 more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians; and continually advancing he ravaged the territory. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering that their misfortunes were due to the lack of a leader, asked the Lacedemonians to send them a commander. The Lacedemonians sent them Xanthippus. Regulus, being encamped in the hot season alongside a lake, marched around it to engage the enemy, his soldiers suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from heat, thirst, and fatigue, and exposed to missiles from the neighbouring heights. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, thinking in this way too to terrify Xanthippus, but the latter, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted, and thinking that night would be on the side of the conquerors, drew up his forces and made a sudden sally from his camp. The expectations of Xanthippus were not disappointed. Of the 30,000 men led by Regulus, only a few escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the consul Regulus himself. B.C. 256 B.C. 255 Regulus defeated by Xanthippus

4. Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary of fighting, sent him, in company with their own ambassadors, to Rome to obtain peace or to return if it B.C. 250 Fate of Regulus

CAP. 1 ξοντα· καὶ ὁ Ἀτίλιος Ῥῆγλος ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῖς τέλεσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκήψας ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς λύμην ἕτοιμον, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καθείρξαντες ἐν γαλεάγρᾳ κέντρα πάντοθεν ἐχούσῃ διέφθειραν. Ξανθίππῳ δὲ τὸ εὐτύχημα συμφορῶν ἦρξε· Καρχηδόνιοι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη Λακεδαιμονίων ἔργον εἶναι τοσοῦτον, ὑποκρινάμενοι τιμᾶν δωρεαῖς πολλαῖς καὶ προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τριήρων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς τριηράρχοις ἐνετείλαντο μετὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων Λακώνων καταποντίσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίκην ἔδωκε τήνδε εὐπραξίας, καὶ τάδε ἦν τοῦ πρώτου πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις περὶ Λιβύην εὐπραγήματά τε καὶ ἀτυχήματα, μέχρι Καρχηδόνιοι Σικελίας Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέστησαν. ὅπως δὲ ἀπέστησαν, ἐν τῇ Σικελικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται.

5. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις μὲν καὶ Καρχηδονίοις εἰρηναῖα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, Λίβυες, δ' ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ὄντες ὑπήκοοι συνεμεμαχήκεσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ Κελτῶν ὅσοι ἐμεμισθοφορήκεσαν, ἐγκλήματά τινα μισθῶν καὶ ὑποσχέσεων ἐς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔχοντες ἐπολέμουν αὐτοῖς μάλα καρτερῶς. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἐς συμμαχίαν ὡς φίλους ἐκάλουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξενολογεῖν ἐς μόνον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐφῆκαν· ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς καὶ τόδε. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ διαλλακτῆρας, οἷς οἱ Λίβυες οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐδήλωσαν ὑπηκόους εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, εἰ θέλοιεν· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ταῖς

were not granted. Yet Regulus in private urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war with energy, and then went back to certain torture; for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage stuck full of spikes and thus put him to death. Xanthippus' success was the beginning of his ruin, for the Carthaginians, in order that the credit of such an exploit might not seem to be due to the Lacedemonians, pretended to honour him with splendid gifts, and sent galleys to convey him back to Lacedemon, but enjoined upon the captains of the ships to throw him and his Lacedemonian comrades overboard. In this way he paid the penalty for his successes. Such were the results, good and bad, of the first war of the Romans in Africa, until the Carthaginians surrendered Sicily to them. How this came about has been shown in my Sicilian history. CHAP. I B.C. 241

5. After this there was peace between the Romans and the Carthaginians, but the Africans, who were subject to the latter and had served them as auxiliaries in the Sicilian war, and certain Celtic mercenaries who complained that their pay had been withheld and that the promises made to them had not been kept, made war against the Carthaginians in a very formidable manner. The latter appealed to the Romans for aid on the score of friendship, and the Romans allowed them for this war only to hire mercenaries in Italy, for even that had been forbidden in the treaty. They also sent men to act as mediators. The Africans, however, refused the mediation, but said that the cities would become subject to the Romans if they would take them, but the Romans refused. Then the Carthaginians blockaded the towns with a great The Mercenary war B.C. 240

CAP. I πόλεσιν ἐφεδρεύοντες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν ἀφῃροῦντο τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀσπόρου δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ γενομένης, Λιβύων μὲν διὰ τὸν λιμὸν ἐκράτουν, ἐμπόρους δ', ὅσοι παρέπλεον, ἐλῄστευον ἐξ ἀπορίας· τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων καὶ κτείνοντες ἔβαλλον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα λανθάνοιεν. καὶ διέλαθον ἐπὶ πολύ. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ γιγνομένου, ποινὴν αἰτούμενοι διωθοῦντο, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς ψηφισαμένων Σαρδὼ ποινὴν ἔδωκαν. καὶ τόδε ταῖς προτέραις συνθήκαις ἐνεγράφη.

II

CAP. II 6. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν κατὰ μέρος ὑπήγοντο, μέχρι Ζακανθαίων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καταφυγόντων Καρχηδονίοις ὅρος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γίγνεται, μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἴβηρα ποταμόν. καὶ τάσδε αὖ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔλυσαν Καρχηδόνιοι, περάσαντες Ἀννίβου σφῶν ἡγουμένου. διαβάντες δέ, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας διαστρατηγεῖν ἑτέροις τὰ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσέβαλε· στρατηγοὶ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, Πόπλιός τε Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων, ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφώ, λαμπρὰ ἔργα ἀποδεικνυμένω θνήσκετον ἄμφω πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοὺς στρατηγοὶ κακῶς ἔπραττον, μέχρι Σκιπίων ὁ Ποπλίου Σκιπίωνος τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀναιρεθέντος υἱὸς ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ δόξαν ἅπασιν ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἥκοι κατὰ θεὸν καὶ δαιμονίῳ χρῷτο

fleet, and cut off their supplies from the sea, and as the land was untilled in consequence of the war they overcame the Africans by famine, but were driven by want to rob the merchants who sailed by, even killing those who were Romans, and throwing them overboard to conceal the crime. This escaped notice for a long time. When the facts became known and the Carthaginians were called to account they put off the day of reckoning until the Romans voted to make war against them, when they surrendered Sardinia by way of compensation. And this clause was added to the former treaty of peace.

CHAP I

B.C. 238

II

6. Not long afterwards the Carthaginians invaded Spain and were gradually subduing it, when the Saguntines appealed to Rome and a boundary was fixed to the Carthaginian advance by an agreement that they should not cross the river Ebro. The Carthaginians, under the lead of Hannibal, violated this treaty also by crossing this stream, and having done so Hannibal marched against Italy, leaving the command in Spain in the hands of others. The Roman generals in Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, two brothers, after having performed some brilliant exploits were both slain by the enemy. The generals who succeeded them fared badly until Scipio, the son of this Publius Scipio who was killed in Spain, set sail thither, and making all believe that he was come by a divine mission and

CHAP. II

B.C. 229

Hannibal's invasion of Italy

B.C. 210

CAP. II

συμβούλῳ περὶ ἁπάντων, ἐκράτει τε λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ δόξης ἐκ τοῦδε πολλῆς γενόμενος τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν τοῖς ἐς διαδοχὴν ἐπιπεμφθεῖσι παρέδωκεν, ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐπανελθὼν ἠξίου πεμφθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἐς Λιβύην ὡς ἀναστήσων Ἀννίβαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Καρχηδονίοις δίκην ἐπιθήσων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι.

7. Τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν ἀντέλεγον οὐ χρῆναι, κεκενωμένης ἄρτι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις καὶ πορθουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου, καὶ Μάγωνος ἐν πλευραῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν Λίγυάς τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ξενολογοῦντος, ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν χειροῦσθαι πρὶν τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων· οἱ δὲ ᾤοντο Καρχηδονίους νῦν μὲν ἀδεεῖς ὄντας ἐφεδρεύειν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἐνοχλουμένους οἴκοι, πολέμου δὲ οἰκείου σφίσι γενομένου καὶ Ἀννίβαν μεταπέμψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν ἐκράτησε πέμπειν ἐς Λιβύην Σκιπίωνα, οὐ μὴν συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καταλέγειν στρατὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας πονουμένης ἔτι πρὸς Ἀννίβου· ἐθελοντὰς δέ, εἴ τινες εἶεν, ἐπέτρεψαν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ἔτι οὖσι χρῆσθαι. τριήρεις τε ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσασθαι δέκα, καὶ πληρώματα αὐταῖς λαβεῖν, ἐπισκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ. καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἔδωκαν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐθέλοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι κατὰ φιλίαν συμφέρειν. οὕτως ἀμελῶς ἥπτοντο τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὰ πρῶτα, μεγίστου σφίσι καὶ ἀξιοτιμοτάτου μετ' ὀλίγον γενομένου.

8. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἔνθους ὢν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐκ πολλοῦ, καί τινας ἱππέας τε καὶ πεζούς, ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους μάλιστα, ἀθροίσας, διέπλευσεν ἐς

had divine counsel in all things, prevailed brilliantly, and achieving great glory by this success, gave over his command to those sent to succeed him, returned to Rome, and asked to be sent with an army to Africa so as to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to bring retribution upon the Carthaginians in their own country. CHAP. II

7. Some of the leading men opposed this plan, saying that it was not wise to send an army into Africa just when Italy was wasted by such long wars and was still subject to the ravages of Hannibal, and while Mago was enlisting Ligurian and Celtic mercenaries for a flank attack upon her. They ought not to attack another land, they said, until they had delivered their own country from its present perils. Others thought that the Carthaginians were emboldened to attack Italy because they were not molested at home, and that if war were brought to their own doors they would recall Hannibal. So it was decided to send Scipio into Africa, but they would not allow him to levy an army in Italy while Hannibal was ravaging it. If he could procure volunteers he might take them, and he might use the forces which were then in Sicily. They authorized him to fit out ten galleys and allowed him to take crews for them, and also to refit those in Sicily. They did not, however, give him any money except what he could raise among his friends So indifferently at first did they undertake this war, which soon became so great and glorious for them. B.C. 205

8. Scipio, who seemed to be divinely inspired from long ago against Carthage, having collected about 7000 soldiers, cavalry and infantry, sailed for Sicily, Scipio's invasion of Africa

CAP. 11 Σικελίαν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρτιγενείους ἐπιλέκτους τριακοσίους, οἷς εἴρητο χωρὶς ὅπλων ἕπεσθαι. Σικελῶν δ' αὖ τριακοσίους καταγράψας εὐδαίμονας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητήν, ἐσκευασμένους ὅπλοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ὅτι δύναιντο καλλίστοις. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, προύθηκεν εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ θέλοι τὸν στρατευσόμενον ἀντιδοῦναι. δεξαμένων δὲ πάντων, ἤγαγεν ἐς μέσον τοὺς τριακοσίους τοὺς ὅπλων ἐρήμους, καὶ ἐς τούσδε ἐκείνοις προσέταξε μετασκευάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἑκόντες παρεδίδοσαν ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. καὶ περιὴν τῷ Σκιπίωνι τριακοσίους νέους Ἰταλιώτας ἔχειν ἀντὶ Σικελιωτῶν, κάλλιστα ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐσκευασμένους, καὶ χάριν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε εἰδότας· οἷς δὴ καὶ προθυμοτάτοις ἐς πάντα χρώμενος διετέλει.

9. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν τὸν Γέσκωνος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλεφάντων ἐξέπεμπον, Μάγωνι δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Λιγυστίνην ξενα-γοῦντι πεζοὺς ἀπέστελλον ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑπτά, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτῷ μεθ' ὅσων δύναιτο ἄλλων ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς Τυρρηνίαν, ἵνα τὸν Σκιπίωνα περισπάσειεν ἐκ Λιβύης. Μάγων μὲν δὴ καὶ τότε ἐβράδυνεν, Ἀννίβα τε συνελθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος πολὺ διεστῶτι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀεὶ περιορώμενος. Ἀσδρούβας δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας ἐπανελθὼν κατέλεγε Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἑκατέρων καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους, δούλους τε ἠγόραζε πεντακισχιλίους, τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐρέσσειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν Νομάδων ἔλαβε δισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ ξένους

taking as a bodyguard 300 chosen youths whom he ordered to accompany him without arms. He then chose 300 wealthy Sicilians by conscription and ordered them to come on a certain day, provided with the best possible arms and horses. When they came he told them that they might furnish substitutes for the war if they preferred. As they all accepted this offer he brought forward his 300 unarmed youths and directed the others to supply them with arms and horses, and this they did willingly. So it came about that Scipio had in place of 300 Sicilians, 300 Italian youths admirably equipped at other people's expense, who at once were indebted to him for this favour and ever afterward rendered him excellent service.

Consternation at Carthage

9. When the Carthaginians learned these things they sent Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, to hunt elephants, and they despatched to Mago, who was enlisting Ligurian mercenaries, about 6000 foot, 800 horse, and seven elephants, and commanded him to attack Etruria with these and such other forces as he could collect, in order to draw Scipio from Africa. But Mago delayed even then because he could not join Hannibal at such a distance and because he was always of a hesitating disposition. Hasdrubal, on his return from the elephant hunt, levied about 6000 foot and 600 horse from both the Carthaginian and the African population, and bought 5000 slaves as oarsmen for the ships. He also obtained 2000 horse from the Numidians and hired

CAP. II ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ πάντας ἐγύμναζε, διακοσίους σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

10. Νομάδων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ δυνάσται μὲν ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη πολλοί, Σύφαξ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας, καὶ τιμὴν εἶχε πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῆ. Μασσυλίων δ' αὖ, γένους ἀλκίμου, παῖς ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως Μασσανάσσης, ὃς ἐτέθραπτο μὲν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ ἐπεπαίδευτο, ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλῷ καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀρίστῳ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ Γέσκωνος, οὐδενὸς Καρχηδονίων δεύτερος, ἠγγύησε τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ὄντι Νομάδι, Καρχηδόνιος ὤν. ὡς δ' ἠγγύησεν, ἐπήγετο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ μειράκιον. Σύφαξ δὲ κνιζόμενος ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ παιδὶ τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐλειηλάτει, καὶ Σκιπίωνι διαπλεύσαντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους ἰόντι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μέγα ποιούμενοι ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον Σύφακα προσλαβεῖν, ἐξέδοσαν αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον ἀγνοούντων καὶ ὄντων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Ασδρούβου τε καὶ Μασσανάσσου. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ὑπεραλγῶν συνετίθετο καὶ ὅδε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λανθάνων, ὡς ᾤετο, Ἀσδρούβαν. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος βαρέως μὲν ἔφερεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τῆς θυγατρός, ὑβρισμένοιν ἀμφοῖν, ἡγεῖτο δ' ὅμως τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρειν ἐκποδὼν Μασσανάσσην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἐπανιόντι ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς συνέπεμπε προπομποὺς ἱππέας, οἷς εἴρητο ἀφανῶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ κτείνειν ὅπῃ δύναιντο.

mercenaries and exercised them all in a camp at a distance of two hundred stades from Carthage.

Syphax and Masinissa

10. There were many chieftains in Numidia who had separate dominions. Syphax occupied the highest place among them and was held in special honour by the others. There was also a certain Masinissa, son of the king of the Massylians, a powerful tribe. He had been brought up and educated at Carthage and being a handsome man, of noble character, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, who was second in rank to nobody in Carthage, betrothed his daughter to him although he was a Numidian and Hasdrubal a Carthaginian, and after the betrothal took the young man with him to the war in Spain. Syphax, who was also pricked with love of the girl, began to pillage the Carthaginian territory, and proposed to Scipio (who sailed over from Spain to meet him) that they should make a joint attack on Carthage. The Carthaginians, learning this and knowing how great service Syphax could render them in the war against the Romans, gave the girl to him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal or Masinissa, since they were in Spain. The latter, being greatly exasperated, in his turn made an alliance with Scipio in Spain, concealing it from Hasdrubal, as he supposed. But Hasdrubal detected it, and although he was grieved at the outrage put upon the young man and his daughter, nevertheless thought that it would be an advantage to his country to make away with Masinissa. So when the latter returned from Spain to Africa at the death of his father, he sent a cavalry escort with him and told them to put him to death secretly in whatever way they could.

CAP. II

11. Ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐξέφυγέ τε, καὶ τὴν πάτρῳαν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνετο, ἱππέας ἀθροίζων, οἷς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔργον ἀκοντίοις πολλοῖς χρωμένους ἐπελαύνειν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ αὖθις ἐπελαύνειν. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις. ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λιμὸν φέρειν οἱ Νομάδες οἵδε, καὶ πόᾳ χρῆσθαι πολλάκις ἀντὶ σίτου· καὶ τὸ πάμπαν ὑδροποτοῦσιν. ὅ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς κριθῆς μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως γεύεται, ποηφαγῶν ἀεί, πίνει δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ. τοιούτους ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐς δισμυρίους συναγαγὼν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ θήρας ἢ λεηλασίας ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν· ἅπερ ᾤετο καὶ ἔργα καὶ γυμνάσια εἶναι. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ μειρακίου (οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν ἃ ἐλελυπήκεσαν αὐτόν), ἔκριναν προτέρῳ τῷδε πολεμεῖν ἔστε καθέλωσι, καὶ τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαντᾶν.

12. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους ἦσαν παρὰ πολύ, μετὰ δὲ ἀμαξῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βαρείας καὶ τρυφῆς ἐστρατεύοντο· Μασσανάσσης δὲ πόνων τε πᾶσιν ἐξῆρχε, καὶ ἱππικὸν μόνον εἶχε καὶ ὑποζύγιον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀγοράν. ὅθεν ῥᾳδίως ὑπέφευγέ τε καὶ ἐπεχείρει καὶ ἐς τὰ ὀχυρὰ ἀνεπήδα. πολλάκις τε καὶ καταλαμβανόμενος διεσκίδνη τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπῃ δυνηθεῖεν ἀποφεύγειν κατὰ μέρη. καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις αὐτὸς ὑπεκρύπτετό ποι, μέχρι συνέλθοιεν αὐτῷ νυκτὸς ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον. τρίτος δέ ποτε ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος ἔλαθε, τῶν πολεμίων περὶ

War between Masinissa and Carthage

11. Masinissa, getting wind of this plot, managed to escape, and made his inherited power stronger by collecting a body of cavalry who were trained day and night to hurl showers of javelins, advancing and retreating and again advancing. These, in fact, are the tactics which they always employ, alternate flight and pursuit. These Numidians also know how to endure hunger. They often subsist on herbs in place of bread, and they drink nothing but water. Their horses never even taste grain; they feed on grass alone and drink but rarely. Such were the troops of whom Masinissa collected about 20,000, and kept leading them out on hunts and pillaging expeditions against other tribes, considering such things useful both in themselves and for the training which they afforded. The Carthaginians and Syphax, thinking that these preparations of the young man were made against them (for they were conscious of the affront they had put upon him), decided to make war on him first, and after crushing him to march against the Romans.

12. Syphax and the Carthaginians were much the more numerous, but they marched with wagons and a great load of luggage and luxuries. On the other hand, Masinissa was an example in every toil and hardship, and had only cavalry, no pack animals and no provisions. Thus he was able easily to retreat, to attack, and to take refuge in strongholds. Even when he was overtaken, he often divided his forces so that they might scatter as best they could, concealing himself with a handful until they should all come together again, by day or by night, at an appointed rendezvous. Once he was one of three who lay concealed in a cave around which his

CAP. II τὸ σπήλαιον στρατοπεδευόντων. οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅτε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐστρατήγει λανθάνειν ὅποι ποτε εἴη. ὅθεν οὐκ εἶχον αὐτῷ συνεχῶς προεπιχειρεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλ' ἠμύνοντο ἐπιόντα. ἀγορὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ὅ τι περὶ ἑσπέραν καταλάβοι χωρίον ἢ κώμην ἢ πόλιν, λῃζομένῳ τε πάντα καὶ διαρπάζοντι καὶ μεριζομένῳ τοῖς συνοῦσιν. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν Νομάδων ἐπεφοίτων, μισθοὺς μὲν οὐ διδόντι τεταγμένους, τὰς δ' ὠφελείας πολὺ πλείονας ἔχοντες.

III

CAP. III 13. Καὶ Μασσανάσσης μὲν Καρχηδονιοις οὕτως ἐπολέμει, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων, ἐπεί οἱ πάντα εὐτρεπῆ ἐγεγένητο ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ἔθυε Διὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν μὲν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα φορτίδων δὲ τετρακοσίων· κέλητές τε καὶ λέμβοι πολλοὶ συνείποντο αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατιὰν ἦγε πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις, ἱππέας δὲ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους. ἐπήγετο δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα ποικίλα καὶ ἀγορὰν πολλήν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ὧδε διέπλει, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ πυνθανόμενοι ἔγνωσαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὑποκρίνασθαί τε Μασσανάσσην καὶ ἐς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μέχρι ὅτου Σκιπίωνος ἐπικρατήσαιεν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἐξαπατώμενος, ἀντενεδρεύων δέ, καὶ μηνύων πάντα τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς συνηλλαγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱππέων. καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἀσδρούβας τε καὶ Σύφαξ

enemies were encamped. He never had any fixed camping-place, but his generalship consisted especially in concealing his position. Thus his enemies never could make a regular assault upon him, but were always warding off his attacks. His provisions were obtained each day from whatever place he came upon toward evening, whether village or city. He seized and carried off everything and divided the plunder with his men, for which reason many Numidians flocked to him, although he did not give regular pay, for the sake of the booty, which was better. CHAP. II

III

13. In this way Masinissa was making war on the Carthaginians. In the meantime Scipio, having completed his preparations in Sicily, and sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, set sail for Africa with fifty-two warships and 400 transports, with a great number of smaller craft following behind. His army consisted of 16,000 foot and 1600 horse. He carried also projectiles, arms, and engines of various kinds, and a plentiful supply of provisions. Thus Scipio was sailing to Africa, but when the Carthaginians and Syphax learned of this they decided to pretend to make terms with Masinissa for the present, until they should overcome Scipio. Masinissa, however, was not deceived by this scheme, and in order to dupe them in turn he marched to Hasdrubal with his cavalry as though he were reconciled to him, fully advising Scipio beforehand. Hasdrubal, Syphax, and Masinissa CHAP. III B.C. 204 Scipio arrives in Africa

CAP. III καὶ Μασσανάσσης περὶ Ἰτύκην πόλιν, ἐς ἣν ὁ Σκιπίων καταχθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνέμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ αὐτήν. οὐ πολὺ δ' ἀπεῖχεν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας αὐτοῦ, στρατιὰν ἔχων ἐς δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα.

14. Σύφαξ μὲν οὖν, εἴτε δείσας εἴτε ἄπιστος ἐς ἑκατέρους γιγνόμενος παρὰ μέρος, ἐσκήψατό τι λυπεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους, καὶ ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα· Σκιπίων δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους ἔπεμπεν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, καί τινες αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν πόλεων προσεχώρουν. νυκτὸς δὲ λαθὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτὸν ἐδίδασκε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔς τι χωρίον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων Ἰτύκης, ἔνθα πύργος ἔστιν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἔργον τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου, μὴ πλείους πεντακισχιλίων ἐνεδρεῦσαι. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἔπειθε τὸν ἵππαρχον Ἄννωνα πέμψαι τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπισκεψόμενον καὶ ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐσδραμούμενον, μή τι πλησιαζόντων πολεμίων νεωτερίσειαν· καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ἕψεσθαι. Ἄννων μὲν δὴ χιλίους ἦγεν ἐπιλέκτους ἱππέας Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λιβύων τι πλῆθος, Μασσανάσσης δὲ Νομάδας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ὁ Ἄννων ἐξίππευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην σὺν ὀλίγοις, μέρος τι τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐξεφαίνετο, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκέλευσε τὸν τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιδραμεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὖσιν ὀλίγοις. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ βραχέος εἵπετο ὡς ἐπιβοηθήσων. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν Λιβύων γενομένων, ἥ τε πλείων

encamped not far from each other near the city of Utica, to which Scipio had been driven by the winds, and he also was encamped hard by. Not far from him was Hasdrubal with an army of about 20,000 foot, 7000 horse, and 140 elephants.

14. Now Syphax, either being moved by fear, or being faithless to all parties in turn, pretended that his country was harassed by the neighbouring barbarians, and set out for home. Scipio sent out some detachments to feel the enemy, and at the same time several towns surrendered themselves to him. Then Masinissa came to Scipio's camp secretly by night, and, after mutual greeting, advised him to place not more than 5000 men in ambush on the following day, about thirty stades from Utica, near a tower built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse. At daybreak he persuaded Hasdrubal to send Hanno, his master of horse, to reconnoitre the numbers of the enemy and throw himself into Utica, lest the inhabitants, taking advantage of the proximity of the enemy, should start a revolution, and promised to follow himself if ordered to do so. Hanno set out accordingly with 1000 picked Carthaginian horse and a number of Africans. Masinissa followed with his Numidians. When they came to the tower and Hanno passed on with a small force to Utica, a part of the men in ambush showed themselves, and Masinissa advised the officer who was left in command of the Carthaginian cavalry to attack them as being a small force. He followed at a short distance, as if to support the movement. Then the rest of the men in ambush showed themselves and sur- First skirmishes

CAP. III ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ συνηκόντισαν αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης, πλὴν τετρακοσίων, οἳ ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι. Μασσανάσσης δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἐξετετέλεστο, ἀπήντα τῷ Ἄννωνι κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς φίλος ἐπανιόντι, καὶ συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπῆγεν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀντέδωκεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ.

15. Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Μασσανάσσης τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθουν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέλυον ὅσοι δεθέντες ἔσκαπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰταλίας πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου. πολιορκοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πόλιν μεγάλην ἣ ὄνομα ἦν Λόχα, καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Λοχαῖοι προστιθεμένων τῶν κλιμάκων ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἐκλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὑπόσπονδοι, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν· ἡ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουεν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάντες τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ γύναια καὶ παιδία κατέσφαττον· ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὄντας Λοχαίων ἀφῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν τὴν λείαν ἀφείλετο, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς, ὅσοι συνεξήμαρτον, ἐκλήρωσεν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς λαχόντας ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ. καὶ τάδε πράξας αὖθις ἐλεηλάτει. Ἀσδρούβας δ' αὐτοὺς ἐνήδρευε, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐπιπέμψας ἐκ μετώπου, αὐτὸς δὲ ὄπισθεν ἐπιών. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐπιστραφεὶς πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Λιβύων ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ χιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν.

rounded the Africans; and the Romans and Masinissa together shot at them on all sides and slew all except 400, who were taken prisoners. After he had accomplished this, Masinissa, as though a friend, hastened to meet Hanno, who was returning, seized him and carried him to Scipio's camp, and exchanged him for his own mother, who was in Hasdrubal's hands. CHAP. III

15. Scipio and Masinissa ravaged the country and released the Roman prisoners who were digging in the fields, having been sent thither by Hannibal from Spain, from Sicily, and from Italy itself. They also besieged a large town called Locha, where they suffered great hardships. But as they were putting up the scaling ladders, the Lochaeans offered to leave the city under a truce. Thereupon Scipio sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, angry at what they had suffered in the siege, refused to obey. They scaled the walls and slaughtered both women and children indiscriminately Scipio dismissed the survivors in safety; he then deprived the army of its booty and compelled the officers who had disobeyed orders to cast lots publicly, and punished three of them, upon whom the lot had fallen, with death. Having done these things he began ravaging the country again. Hasdrubal sought to draw him into ambush by sending Mago, his master of horse, to attack him in front, while he fell upon his rear. Scipio and Masinissa being surrounded in this way divided their forces into two parts, turning in opposite directions against the enemy, by which means they slew 5000 of the Africans, took 1800 prisoners, and drove the remainder against the rocks. Capture of Locha

CAP. III

16. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε προσέβαλεν Ἰτύκῃ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, δύο μὲν πεντήρεσιν ἐζευγμέναις πύργον ἐπιθείς, ὅθεν τριπήχη βέλη καὶ λίθους μεγάλους ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠφίει, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλύπει πολλὰ δ' ἀντέπασχε θραυομένων τῶν νεῶν, χώματα δ' ἐπαίρων μέγιστα, καὶ κριοῖς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅτε προσπελάσειε, τύπτων, δρεπάνοις τε περισπῶν ὅσαι βύρσαι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα σκεπαστήρια ἦν. οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν χώματα ὑπετάφρευον, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα βρόχοις παρῆγον, καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐξέλυον, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δοκούς· ἐς δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξεπήδων μετὰ πυρός, ὅτε πνεῦμα φυλάξειαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπίφορον. ὅθεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπογνοὺς οὕτως αἱρήσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτῆς καθίστατο.

17. Σύφαξ δὲ τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενος ἦκε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἐστάθμευεν ἀπὸ Ἀσδρούβου. ἔτι δ' ὑποκρινόμενος εἶναι φίλος ἑκατέροις, καὶ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς μέχρι νηές τε ἕτεραι ναυπηγούμεναι πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιγένοιντο καὶ μισθοφόροι τινὲς Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἐπέλθοιεν, ἐπεχείρει διαιτᾶν διαλύσεις, καὶ ἐδικαίου μήτε Ῥωμαίους Λιβύης μήτε Καρχηδονίους Ἰταλίας ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Ῥωμαίους Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ εἴ τινας ἄλλας νήσους ἔχουσι, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, τοῖς πειθομένοις ἔφη συμμαχήσειν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσε, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπείρα μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, τήν τε Μασσυλίων ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ βεβαιώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων

16. Soon afterward Scipio besieged Utica by land and sea. He built a tower on two galleys joined together, from which he hurled missiles three cubits long, and also great stones, at the enemy. He inflicted much damage and also suffered much, the ships being badly shattered. On the landward side he built great mounds, battered the wall with rams whenever he could get up to it, and tore off with hooks what hides and other coverings were on it. The enemy, on the other hand, undermined the mounds, turned the hooks aside with slip-knots, and deadened the force of the rams by dropping beams upon them crosswise. They also made sallies against the machines with fire whenever the wind was blowing toward them. Whereupon Scipio, despairing of the capture of the city by this means, established a close siege around it. CHAP. III Siege of Utica

17. Syphax, when he learned how things were going, came back with his army and encamped not far from Hasdrubal. Pretending still to be the friend of both parties, and thinking to protract the war until the new ships which were building for the Carthaginians, were ready, and certain Celtic and Ligurian mercenaries arrived, he endeavoured to arrange a settlement. His claim was that the Romans should not set foot in Africa under arms, nor the Carthaginians in Italy, and that the Romans should retain Sicily, Sardinia, and whatever other islands they now held, and also Spain. He said that if either party should refuse these terms he would join forces with the one which agreed. While he was doing this he attempted to draw Masinissa to himself by promising to establish him firmly in the kingdom of the Massylians, and to give him in marriage which- Negotiations of Syphax

CAP. III τριῶν οὐσῶν δώσειν ἐς γάμον ἣν ἂν ἐθέλῃ. ἔφερε δ' ὁ ταῦτα λέγων χρυσίον, ἵνα, εἰ μὴ πείσειε, δοίη τῶν θεραπευτήρων αὐτοῦ τῷ κτείνειν Μασσανάσσην ὑπισχνουμένῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ μὴ πείθων ἔδωκέ τινι τὸ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἔδειξε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ τὸν δόντα ἤλεγξεν.

18. Σύφαξ δ' οὐ προσδοκῶν ἔτι λήσειν, φανερῶς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις συνεμάχει, πόλιν τε ἐν μεσογείῳ Θολοῦντα, Ῥωμαίων παρασκευὴν καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἐκ προδοσίας εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς φρουροῦντας αὐτὴν ἔκτεινεν οὐκ ἐθελήσαντας ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους, συμμαχίαν τε ἄλλην πολλὴν Νομάδων μετεπέμπετο. καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἤδη, καὶ νῆες εὐτρεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε ἔγνωστο πολεμεῖν Σύφακα μὲν ὁρμώμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας Ἰτύκην, Ἀσδρούβαν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔδει ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ γίγνεσθαι ταῦτα τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ διαρκέσειαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

IV

CAP. IV 19. Ὧν ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης ὁ Μασσανάσσης παρὰ τινῶν Νομάδων πυθόμενος μετέδωκε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἔδεισε, καὶ ἠπόρει μὴ ἐς πολλὰ αὐτῷ διαιρούμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀσθενέστερος ἐς πάντα γίγνηται. τοὺς οὖν ἡγεμόνας αὐτίκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν ἐκάλει, καὶ ἀπορούντων ἁπάντων ἐπὶ πολὺ σύν-

ever of his three daughters he should choose. The person who delivered this message brought gold also, in order that, if he could not persuade Masinissa, he might bribe one of his servants to kill him. As he did not succeed, he paid the money to one of them to murder him. The servant took the money to Masinissa and exposed the giver. CHAP. III

18. Then Syphax, finding that he could not deceive anybody, joined the Carthaginians openly. He captured, by means of treachery, an inland town named Tholon, where the Romans had a large store of war materials and food, and slew the garrison, who had refused to depart under a truce. He also sent for another large reinforcement of Numidians. And now, as the mercenaries had arrived and the ships were in readiness, they decided to fight, Syphax attacking those besieging Utica, and Hasdrubal the camp of Scipio, while the ships should bear down upon the ships; all these things were to be done the next day and at the same time in order that the Romans, owing to the smallness of their force, might be unable to withstand them. B.C. 203

IV

19. Masinissa learned of these plans during the night from certain Numidians, and communicated them to Scipio. The latter was perplexed, being apprehensive lest his army, divided into so many parts, should everywhere be too weak. He therefore forthwith called his officers to a council at night. Finding that they were all at a loss what to do, and after meditating for a long time himself, CHAP. IV B.C. 203 Scipio's night attack on Hasdrubal

CAP. IV

νους γενόμενος εἶπε· "τόλμης καὶ ταχυτῆτος ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, δεῖ, καὶ μάχης ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως. φθάσωμεν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὅσα δ' ἐν τῷδε πλεονεκτήσομεν, μάθετε ἤδη. ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκπλήξει τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς ἐφόδου καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ ἔργου, τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων προεπιχειρούντων· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐς πολλὰ διῃρημένῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ χρησόμεθα ἀλλ' ἀθρόᾳ, οὐδ' ἐπάξομεν αὐτὴν ἅπασι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ἐπιλεξώμεθα πρώτοις. σταθμεύουσι δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐσμὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἰσόμαχοι, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ προύχομεν. καὶ ἢν ὁ θεὸς δῷ τῶν πρώτων ἐπικρατῆσαι, τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονήσομεν. οἷς δ' ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ πρώτοις, καὶ τίς ὁ καιρὸς ἢ τρόπος ἔσται τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, ἣν ἀρέσκῃ, τὰ τῆς γνώμης ἐρῶ."

20. Συνθεμένων δὲ πάντων, "ὁ μὲν καιρός," εἶπεν, "εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ συλλόγου, νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης, ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶ φοβερώτερον καὶ ἀνέτοιμα τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς δύναται βοηθεῖν ἐν σκότῳ. φθάσομέν τε οὕτως αὐτῶν τὰ βουλεύματα μόνως, ἐγνωκότων ἡμῖν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἐπιθέσθαι. τριῶν δ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων στρατοπέδων, αἱ μὲν νῆές εἰσι πόρρω, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι ναυσὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ καὶ Σύφαξ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. καὶ τούτοιν Ἀσδρούβας μέν ἐστι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον, Σύφαξ δὲ οὐκ ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπιτολμήσειε τῷ πόνῳ, βάρβαρος ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφῆς γέμων καὶ δέους. φέρε οὖν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀσδρούβαν μετὰ

he said: "Daring and swiftness, friends, are what we need, and to fight animated by despair. We must anticipate the enemy in making the attack. Just see what we shall gain by it. The unexpectedness of the attack and the very strangeness of the thing—that those who are inferior in numbers should be the aggressors—will terrify them. Further, we shall employ our strength not divided into several detachments, but all together, and we shall not bring it to bear on all of our enemies at once, but on those we choose to attack first. They are in separate camps, and we are their equals in strength when we take them in detail, while in courage and good fortune we are their superiors. If heaven shall give us victory over the first, we may despise the others. Upon whom the assault shall be made first, and what shall be the time and manner of delivering it, if you please, I will now tell you my opinion."

CHAP. IV
Speech to his officers

20. As they all agreed, he continued: "The time to strike is immediately after this meeting ends, while it is still night, when the blow will be the more terrifying and the enemy will be unprepared, and none of their allies will be able to give them aid in the darkness. Thus alone we shall anticipate their intention of attacking us to-morrow. They have three stations; that of the ships is at a distance, and it is not possible to attack ships by night. But Hasdrubal and Syphax are not far from each other. Of these, Hasdrubal is the very head and front of the war, while Syphax will not dare to do anything at night; he is a barbarian, a mass of effeminacy and cowardice. Come, then, let us ourselves attack Hasdrubal with all our force,

CAP. IV παντὸς ἴωμεν τοῦ στρατοῦ, Μασσανάσσην δὲ τόνδε ἐπιτάξωμεν ἐφεδρεύειν τῷ Σύφακι, ἢν ἄρα καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐξίῃ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πεζοὶ δὲ χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, καὶ περιστάντες ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους σὺν ἐλπίδι τε χρηστῇ καὶ τόλμῃ θρασυτάτῃ· τούτων γὰρ τὰ παρόντα δεῖται μάλιστα. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας (οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης) προπέμψω πορρωτέρω κυκλοῦσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα εἰ μὲν βιασθείημεν, ὑποδέχοιντο ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐς φιλίους καταφεύγοιμεν, εἰ δ' ἐπικρατοίημεν, ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκείνους διώκοιεν καὶ διαχρῷντο."

21. Ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκπέμψας ὁπλίσαι τὸν στρατόν, αὐτὸς ἐθύετο Τόλμῃ καὶ Φόβῳ, μηδὲν ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πανικὸν οἱ γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῷ θρασύτατον μάλιστα ὀφθῆναι. τρίτης δὲ ἤδη φυλακῆς ἠρέμα τῇ σάλπιγγι ὑπεσήμαινε, καὶ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἐβάδιζεν, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς περιέστησαν ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο. βοῇ δὲ τότε παμμιγεῖ καὶ σάλπιγξιν ἀθρόαις καὶ βυκανήμασιν ἐς κατάπληξιν χρώμενοι τοὺς μὲν φύλακας ἐξέωσαν ἐκ τῶν φυλακτηρίων, τὴν δὲ τάφρον ἔχουν καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα διέσπων. οἱ δ' εὐτολμότατοι προδραμόντες ἐνέπρησάν τινας σκηνάς. καὶ οἱ Λίβυες μετ' ἐκπλήξεως ἀνεπήδων τε ἐξ ὕπνου, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα μετελάμβανον, καὶ ἐς τὰς τάξεις ἀτάκτως ἐφέροντο, καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων διὰ τὸν θόρυβον οὐ κατήκουον, οὐδ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῶν γιγνομένων εἰδότος. ἀναπη-

entrusting to Masinissa here the task of watching Syphax, in case, contrary to expectation, he should move out of his camp. Let us advance with our infantry against Hasdrubal's defences, surround and storm them on every side, with high hope and resolute courage, for these are the things most needed now. As the cavalry are of no use in the night, I will send them to surround the enemy's camp a little farther off, so that if we are overpowered we may have friends to receive us and cover our retreat, and if we are victorious they may pursue the fugitives and destroy them."

21. Having spoken thus he sent the officers to arm the troops, and himself offered sacrifice to Courage and Fear in order that no panic should overtake them in the night, but that the army should show itself absolutely intrepid. At the third watch the trumpet sounded lightly and all that great army moved in profound silence until the cavalry had completely surrounded the enemy and the infantry had arrived at the trenches. Then, with confused shouts mingled with the blast of all the trumpets and horns for the purpose of striking terror into the enemy, they swept the guards away from the outposts, filled up the ditch, and tore down the palisades. The boldest, pushing forward, set some of the huts on fire. The Africans, starting in consternation out of sleep, caught up their arms and tried confusedly to get into order of battle, but on account of the noise could not hear the orders of their officers, nor did their general himself know

Complete victory of Scipio

CAP. IV. δῶντας οὖν αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁπλιζομένους ἔτι καὶ ταρασσομένους κατελάμβανον, καὶ σκηνὰς πλέονας ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀνῄρουν. τοῖς δ' ἦν ἥ τε βοὴ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὰ ἔργα φοβερώτατα ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ τοῦ γιγνομένου κακοῦ. ἡγούμενοί τε εἰληφθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τῶν ἐμπεπρησμένων σκηνῶν δεδιότες, ἐξέπιπτον ἑκόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὡς ἀσφαλέστερον ἐωθοῦντο· ὅθεν κατὰ μέρος, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀκόσμως διεδίδρασκον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἱππέας, οἳ κύκλῳ περιεστήκεσαν, ἐμπίπτοντες ἀπέθνησκον.

22. Σύφαξ δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν ἔτι, τῆς βοῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὁρῶν, οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἐπικουρεῖν ἔπεμψεν Ἀσδρούβᾳ, οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιπεσὼν ἄφνω πολὺν ἐργάζεται φόνον. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μαθὼν ὁ Σύφαξ Ἀσδρούβαν μὲν ἤδη φυγόντα, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλότας, τοὺς δ' εἰλημμένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δὲ διερριμμένους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῇ παρασκευῇ Ῥωμαίους ἔχοντας, ἀνεζεύγνυε φεύγων ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μετὰ θορύβου, πάντα καταλιπών, οἰόμενος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων διώξεως αὐτῷ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανίοντα ἐπιστήσεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τοῦδε τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παρασκευὴν εἶλε Μασσανάσσης.

23. Καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τόλμης μιᾶς, ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει νυκτός, δύο στρατοπέδων καὶ δύο στρατῶν πολὺ μειζόνων ἐκράτησαν ὁμοῦ. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν ὀλίγῳ δέοντες τρισμύριοι· καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγένοντο δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τῶν δὲ

exactly what was happening. The Romans caught them as they were starting up and trying to arm themselves, with confusion on every hand. They fired more huts and slew those whom they met. The Africans were terrified by the cries of the enemy, by their appearance and by their actions, especially in the midst of darkness and uncertainty as to the nature of the disaster. Thinking that the camp had been taken, and being afraid of the fire of the burning huts, they were glad to get out of them; and they pushed on to the plain as a safer place. Thus they hurried helter-skelter, in any direction at random, ran into the Roman horse, which had been placed round them, and were cut down. CHAP. IV

22. While it was still night, Syphax, hearing the noise and seeing the fire, did not leave his quarters, but sent to the assistance of Hasdrubal a detachment of horse, who were suddenly attacked by Masinissa, with severe loss. But at daybreak, learning that Hasdrubal had fled and that his forces were destroyed, or taken prisoners, or dispersed, and that his camp and stores had fallen into the hands of the Romans, he fled precipitately to the interior, leaving everything behind, thinking that Scipio would return immediately from the pursuit of the Carthaginians and fall upon him. Masinissa therefore captured his camp and stores also. Retreat of Syphax

23. Thus by one act of daring and in a little part of a night, did the Romans demolish two camps and two armies much greater than their own. The Romans lost about 100 men killed, the enemy a little less than 30,000, besides 2400 prisoners. Moreover, 600 horse surrendered themselves to

CAP. IV ἱππέων ἑξακόσιοι ἐπανιόντι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἑαυτοὺς παρέδοσαν. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνῃρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐτέτρωντο. Σκιπίων δὲ ὅπλων τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος πολλοῦ καὶ ἵππων ἄλλων τε καὶ Νομαδικῶν κεκρατηκώς, καὶ διὰ μιᾶς τῆσδε νίκης, λαμπροτάτης δὴ γενομένης, ἐς γόνυ τὰ Καρχηδονίων καταβαλὼν ἅπαντα, ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ διεδίδου, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπεν. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε φιλοπόνως, προσδοκῶν Ἀννίβαν τε αὐτίκα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνα ἀπὸ Λιγυστίνων ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

24. Καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Ἀσδρούβας δέ, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Καρχηδονίων, ἐν μὲν τῇ νυκτομαχίᾳ μεθ' ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, τετρωμένος, ἐς Ἀνδὰν κατέφυγεν, ἔνθα μισθοφόρους τέ τινας ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐκπεσόντας καὶ Νομάδας συνέλεγε, καὶ δούλους ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει· πυθόμενος δ' ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν ὡς κακῶς ἐστρατηγηκότος, καὶ Ἄννωνα τὸν Βουμίλχαρος εἵλοντο στρατηγεῖν, ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποίει, καὶ κακούργους προσελάμβανε, καὶ ἐλῄζετο ἐς τὰς τροφάς, καὶ ἐγύμναζεν οὓς εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππέας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιῶν Ῥωμαίους ὁμοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐλάνθανε, Σκιπίων δ' ἐπῆγεν αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι τὸν στρατὸν ὡπλισμένον, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο, οὐδενὸς ἐξιόντος. Ἀμίλχαρ δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐσπευσμένως ἐς τὸν ναύσταθμον ἀνήγετο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἐλπίσας αὐτόν τε φθάσειν ἐπανιόντα,

Scipio on his return. Some of the elephants were killed and some wounded. Scipio, having gained a great store of arms, gold, silver, ivory, and horses, Numidian and other, and having prostrated the whole power of Carthage by this one splendid victory, distributed prizes of valour to the army and sent the richest of the spoils to Rome. Then he began drilling the army diligently, expecting the arrival of Hannibal forthwith from Italy, and of Mago from Liguria. CHAP. IV

24. While Scipio was thus engaged, Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who had been wounded in the night engagement, fled with 500 horse to the town of Anda, where he collected some mercenaries and Numidians who had escaped from the battle, and proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would enlist. Learning that the Carthaginians had decreed the penalty of death against him for his bad generalship, and had chosen Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, as commander, he made this an army of his own, recruited a number of malefactors, robbed the country for provisions, and drilled his men, about 3000 horse and 8000 foot, resting his hopes solely on fighting. His doings were for a long time unknown to both the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio led his troops in arms against Carthage itself and haughtily offered battle, but nobody responded. Meanwhile Hamilcar, the admiral, hastened with 100 ships to attack Scipio's naval station, hoping to forestall his return, and thinking that he could easily

Scipio advances against Carthage

CAP. IV καὶ τὰς οὔσας ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων εἴκοσι τριήρεις ῥᾳδίως ταῖς ἑκατὸν αἱρήσειν.

25. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἰδὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, προύπεμπέ τινας τὸν ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι στρογγύλοις πλοίοις ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐκ διαστήματος, ἵνα ὡς διὰ πυλῶν αἱ τριήρεις ἐκθέοιεν ὅτε καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τοῖς κέρασι συνδῆσαί τε καὶ ἁρμόσαι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ἔργον,[1] ἥπτετο τοῦ πόνου. καὶ βαλλομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπό τε τῶν πλοίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, αἱ νῆες ἐθραύοντο, καὶ καμοῦσαι περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀπέπλεον. ἀπιούσαις δ' αὐταῖς αἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειντο, ἐκθέουσαί τε διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, καὶ ὅτε βιάζοιντο, ὑποχωροῦσαι. μίαν δὲ καὶ ἀνεδήσαντο κενὴν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀνήγαγον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐχείμαζον ἄμφω. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀγορὰ δαψιλής, Ἰτυκαῖοι δὲ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι λιμώττοντες ἐλῄστευον τοὺς ἐμπόρους, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων νῆες ἄλλαι, πεμφθεῖσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἐφώρμουν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὰς λῃστρικὰς ἐκώλυον. οἱ δ' ἔκαμνον ἤδη σφόδρα τῷ λιμῷ.

V

CAP. V 26. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐγγὺς ὄντος Σύφακος, Μασσαισάσσης ᾔτησεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ

[1] The text is almost certainly corrupt, and there is possibly a lacuna after ἔργον. The translation given follows Schw.'s Latin version, and is probably the best rendering of the words as they stand.

destroy the twenty Roman ships there with his hundred. CHAP. IV

25. Scipio, seeing him sail away, sent men forward to block up the entrance to the harbour with ships of burthen anchored at intervals so that the galleys could dart out, as through gates, at the right time. These ships were bound together by their yard arms and fastened to each other so as to form a wall. Scipio on his arrival, finding the work in progress, helped to complete it. When the Carthaginians made their attack their ships were battered by missiles from the Roman ships, from the shore, and from the walls, and they withdrew at evening discomfited. As they were retreating, the Romans pressed upon them, darting out through the open spaces, and when they were overpowered withdrawing again, and even took one ship in tow without any men and brought it to Scipio. After this both combatants went into winter quarters. The Romans received plentiful supplies by sea, but the Uticans and Carthaginians, being pinched with hunger, began to plunder merchantmen, until new galleys, sent to Scipio from Rome, blockaded the enemy and stopped the privateers, after which they were severely oppressed by hunger. Indecisive naval engagement

V

26. This same winter, Syphax being near them, Masinissa asked of Scipio a third part of the Roman CHAP. V

CAP. V τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς παρὰ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ λαβὼν ἡγουμένου τῶν Ῥωμαίων Λαιλίου, τὸν Σύφακα ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπέφευγε, μέχρι καθορώμενος περί τινι ποταμῷ συνετάσσετο ἐς μάχην. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νομάδες ἑκατέρωθεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ καὶ ἀθρόα ἠφίεσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπῆεσαν. Σύφαξ δὲ Μασσανάσσην ἰδών, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ὀργῆς· ὁ δ' ἀντεπήλασε γεγηθώς. καὶ ἀγῶνος πολλοῦ περὶ ἄμφω γενομένου, τραπέντες οἱ τοῦ Σύφακος ἐς φυγὴν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων, ἔνθα τις αὐτοῦ Σύφακος τὸν ἵππον ἔβαλεν· ὁ δ' ἀπεσείσατο τὸν δεσπότην, καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιδραμὼν εἷλεν αὐτόν τε Σύφακα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ τῶν υἱῶν. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε Σκιπίωνι, ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Σύφακος μὲν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, Μασσανάσσου δὲ τριακόσιοι. καὶ αἰχμάλωτοι Σύφακος ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι. τούτων ἦσαν Μασσύλιοι δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν ἐς Σύφακα ἀπὸ Μασσανάσσου μεταστάντων· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐπὶ τῷδε ᾔτησε παρὰ Λαιλίου, καὶ λαβὼν κατέσφαξεν.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Μασσυλίους καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Σύφακος ἐπῆεσαν, τοὺς μὲν αὖθις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Μασσανάσσου καθιστάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ προσποιούμενοί τε καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῶν καταστρεφόμενοι. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Κίρτης πρέσβεις, τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Σύφακος παραδιδόντες, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ἕτεροι παρὰ Σοφωνίβας τῆς Σύφακος γυναικός, τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦ γάμου διηγούμενοι. Σοφωνίβαν

army as a reinforcement to his own, and with this force under the command of Laelius, he set out in pursuit of him. Syphax retreated until he was sighted near a certain river, where he gave battle. The Numidians on both sides, as is their custom, discharged volleys of missiles at each other while the Romans advanced, holding their shields in front of them. Syphax, seeing Masinissa, dashed upon him with rage. Masinissa encountered him with joy. The battle raged fiercely around the two, and Syphax's men turned in flight and began to cross the river. Here someone wounded Syphax's own horse, which threw its rider, and Masinissa, running up, captured Syphax himself and also one of his sons, and sent them forthwith to Scipio. In this battle 10,000 of Syphax's men were killed. The Roman loss was seventy-five and Masinissa's 300. Four thousand of Syphax's men also were taken prisoners, of whom 2500 were Massylians who had deserted from Masinissa to Syphax. These therefore Masinissa asked Laelius to surrender to him, and having received them he put them to the sword.

Masinissa defeats and captures Syphax

27. After this they entered the country of the Massylians and the territory of Syphax, bringing the one again under Masinissa's rule, and winning over the other by persuasion, or, where persuasion failed, by force. Ambassadors also came to them from Cirta offering them the palace of Syphax, and others came specially to Masinissa from Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax, to make explanations about her forced marriage. Masinissa accepted her explanations gladly

Syphax and Sophonisba

CAP. V μὲν οὖν ἄσμενος εἶχε λαβὼν ὁ Μασσανάσσης· καὶ αὐτήν, ἐπανιὼν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα αὐτός, ἐν Κίρτῃ κατέλιπε, προορώμενος ἄρα τὸ μέλλον. Σκιπίων δὲ ἤρετο Σύφακα· "τίς σε δαίμων ἔβλαψε, φίλον ὄντα μοι καὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἐλθεῖν προτρέψαντα, ψεύσασθαι μὲν θεοὺς οὓς ὤμοσας, ψεύσασθαι δὲ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλέσθαι πολεμεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ σοι βεβοηθηκότων;" ὁ δ' εἶπε, "Σοφωνίβα Ἀσδρούβα θυγάτηρ, ἧς ἐγὼ ἤρων ἐπ' ἐμῷ κακῷ. φιλόπατρις δ' ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἱκανὴ ἅπαντά τινα πεῖσαι πρὸς ἃ βούλεται. αὕτη με καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλίας ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῆς μετέθηκε πατρίδα, καὶ ἐς τόδε συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοσῆσδε εὐδαιμονίας κατέβαλεν. σοὶ δὲ παραινῶ (χρὴ γάρ, ὑμέτερον γενόμενον καὶ Σοφωνίβας ἀπηλλαγμένον, νῦν γε ὑμῖν εἶναι βέβαιον)· φύλασσε Σοφωνίβαν, μὴ Μασσανάσσην ἐς ἃ βούλεται μεταγάγῃ. οὐ γὰρ δή, μὴ τὸ γύναιόν ποτε ἕληται τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίζειν ἄξιον· οὕτως ἐστὶν ἰσχυρῶς φιλόπολις."

28. Ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν ἔλεγεν, εἴτ' ἀληθεύων εἴτε ζηλοτυπούμενος καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτων· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων Σύφακα μέν, συνετόν τε φαινόμενον καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔμπειρον, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπήγετο, καὶ γνώμης καὶ συμβουλῆς μετεδίδου, οἷόν τι καὶ Κροίσῳ τῷ Λυδῷ Κῦρος ἐχρῆτο, Λαιλίου δ' ἀφικομένου, καὶ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῆς Σοφωνίβας πυθέσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν λέγοντος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Μασσανάσσην τὴν Σύφακος γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι. παραιτουμένου δ' ἐκείνου, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν ὡς ἐγένετο διηγουμένου,

and married her; but when he returned to Scipio he left her at Cirta, foreseeing apparently what would happen. Scipio asked Syphax: "What evil genius misled you, after inviting me as your friend to come to Africa, and caused you to break your faith to the gods by whom you swore and to the Roman people, and to join the Carthaginians in making war against us, when not long before we were helping you against the Carthaginians?" Syphax replied: "Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, with whom I fell in love to my hurt, is passionately attached to her country, and she is able to make everybody subservient to her wishes. She turned me away from your friendship to that of her own country, and plunged me from that state of good fortune into my present misery. I advise you (for now, being on your side and rid of Sophonisba, I must be faithful to you) to beware of Sophonisba lest she draw Masinissa over to her designs, for it is not to be expected that this woman will ever espouse the Roman side, so strongly is she atttached to her own country." CHAP. V

28. So he spake, but whether he was telling the truth or was moved by jealousy and a desire to hurt Masinissa as much as possible, is not known. But Scipio called Syphax to the council, as he had shown himself sagacious and was acquainted with the country, and took counsel with him as Cyrus did with Croesus, king of Lydia. Laelius having returned and told him that he had heard the same about Sophonisba from many others, he commanded Masinissa to deliver up the wife of Syphax. When the latter remonstrated and related what had happened in the past with regard to her, Scipio Death of Sophonisba

CAP. V τραχύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι βίᾳ των Ῥωμαικῶν λαφύρων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον καταθέντα αἰτεῖν, καὶ πείθειν, εἰ δύναιτο. ᾤχετο οὖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης μετὰ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, παραδώσων αὐτοῖς τὴν Σοφωνίβαν. κρύφα δὲ αὐτῇ φέρων φάρμακον πρῶτος ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὰ παρόντα προύθηκεν, ἢ πιεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἐκοῦσαν. οὐδέν τε εἰπὼν ἔτι ἐξήλασε τὸν ἵππον. ἡ δὲ τῇ τροφῷ δείξασα τὴν κύλικα, καὶ δεηθεῖσα μηδὲν ὀδύρασθαι καλῶς ἀποθανοῦσαν, ἔπιε τοῦ φαρμάκου. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Μασσανάσσης τοῖς ἥκουσι Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδείξας, καὶ θάψας βασιλικῶς, ὑπέστρεφε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσας τε, καὶ παρηγορήσας ὅτι πονηρᾶς γυναικὸς ἀπηλλάγη, ἐστεφάνωσε τῆς ἐφόδου τῆς ἐπὶ Σύφακα καὶ ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς. ἀχθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ Σύφακος, οἱ μὲν ἠξίουν περισώζειν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτοῖς γενόμενον, οἱ δὲ κολάζειν, ὅτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐπολέμησεν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ λύπης νοσῶν ἀπέθανεν.

29. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἐπειδὴ καλῶς τοὺς συνόντας ἐγύμνασεν, ἔπεμπέ τινα πρὸς Ἄννωνα τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄννωνα κοινωνῆσαι τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς ὅτι πολλοὶ Σκιπίωνι σύνεισιν Ἰβηρες ἄκοντες, οὓς ἐάν τις χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι διαφθείρῃ, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσουσι τὸ Σκιπίωνος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ αὐτός, εἰ προμάθοι τὸν καιρόν, ἥξειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀσδρούβας, ὁ δὲ Ἄννων ἐς μὲν τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπανούργει, τοῦ δ' ἐγχειρήματος οὐκ ἀπήλπισεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα πιστὸν μετὰ χρυσίου, καθάπερ αὐτόμολον, ἐς τὸ Σκιπίωνος

ordered him more sharply not to try to possess himself by force of any of the Roman spoils of victory, but to ask for her after she was delivered up and obtain her if he could. Accordingly Masinissa went with a Roman detachment to fetch Sophonisba, but he went ahead secretly and brought her a dose of poison, explaining the circumstances and telling her that she must either drink it or go into voluntary captivity to the Romans. Without another word he rode away. She shewed the cup to her nurse, told her not to weep for her, since she died gloriously, and drank the poison. Masinissa shewed her dead body to those of the Romans who had now come up, and then gave her a royal funeral; after which he returned to Scipio. The latter praised him, saying, to console him, that he was well quit of a worthless woman, crowned him for his successful attack upon Syphax, and gave him many presents. When Syphax arrived in Rome, some of the authorities thought that he ought to be spared because he had been their friend and ally in Spain, others, that he ought to be punished for fighting against his friends. In the meantime he sickened of grief and died. CHAP. V

29. When Hasdrubal had his forces well drilled he sent word to Hanno, the Carthaginian general, proposing to share the command with him, and intimating that there were many Spanish soldiers serving with Scipio under compulsion, who might be bribed with gold and promises to set fire to Scipio's camp. He said that he himself would lend a hand if he were informed of the time before. Hanno, although he intended to cheat Hasdrubal, did not neglect the suggestion. He sent a trusty man, in the guise of a deserter, with gold to Scipio's camp, Plot to burn Scipio's camp

CAP. V στρατόπεδον κατέπεμψεν, ὃς πιθανὸς ὢν ἐντυχεῖν ἑκάστῳ διέφθειρε πολλούς, ἡμέραν τε συνιθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆλθεν. καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ Ἄννων τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ μετέφερεν. Σκιπίωνι δὲ θυομένῳ κίνδυνον τὰ ἱερὰ ἐδήλου ἐμπρησμοῦ· καὶ περιπέμψας ἐς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἴ πού τι λάβρον ηὕρισκε πῦρ, κατέπαυεν. καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθύετο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀνίει τὰ ἱερὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ὑποδεικνύοντα, ὁ μὲν ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι διεγνώκει, 30. ἱππέως δὲ Ῥωμαίου θεράπων Ἴβηρ, ὑπονοήσας τι περὶ τῶν συνθεμένων, ὑπεκρίνατο συνειδέναι, ἕως τὸ πᾶν ἔμαθε, καὶ ἐμήνυσε τῷ δεσπότῃ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἠλέγχετο. καὶ πάντας ὁ Σκιπίων ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐξέρριψε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. αἴσθησις δ' ἦν Ἄννωνι μὲν ὀξεῖα πλησίον ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ συγκείμενον, Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἀφίκετο. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἶδε τῶν νεκρῶν, εἴκασε τὸ συμβὰν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διέβαλλεν, ὡς ἀφίκοιτο Σκιπίωνι διδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐ λάβοι. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἦν μᾶλλον διὰ μίσους· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Ἀμίλχαρ μὲν ἄφνω ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας μίαν ἔλαβε τριήρη καὶ φορτίδας ἕξ, Ἄννων δ' ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν Ἰτύκην ἀπεκρούσθη. Σκιπίων δέ, χρονίου τῆς πολιορκίας οὔσης, ταύτην μὲν διέλυσεν οὐδὲν ἀνύων, τὰς δὲ μηχανὰς ἐς Ἱππῶνα πόλιν μετετίθει. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα προκόπτοντος αὐτῷ, κατακαύσας

who, insinuating himself in a seductive manner, corrupted many, and having fixed a day for the execution of the plot, disappeared. Hanno communicated the date to Hasdrubal. Meantime, while Scipio was sacrificing, the victims revealed to him that there was danger from fire. Accordingly he sent orders all around the camp if any blazing fires were found to put them out. He continued sacrificing several days, and as the victims still indicated danger from fire he became anxious and determined to shift his camp.

30. At this juncture a Spanish servant of one of the Roman knights, suspecting something of the conspiracy, pretended to be one of the accomplices and in this way learned all about it, and told his master. The latter brought him to Scipio, and he convicted the whole crowd. Scipio put them all to death and cast their bodies out of the camp. Knowledge of this coming quickly to Hanno, who was not far off, he did not come to the rendezvous, but Hasdrubal, who remained in ignorance, did. But when he saw the multitude of corpses he guessed what had happened and withdrew. And Hanno slandered him and told everybody that he had come to surrender himself to Scipio, but that the latter would not receive him. Thus Hasdrubal was made more hateful to the Carthaginians than ever. About this time Hamilcar made a sudden dash on the Roman fleet and took one galley and six ships of burthen, and Hanno made an attack upon those who were besieging Utica, but was beaten off. As the siege had lasted a long time without result, Scipio raised it and moved his engines against the town of Hippo. As he accomplished nothing there

Siege of Utica raised

CAP. V ὡς ἄχρηστα τὰ μηχανήματα τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεχε, τοὺς μὲν ἐς φιλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, τοὺς δὲ λῃζόμενος.

VI

CAP. VI 31. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κακοπραγίαις δυσφοροῦντες αἱροῦνται στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἀννίβαν, τὸν δὲ ναύαρχον ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐπισπέρχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον, καὶ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρεσβεύοντο, ἡγούμενοι τούτοιν πάντως ἂν ἑνὸς τυχεῖν, ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἕξειν, ἢ χρόνον διατρίψειν ἕως ἀφίκοιτο ὁ Ἀννίβας. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀνοχάς τε ἔδωκε, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πρεσβεύειν ἐφῆκεν ἐς Ῥώμην· οἱ δὲ ἐπρέσβευον, καὶ τειχῶν ἐκτὸς ἐστάθμευον ὡς ἔτι πολέμιοι, ἀχθέντες τε ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐδέοντο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν οἱ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίας ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὁσάκις συνθοῖντο καὶ παραβαίειν, ὅσα τε Ἀννίβας δράσειε δεινὰ Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἔν τε Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ· οἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήσιμον οὐ Καρχηδονίοις μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσιν ὑπεδείκνυον ἔσεσθαι, τῆς Ἰταλίας τοσοῖσδε πολέμοις ἐκτετρυχωμένης, τό τε τοῦ μέλλοντος περιδεὲς ἐπεξῆεσαν, ἐπιπλευσουμένων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα αὐτίκα σὺν μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Ἀννίβου τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Μάγωνος ἐκ Λιγύων καὶ Ἄννωνος ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος.

32. Ἐφ' οἷς ἀποροῦσα ἡ βουλὴ συμβούλους ἔπεμψε τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μεθ' ὧν ἔμελλε κρινεῖν τε

either he burned his engines as useless, and overran the country, making allies of some and pillaging others. CHAP V

VI

31. The Carthaginians, depressed by their ill success, chose Hannibal general with absolute powers, and sent their admiral with ships to hasten his coming. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Scipio to negotiate for peace, thinking to gain one of two things, either peace or a delay until Hannibal should arrive. Scipio consented to an armistice, and having thus gained sufficient supplies for his army allowed them to send ambassadors to Rome. They did so, but the ambassadors were received there as enemies and required to lodge outside the walls. When the Senate gave them audience they asked pardon. Some of the senators adverted to the faithlessness of the Carthaginians, and told how often they had made treaties and broken them, and what injuries Hannibal had inflicted on the Romans and their allies in Spain and Italy. Others represented that the Carthaginians were not more in need of peace than themselves, Italy being exhausted by so many wars; and they showed how dangerous the future was, since Hannibal from Italy, Mago from Liguria, and Hanno from Carthage would instantly move against Scipio with large armies. CHAP. VI

Hannibal recalled

Negotiations for peace

32. The Senate therefore could not decide what to do, but sent counsellors to Scipio with whom he

CAP. VI καὶ πράξειν ὅ τι δοκιμάσειε συνοίσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνέβη, Μάγωνα μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐκ Λιγύων αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Καρχηδονίους μὴ ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ ναῦς ἔχειν μακρὰς πλείους τριάκοντα, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν τι πέρα ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν λεγομένων Φοινικίδων τάφρων, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ αὐτομόλους, ἀργυρίου τε αὐτοῖς τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἑξακόσια ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐν χρόνῳ, ἔχειν δὲ Μασσανάσσην Μασσυλίους τε καὶ τῆς Σύφακος ἀρχῆς ὅσα δύναιτο. τάδε μὲν συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις. καὶ πρέσβεις διέπλευν, οἱ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην, τοὺς ὑπάτους ὁρκιοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς Καρχηδόνα, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς ὤμνυεν. Μασσανάσσῃ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι χαριστήρια τῆς συμμαχίας στέφανόν τε ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ σφραγῖδα χρυσῆν ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στολὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἵππον χρυσοφάλαρον καὶ πανοπλίαν.

33. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἄκων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, τὴν ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπιστίαν τοῦ δήμου καὶ ταχυεργίαν ὑφορώμενος. ἀπιστῶν δ' ἔτι τὰς σπονδὰς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γένοιντο, εὖ εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ βεβαίους ἐσομένας, ἐς Ἀδρυμητὸν Λιβύης κατήγετο πόλιν, καὶ σῖτον συνέλεγεν, ἐπί τε ὠνὴν ἵππων περιέπεμπε, καὶ τὸν δυνάστην τῶν Νομάδων τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρεακιδῶν ἐς φιλίαν ὑπήγετο. καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας αὐτομόλους αὐτῷ προσφυγόντας, οἳ Σύφακος ὄντες τότε ἐγίγνοντο Μασσανάσσου, κατηκόντισεν ὑποπτεύσας· τοὺς δ' ἵππους διέδωκε

should advise, and then do whatever he should deem best. Scipio made peace with the Carthaginians on these terms: That Mago should depart from Liguria forthwith, and that hereafter the Carthaginians should hire no mercenaries; that they should not keep more than thirty ships of war; that they should restrict themselves to the territory within the so-called "Phoenician trenches"; that they should surrender to the Romans all captives and deserters, and that they should pay 1600 talents of silver within a certain time; also that Masinissa should have the kingdom of the Massylians and as much of the dominion of Syphax as he could take. Having made this agreement, ambassadors on both sides set sail, some to Rome to take the oaths of the consuls, and others from Rome to Carthage to receive those of the Carthaginian magistrates. The Romans sent to Masinissa, as a reward for his alliance, a crown of gold, a signet ring of gold, a chair of ivory, a purple robe, a Roman dress, a horse with gold trappings, and a suit of armour. CHAP. VI

Hannibal lands at Hadrumetum

33. In the meantime Hannibal set sail for Africa against his will, suspecting the faithlessness of the people to their rulers, and their hastiness. Further, he did not believe that a treaty would be made, and if made he well knew that it would not long remain valid. He landed at the city of Hadrumetum, in Africa, and began to collect corn and buy horses, while he made an alliance with the chief of a Numidian tribe called the Areacidae. He also shot down 4000 horsemen who had come to him as deserters, because having formerly been Syphax's men they had afterwards joined Masinissa, and he suspected them. Their horses he distributed

CAP. VI τῷ στρατῷ. ἦλθε δε και Μεσοτυλος αὐτῷ δυνάστης ἕτερος μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς Σύφακος υἱὸς ἕτερος, ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν. πόλεις τε Μασσανάσσου τὰς μὲν ὑπήγετο, τὰς δ' ἐβιάζετο. Νάρκην δ' ἐνήδρευσεν ὧδε. ἀγορᾷ χρώμενος ἐσέπεμπεν ὡς ἐς φίλους. ὅτε δ' ἔδοξεν ἐπιθέσθαι, πλείους ἔπεμπε ξιφίδια ἐπικρύπτοντας, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς πιπράσκοντας μέχρι σαλπίγγων ἀκούσειαν, τότε δ' ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσι καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ φυλάσσειν.

34. Οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Νάρκη, Καρχηδονίων δε ὁ δῆμος ἄρτι τὰς συνθήκας πεποιημένοι, καὶ Σκιπίωνος αὐτοῖς ἔτι παρόντος, οὔπω τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνεστροφότων, ἀγοραν Σκιπίωνος ὑπ' ἀνέμων κατενεχθεῖσαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα διήρπασαν, καὶ τοὺς παραπέμποντας αὐτὴν ἔδησαν, πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπειλούσης, καὶ παραινούσης μὴ λύειν συνθήκας ἄρτι γεγενημένας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς ἀδίκως γενομέναις, καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἔφασαν ἐνοχλεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰς παραβάσεις. Σκιπίων μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἠξίου πολέμου κατάρχειν μετὰ σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἤτει δίκας ὡς φίλους ἁμαρτόντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ κρατεῖν ἐπενόουν, ἕως ἀφίκοιντο αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης. ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος ἐξείλοντο τοῦ πλήθους καὶ προύπεμπον δύο τριήρεσιν· ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ναύαρχον ἔπεισαν, ὁρμοῦντα περὶ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄκραν, ὅταν ἀποστῶσιν αἱ προπομποὶ τριήρεις, ἐπιθέσθαι

among his own troops. Mesotylus, another chieftain, came to him with 1000 horse; also Vermina, another son of Syphax, who still ruled the greater part of his father's dominions. He gained some of Masinissa's towns by surrender and some by force, and took the town of Narce by stratagem in this way. Dealing in their market he sent to them as to friends, and when he thought the time had come to attack them, he sent in a large number of men carrying concealed daggers, and ordered them not to do any harm to the traders until the trumpet should sound, and then to set upon all they met, and hold the gates for him. In this way was Narce taken. CHAP. VI

34. The common people of Carthage, although the treaty had been so lately concluded, and Scipio was still there, and their own ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, plundered some of Scipio's stores that had been driven into the port of Carthage by a storm, and put the carriers in chains, in spite of the threats of their own council, who admonished them not to violate a treaty so recently made. But the people found fault with the treaty itself, saying that it had been unfairly made, and that hunger was more unpleasant than treaty-breaking. Scipio did not deem it wise to begin war after the treaty, but he demanded reparation as from friends who were in the wrong. The people even attempted to seize his messengers, intending to hold them until their own ambassadors should return from Rome, but Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus [the Kid] rescued them from the mob and escorted them with two galleys. Some others, however, persuaded Hasdrubal, the admiral, who was moored near the promontory of Apollo, to attack Scipio's envoys when The armistice violated

CAP. VI τοῖς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέθετο, καὶ τῶν πρέσβεών τινες ἐκ τοξευμάτων ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τιτρωσκόμενοί τε καὶ ἐρέσσοντες ἔφθασαν ἐς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ σφετέρου στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐξήλαντο τῆς νεὼς ἤδη λαμβανομένης. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον αἰχμάλωτοι γενέσθαι.

35. Ὧν οἱ ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι τοὺς πρέσβεις τοὺς Καρχηδονίων, οἳ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐκέλευον ἀποπλεῖν αὐτίκα ὡς πολεμίους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξέπλεον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος στρατόπεδον κατήγοντο· Σκιπίων δὲ τῷ ναυάρχῳ, πυθομένῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν, "οὐδὲν ὅμοιον," ἔφη, "ταῖς Καρχηδονίων ἀπιστίαις, ἀλλ' ἀποπεμπε ἀπαθεῖς." μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ γερουσία τὸν δῆμον ὠνείδιζε τῇ συγκρίσει, καὶ συνεβούλευε καὶ νῦν δεηθῆναι Σκιπίωνος τὰ μὲν συγκείμενα φυλάσσειν, δίκας δὲ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ Καρχηδονίων λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ γερουσίᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν, ὡς οὐκ εὖ τὰ συμφέροντα προορωμένῃ, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν δημοκόπων ἐρεθιζόμενοί τε καὶ ἐς ἀλόγους ἐλπίδας ἐπαιρόμενοι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκάλουν μεθ' ἧς ἔχει στρατιᾶς.

36. Ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολεμου, Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει καλεῖν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ τῆς καταδίκης αὐτῷ λυθείσης παρεδίδου τὸν στρατὸν Ἀννίβα, καὶ οὐδ' ὡς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐθάρρει, ἀλλ' ἐκρύπτετο ἐν τῇ πόλει· Σκιπίων δὲ ναῦς τῇ Καρχηδόνι ἐπιστήσας εἶργεν αὐτοὺς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐκ εὐπορουντας οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

the escort left them. This he did, and some of them were killed with arrows. The others were wounded, but by using their oars got just in time into the harbour of their own camp and sprang from the ship when it was just being seized. So narrowly did they escape being taken prisoners. CHAP. VI

35. When the Romans at home learned these things they ordered the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were still there treating for peace, to depart immediately as enemies. They accordingly set sail, and were driven by a tempest to Scipio's camp. To his admiral, who asked what he should do with them, Scipio said: "We shall not imitate Carthaginian bad faith; send them away unharmed." When the Carthaginian Senate learned this they chided the people for the contrast between their behaviour and Scipio's, and advised them even now to beg Scipio to adhere to the agreement and to accept reparation for the Carthaginian wrong-doing. But the people had been finding fault with the Senate itself a long time for their ill success, because it had not sufficiently foreseen what was for their advantage, and being stirred up by demagogues and excited by vain hopes, they summoned Hannibal and his army. Hannibal sent for

36. Hannibal, in view of the magnitude of the war, asked them to call in Hasdrubal and the force he had in hand. Hasdrubal accordingly had his sentence repealed, and delivered his army over to Hannibal. Yet he did not even then dare to show himself to the Carthaginians, but concealed himself in the city. Scipio then blockaded Carthage with his fleet and cut off their supplies by sea, while they were poorly supplied from the land, which was un- B.C. 202

CAP. VI ἀσπόρου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γενομένης. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἱππομαχία γίγνεται περὶ Ζάμαν, ἐν ᾗ Σκιπίων ἐπλεονέκτει· καὶ ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἀκροβολίσματα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἕως αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων Ἀννίβαν ἰσχυρῶς τε ἀπορούμενον καὶ περιμένοντα ἀγορὰν φερομένην, νυκτὸς ἔπεμψε Θέρμον χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας αὐτήν. καὶ λόφον ὁ Θέρμος ἐν στενῇ διόδῳ καταλαβών, ἔκτεινε τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἐζώγρησεν ἑτέρους τοσούσδε, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦκε φέρων τῷ Σκιπίωνι.

37. Ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένος ἀπορίας, καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοῶν ὅπως δύναιτο διαθέσθαι, πρέσβεις ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπεν, ὑπομιμνήσκων τε τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβῆς καὶ παιδεύσεως, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἔτι οἱ συναγαγεῖν ἐς συνθήκας Σκιπίωνα· τὰ γὰρ πρότερα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀνοητοτέρων τοῦ δήμου ἁμαρτήματα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ὄντι τεθραμμένος τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως αἰδούμενός τε καὶ φίλος ὢν ἔτι πολλοῖς ἐκεῖθεν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς αὖθις ἐς τοιάσδε συνθήκας ὥστε Καρχηδονίους τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔλαβον Ῥωμαίοις ἀγορὰν φέροντας, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ τὰ ἁρπασμένα ἅπαντα, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμὴν ἣν ἂν ὁρίσῃ Σκιπίων, ποινήν τε τοῦ ἀδικήματος χίλια τάλαντα ἐσενεγκεῖν, τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ γενομένων ἀνοχῶν μέχρι αὐτὰ μάθωσι Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξ ἀέλπτου περιεσώζετο,

sown owing to the war. About this time there was a cavalry engagement between the forces of Hannibal and those of Scipio near Zama, in which the latter had the advantage. On the succeeding days they had sundry skirmishes until Scipio, learning that Hannibal was very short of supplies and was expecting a convoy, sent the military tribune, Thermus, by night to attack the supply train. Thermus took a position on the crest of a hill at a narrow pass, where he killed about 4000 Africans, took as many more prisoners, and brought the supplies to Scipio.

37. Hannibal, being reduced to extremity for want of provisions and considering how he might arrange for the present, sent messengers to Masinissa reminding him of his early life and education at Carthage, and asking that he would persuade Scipio to renew the treaty, saying that the former infractions of it were the work of the mob, and of people more stupid than the mob. Masinissa, who had in fact been brought up and educated at Carthage, and who had a high respect for the dignity of the city, and still had many friends there, besought Scipio to comply, and brought them to an agreement again on the following terms: That the Carthaginians should surrender the men and ships which they had captured bringing provisions to the Romans, also all plunder, or the value of it, which Scipio would estimate, and pay 1000 talents as a penalty for the wrong done. These were the terms. An armistice was concluded until the Carthaginians should be made acquainted with the details; and thus Hannibal was saved in an unexpected way.

He proposes a renewal of the armistice

VII

CAP. VII

38. Καρχηδονίων δ' ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰ συμβάντα ὑπερησπάζετο, καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις, τήν τε κακοπραγίαν σφῶν τὴν ἐς ἅπαντα διηγουμένη καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπορίαν στρατοῦ τε καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀγορᾶς. οἱ δέ, οἷον ὄχλος, ἀφρόνως ἡγοῦντο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς σφῶν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις συντίθεσθαι, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων δυναστεύσωσι τῆς πατρίδος· ὃ καὶ Ἀννίβαν νῦν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιῆσαί τε, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις, μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐθελῆσαι τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἐνδοῦναι ἐπὶ τῷδε προσπελάσαντα, κρύπτεσθαί τε νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει. βοῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ θορύβου γενομένου. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τινὲς καταλιπόντες ἐζήτουν Ἀσδρούβαν περιιόντες. ὁ δ' ἔφθασε μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον καταφυγὼν καὶ φαρμάκῳ διαχρησάμενος αὑτόν· οἱ δὲ κἀκεῖθεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νέκυν ἐξελόντες, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες περιέφερον ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. Ἀσδρούβας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀδίκως ἐξεπεπτώκει, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ψευδῶς διεβέβλητο ὑπὸ Ἄννωνος, καὶ τότε πρὸς Καρχηδονίων οὕτως ἀνῄρητο καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ὑβρίζετο.

39. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ἐπέστελλον Ἀννίβᾳ λῦσαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς καὶ πολεμεῖν Σκιπίωνι, κρῖναι δ' ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν πόλεμον μάχῃ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πέμψας ἔλυσε τὰς ἀνοχάς, καὶ Σκιπίων Πάρθον τε, μεγάλην πόλιν, αὐτίκα προσπεσὼν εἷλε, καὶ

VII

Riots in Carthage

38. The Carthaginian council warmly welcomed the agreement and exhorted the people to adhere to its terms, explaining all their evil plight and their immediate want of soldiers, money, and provisions. But the people, with the usual folly of a mob, thought that their generals had made this arrangement for their own private ends, so that, relying upon the Romans, they might hold the power in their own country. They said that Hannibal was doing now what had been done not long before by Hasdrubal, who had betrayed his camp to the enemy by night, and a little later wanted to surrender his own person to Scipio, having approached him for that purpose, and was now concealed in the city. Thereupon there was a great clamour and tumult, and some of them left the assembly and went in search of Hasdrubal. He had anticipated them by taking refuge in his father's tomb, where he destroyed himself with poison. But they pulled his corpse out even from thence, cut off his head, put it on a pike, and carried it about the city. Thus was Hasdrubal first banished unjustly, next falsely slandered by Hanno, and then thus driven to his death by the Carthaginians, and thus loaded with indignities after his death.

Second armistice broken

39. Then the Carthaginians ordered Hannibal to break the truce and begin war against Scipio, and to decide the war by a battle as soon as possible on account of the scarcity of provisions. Accordingly he sent word that the truce was at an end. Scipio at once attacked and took the great city of Parthus

CAP. VII πλησίον Ἀννίβου μετεστρατοπέδευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεζεύγνυε, τρεῖς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κατασκόπους ἐπιπέμψας, οὓς ὁ Σκιπίων ἔλαβέ τε καὶ οὐκ ἔκτεινεν, ὥσπερ ἔθος τοὺς κατασκόπους κτείνειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς ὁπλοθήκας καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα περιαχθῆναι κελεύσας, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γυμναζομένην ἰδεῖν, ἀπέλυσε φράζειν Ἀννίβᾳ περὶ ἑκάστων. ὁ δὲ ἠξίωσεν ἔτι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους Σκιπίωνι, καὶ συνελθὼν ἔλεγε Καρχηδονίους ἀγανακτῆσαι τῇ πρότερον εἰρήνῃ διὰ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ εἰ τοῦτο ἐκλυθείη, Σικελίας δὲ μόνον ἀξιοῖεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ νήσων ὅσων ἄρχουσι κρατεῖν, ἔσεσθαι τὰς συνθήκας βεβαίους. ὁ δὲ "πολύ," ἔφη, "κέρδος Ἀννίβᾳ τῆς φυγῆς ἔσται τῆς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, εἰ ταῦτα προσλάβοι παρὰ Σκιπίωνος." καὶ ἀπηγόρευε πέμπειν ἔτι πρὸς αὐτόν. διαπειλησάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις ἀνεζεύγνυον ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸ αὑτοῦ στρατόπεδον.

40. Πόλις δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν Κίλλα, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν λόφος εὐφυὴς ἐς στρατοπεδείαν, ὃν ἐπινοῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας προλαβεῖν, ἔπεμπέ τινας διαγράφειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας ἐβάδιζεν ὡς ἔχων τὸν λόφον. Σκιπίωνος δ' αὐτὸν φθάσαντός τε καὶ προλαβόντος, ἀποληφθεὶς ἐν πεδίῳ μέσῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ διετέλει τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ὀρύσσων φρέατα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ διαμώμενος τὴν ψάμμον ὀλιγον καὶ θολερὸν ἔπινον ἐπιμόχθως, ἀθεράπευτοί τε καὶ ἄσιτοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις

and encamped near Hannibal. The latter moved off, having sent three spies into the Roman camp. Scipio captured them, and did not put them to death, according to the custom of dealing with spies, but ordered that they should be taken around and shown the camp, the arsenals, the engines, and the army being drilled. He then set them free so that they might inform Hannibal concerning all these things. The latter asked for a further parley with Scipio, and when it was granted said that the Carthaginians were discontented with the former treaty on account of the money indemnity. If he would remit that, and if the Romans would content themselves with Sicily, Spain, and the islands they now held, the agreement would be lasting. "Hannibal's escape from Italy would be a great gain to him," said the other, "if he could in addition obtain these terms from Scipio." He then forbade Hannibal to send any more messages to him. After indulging in some mutual threats they departed, each to his own camp. CHAP VII

40. The town of Cilla was in the neighbourhood and near it was a hill well adapted for a camp. Hannibal, conceived the idea of seizing this hill, sent a detachment forward to mark out his camp, and at once started to march forward as though he were already in possession of it. But Scipio having anticipated him and seized it beforehand, he was cut off in the midst of a plain without water and was engaged all night digging wells. His army, by toiling in the sand, with great difficulty obtained a little muddy water to drink, and so they passed the night without food, without care for their bodies, and some of them without Preparation for battle

CAP. VII

ἔνιοι, διενυκτέρευσαν. ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος προσέβαλεν ἅμα ἕῳ κεκμηκόσιν ἐξ ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἀνυδρίας. Ἀννίβας δ' ἤχθετο μέν, οὐχ ὅτε βούλοιτο συνιὼν ἐς μάχην, ἑώρα δὲ ὡς εἴτε μένοι κατὰ χώραν, κακοπαθήσων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνυδρίας, εἴτε φεύγοι, τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναστήσων καὶ πολλὰ πεισόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένων. ὅθεν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι. καὶ παρετασσεν αὐτίκα ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. ἵστη δὲ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐφ' ὅλου τοῦ μετώπου, φοβερώτατα σκευασας. καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τὸ τρίτον τῆς στρατιᾶς, Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες· τοξόται τε αὐτοῖς ἀνεμεμίχατο πάντῃ καὶ σφενδονῆται Μαυρούσιοί τε καὶ Γυμνήσιοι. τούτων δ' ὄπισθεν ἡ δευτέρα τάξις ἦν, Καρχηδόνιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες. τρίτοι δ' ὅσοι ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἵποντο αὐτῷ. οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, ὡς πλέον δεδιόσιν, ἐθάρρει. ἡ δ' ἵππος περὶ τὰ κέρατα ἦν.

41. Οὕτω μὲν Ἀννίβας ἐξέτασσε, Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. συνεμάχει δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πολλοῖς, καὶ Δακάμας ἕτερος δυνάστης ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις. τὸ μὲν οὖν πεζὸν ἐς τρεῖς καὶ ὅδε τάξεις ἐπέταττεν ὁμοίως Ἀννίβᾳ, λόχους δ' ὀρθίους ἐποιεῖτο πάντας, ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς εὐχερῶς διαθέοιεν. ἐφίστη δ' ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ προμάχους κατὰ μέτωπον, οἳ ξύλα παχέα διπήχη μάλιστα, πυκνὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σεσιδηρωμένα, ἔμελλον ὡς καταπέλτας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τοὺς

removing their arms. Scipio, observing this, moved against them at dawn while they were exhausted with marching, with want of sleep, and want of water. Hannibal was troubled, since he did not wish to join battle in that plight. Yet he saw that if he should remain there his army would suffer severely from want of water, while if he should retreat he would revive the spirits of the enemy, who would press him hard and would inflict severe loss on him. For these reasons it was necessary for him to fight. He speedily put in battle array about 50,000 men and eighty elephants. He placed the elephants all along the front line at intervals, in order to strike terror into the enemy's ranks. Next to them he placed the third part of his army, composed of Celts and Ligurians, and mixed with them everywhere Moorish and Balearic archers and slingers. Behind these was his second line, composed of Carthaginians and Africans. The third line consisted of Italians who had followed him from their own country, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, since they had the most to apprehend from defeat. The cavalry were placed on the wings. In this way Hannibal arranged his forces. CHAP VII

41. Scipio had about 23,000 foot and 1500 Italian and Roman horse. He had as allies Masinissa with a large number of Numidian horse, and another prince, named Dacamas, with 600 horse. He drew up his infantry, like those of Hannibal, in three lines, and placed all his cohorts lengthwise, so that the cavalry might easily pass between them. In front of each cohort he stationed men armed with heavy stakes about two cubits long, mostly shod with iron, to throw at the oncoming elephants by hand,

CAP. VII ἐλέφαντας ἐπιόντας ἀφήσειν. παρήγγελτο δ' αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πεζοῖς ἐκκλίνειν τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν θηρίων, καὶ περιθέοντας ἀκοντίζειν ἐς αὐτὰ συνεχῶς, καὶ προσπελάζοντας, ὅτε δύναιντο, ὑποτέμνειν τὰ νεῦρα. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πεζοὶ διετετάχατο τῷ Σκιπίωνι· τοὺς δ' ἱππέας τοὺς μὲν Νομαδικοὺς ἐπέστησε τοῖς κερασιν, εἰθισμένους τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄψιν καὶ ὀδμὴν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ Ἰταλικοὺς διὰ τὸ ἄηθες ὀπίσω πάντων, ἑτοίμους ἐπελθεῖν διὰ τῶν διαστημάτων, ὅτε τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὁρμὴν ὑπομείνειαν οἱ πεζοί. παρ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τῶνδε ὑπηρέτης ἦν πολλὰ ἀκόντια φέρων, οἷς ἐπενόει τὰ θηρία ἀμύνεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἵππος εἶχε, παρεδίδου δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Λαιλίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Ὀκταουιῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέσοις ἦστην αὐτός τε καὶ Ἀννίβας, κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλήλων, ἔχοντες ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας, ἐπικουρεῖν ὅπῃ τι πονούμενον ἴδοιεν, ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας τετρακισχιλίους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων δισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους Ἰταλοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ὥπλισεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἕτοιμα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐπέτρεχε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐπισπέρχων ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων τοὺς θεοὺς κατακαλῶν ἐν ὄψει τῶν στρατευομένων, ἐς οὓς οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι παρεσπονδήκεσαν ὁσάκις ἔλυον τὰ συγκείμενα, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀξιῶν μὴ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων ἀφορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον τῶνδε τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλειόνων ὄντων ἐπεκράτησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ γῇ. εἰ δ' ἔστι καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι φόβος ἢ δέος ἢ ἀμφιβολία, πόσῳ ταῦτα τοῖς νενικημένοις πλεονάζειν ἀνάγκη. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἠρέθιζέ

like catapult bolts. He ordered these and the other foot-soldiers to avoid the impetus of these beasts, and to run round and continually hurl javelins at them, and to get near them and hamstring them whenever they could. In this way Scipio disposed his infantry; but his Numidian horse he stationed on his wings because they were accustomed to the sight and smell of elephants. And as the Italian horse were not so, he placed them in the extreme rear, ready to charge through the intervals of the foot-soldiers when the latter should have checked the first onset of the elephants. To each horseman was assigned an attendant armed with plenty of darts with which to ward off the attack of these beasts. In this way was his cavalry disposed, Laelius commanding the right wing, and Octavius the left, while both he and Hannibal took their stations in the centre, out of respect for each other, having a body of horse with them, in order to send reinforcements wherever they might be needed. Of these Hannibal had 4000 and Scipio 2000, besides the 300 Italians whom he had himself armed in Sicily.

42. When everything was ready each general rode up and down encouraging his soldiers. Scipio, in the sight of his army, invoked the gods, whom the Carthaginians had offended every time they violated the treaties. He told the soldiers not to think of the numbers of the enemy but of their own valour, by which aforetime these same enemies, in even greater numbers, had been overcome in this same country. If fear, anxiety, and doubt oppress those who have hitherto been victorious, how much more, he said, must these feelings weigh upon the vanquished. Thus did Scipio encourage his forces

Speeches of Hannibal and Scipio

CAP. VII τε καὶ παρηγόρει τῆς ὀλιγότητος· ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῶν τε ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγονότων ἔργων ὑπεμίμνησκεν αὐτούς, ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράξειαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Νομάσιν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ἰταλοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτόθεν ἔστως ἐπεδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει μὴ χείρους ὀλιγωτέρων ἐν οἰκείᾳ γῇ πλέονας ὄντας ὀφθῆναι. τὸν δὲ κίνδυνον τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἑκάτερος τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑπερεπῆρεν, Ἀννίβας μὲν ὅτι Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην ἅπασαν ὁ ἀγὼν ὅδε κρινεῖ, ἢ δούλην εὐθὺς ἡσσωμένων εἶναι, ἢ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἄρχειν ἁπάντων ὧν ἐπεκράτουν, Σκιπίων δ' ὅτι νικωμένοις μὲν οὐδ' ἀναχώρησις ἔστιν ἀσφαλής, ἐπικρατοῦσι δὲ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη προσγίγνεται καὶ ἀνάπαυλα πόνων τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπόπλους καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον εὔκλεια.

43. Οὕτω παροξύνας τοὺς ἰδίους ἑκάτερος ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα συνήεσαν, Ἀννίβας μὲν σαλπίγγων κατάρξας, Σκιπίων δ' ἀντηχεῖν κελεύσας. συνιόντων δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες κατῆρχον τῆς μάχης, ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς κέντροις ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπικαθημένων· περιθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Νομάδες ἱππεῖς ἐσηκόντιζον ἀθρόως, μέχρι τρωθέντας τε καὶ φεύγοντας καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἤδη ἔχοντας ἀπήγαγον ἐκ τῆς μάχης οἱ ἐπιβάται. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ κέρατα ἐλέφαντας· οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ φάλαγγι τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πεζοὺς κατεπάτουν, ἀπείρους τε μάχης τοιάσδε ὄντας καὶ βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὁπλίσεως, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ φεύγειν εὐκόλως ἢ διώκειν οὐ δυναμένους, ἕως ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς Ἰταλικούς, ὀπίσω τεταγμένους καὶ

and console them for their inferiority in numbers. Hannibal reminded his men of what they had done in Italy, and of their great and brilliant victories won, not over Numidians, but over armies composed entirely of Italians, and throughout Italy. He pointed out, from where he stood, the smallness of the enemy's force, and exhorted them not to show themselves inferior to a less numerous body in their own country. Each general magnified to his own men the consequences of the coming engagement. Hannibal said that the battle would decide the fate of Carthage and all Africa; if vanquished, they would be enslaved forthwith, if victorious, they would for ever rule over all the vanquished. Scipio said that there was not even any safe refuge for his men if they were vanquished, but if victorious there would be a great increase of the Roman power, a rest from their present labours, a speedy return home, and glory forever after. CHAP. VII

43. Having thus exhorted their men they joined battle. Hannibal first ordered the trumpets to sound, and Scipio responded in like manner. The elephants began the fight decked out in fearful panoply and urged on with goads by their riders. But the Numidian horse flying around them incessantly thrust darts into them, until being wounded and put to flight and having become unmanageable, their riders took them out of the combat. This is what happened to the elephants on both wings; but those in the centre trampled down the Roman infantry, who were not accustomed to that kind of fighting and were not able to avoid or to pursue them easily on account of their heavy armour, until Scipio brought up the Italian cavalry, who were Battle of Zama

CAP. VII κουφότερον ἐσκευασμένους, ἐπαγαγὼν ἀποβῆναι τῶν ἵππων ταρασσομένων ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας περιθέοντας ἐσακοντίζειν. πρῶτός τε αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἔτρωσε τὸν προπηδῶντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων. θαρρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τιτρωσκόντων ἤδη πανταχόθεν αὐτούς, καὶ οἵδε ὑπεχώρουν.

44. Καὶ γενομένης τῆς μάχης καθαρᾶς θηριων, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγίγνετο μόνων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων, οὗ Λαίλιος ἐπεστάτει, τρέπεται τοὺς ἐναντίους Νομάδας, Μασσανάσσου βαλόντος αὐτῶν τὸν δυνάστην Μασσάθην· ὀξέως δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπιδραμὼν συνέτασσε τὴν μάχην. τὸ δὲ λαιόν, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ἐπεστάτει, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων Κελτοὶ καὶ Λίγυες ἦσαν, ἐπόνει μάλα καρτερῶς ἑκατέροις. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἔπεμπε Θέρμον τὸν χιλίαρχον ἐπικουρεῖν μετ' ἐπιλέκτων· Ἀννίβας δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ λαιὸν συνέστησεν, ἐς τοὺς Λίγυας καὶ Κελτοὺς μεθίππευεν, ἐπάγων ἅμα τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν Καρχηδονίων τε καὶ Λιβύων. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀντιπαρῆγε μεθ' ἑτέρου στίφους. δύο δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀρίστων ἐς ἀγῶνα συνιόντων, ἔρις ἦν τῶν ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαμπρὰ καὶ δέος, καὶ προθυμίας οὐδετέροις τι ἐνέλιπε, σφοδροῦ καὶ ὀξέος ὄντος πόνου τε καὶ παρακελεύσεως.

45. Μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀκρίτου τῆς μάχης οὔσης, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐλεοῦντες ὥρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὡς ἐν σφίσι τῆς κρίσεως ταχυτέρας ἐσομένης. καὶ ἠκόντισαν ὁμοῦ, Σκιπίων μὲν Ἀννίβου τὴν ἀσπίδα, ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου.

in the rear and more lightly armed, and ordered them to dismount from their frightened horses, and run round and shoot at the elephants. He was himself the first to dismount and wound the foremost elephant. The others were encouraged by his example, and inflicted wounds upon the elephants from all sides, so that these also withdrew. CHAP. VII

44. The field being cleared of these beasts the battle was now waged by men and horses only. The Roman right wing, where Laelius commanded, put the opposing Numidians to flight, and Masinissa struck down their prince, Massathes, with a dart, but Hannibal quickly came to their rescue and restored the line of battle. But on the left wing, where Octavius commanded and the hostile Celts and Ligurians were stationed, both sides were in difficulties. Scipio sent the tribune Thermus thither with a reinforcement of picked men, but Hannibal, after rallying his left wing, flew to the assistance of the Ligurians and Celts, bringing up at the same time his second line of Carthaginians and Africans. Scipio, perceiving this, moved parallel to him with another body of troops. When the two greatest generals of the world thus met, in hand to hand fight, there was, on the part of the soldiers of each, a brilliant emulation and reverence for their commanders, and no lack of zeal on either side, the two armies fighting and cheering vehemently and keenly.

Personal encounters of Hannibal and Scipio

45. As the battle was long and undecided, the two generals had compassion on their tired soldiers and rushed upon each other in order by personal combat to bring it to a more speedy decision. They threw their javelins at the same time, and Scipio pierced Hannibal's shield, while Hannibal hit Scipio's

CAP. VII καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξέφερεν ὀπίσω τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μέχρι περιβὰς ἕτερον ἵππον αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἠκόντισεν. ἀλλ' ἀπέτυχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε, τὸν δὲ ἱππέα τὸν ἐγγὺς ἔβαλεν. ἦκε δ' ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Μασσανάσσης πυθόμενος. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁρῶντες στρατιωτικῶς σφῶν ὑπερμαχόμενον, καρτερώτερεν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον καὶ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον· οὐδὲ παριππεύοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ δεομένου στῆναι καὶ τῆς μάχης αὖθις ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλιας οἱ συνελθόντας, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔτι καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντας, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ἐλπίσας Ῥωμαίοις ἅτε διώκουσιν ἀσυντακτοτέροις ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλους ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκάλουν, καὶ συνετάσσοντο αὖθις ἐς μάχην. οὔτε δὲ ἵππων σφίσι παρόντων οὔτε ἀκοντίων ἔτι ὄντων, ξίφεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ συνεπλέκοντο. φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐνθάδε μάλιστα καὶ τραύματα μέγιστα, καὶ πιπτόντων στόνος καὶ ἀναιρούντων μεγαλαυχία, μέχρι ποτὲ καὶ τούσδε ἐτρέψαντο οἱ Ἰταλοὶ καὶ φεύγουσιν εἵποντο, κρίσις τε ἦν λαμπρὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

46. Καὶ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐν τῇ φυγῇ θεασάμενος ἱππέων Νομάδων πλῆθος συνεστώς, προσδραμὼν ἠξίου μὴ προλιπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ πείσας ἐπῆγε τοῖς διώκουσιν, ἐλπίσας ἐργάσεσθαί τινα παλινδίωξιν. πρώτοις δὲ Μασσυλίοις ἐντυχὼν ἐμάχετο, καὶ μόνος ἦν ἔτι οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν Μασσανάσσου καὶ

horse. The horse, smarting from the wound, carried Scipio towards the rear, until, mounting another, he again hurled a dart at Hannibal, but missed him a second time and struck the horseman next him. At this juncture, Masinissa, hearing of the crisis, came up, and the Romans seeing their general fighting as a common soldier, fell upon the enemy more vehemently than before, routed them, and pursued them in flight. Nor could Hannibal, who rode by the side of his men and besought them to make a stand and renew the battle, prevail upon them to do so. Therefore, despairing of these, he turned to the Italians who had come with him, and who were still in reserve and had not been moved, and led them into the fight, hoping to fall upon the Romans, who were pursuing in disorder. But they perceived his intention, and speedily called one another back from the pursuit and restored the line of battle. As, however, their horse were no longer with them and they were destitute of missiles, they now fought sword in hand in close combat. There especially great slaughter ensued and terrible wounds were received, accompanied by the vaunts of the slayers and the groans of the dying, until, finally, the Italians routed these also and followed them in their flight, and in this brilliant manner the war was decided.

CHAP. VII

Hannibal's defeat and flight

46. Hannibal in his flight seeing a mass of Numidian horse collected together, ran up and besought them not to desert him. Having secured their promise, he led them against the pursuers, hoping still to turn the tide of battle. The first whom he encountered were the Massylians, and now a single combat between Masinissa and Hannibal

CAP. VII

Ἀννίβου συνεστώτων. φερομένων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐς μὲν τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠκόντισε βαλών, ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας καὶ τότε ἔτυχε τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἐκπεσὼν πεζὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὥρμα, τόν τε ἐπελαύνοντά οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἱππέα βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰ ἀκόντια ἐς τὸν ἐλεφαντιστὴν ἐκδεχόμενος, ἓν τῶν ἐμπεπηγότων ἑξεῖλε, καὶ ἀκοντίσας ἐς τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὖθις οὐδ' ὡς ἐπετύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐγγὺς ἱππέα καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν. ἕτερον δ' ἐξέλκων ἐς τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὑπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπ' ὀλίγον. Σκιπίων δὲ πυθόμενος ἔδεισε περὶ τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο· καὶ ηὗρε τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐς τὴν μάχην αὖθις ἐπὶ ἵππου φερόμενον ἑτέρου, τὸ τραῦμα ἐπιδήσαντα. ὅ τε ἀγὼν ἦν ἴσος αὖθις αὐτοῖς καὶ πάνυ καρτερός, αἰδουμένων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἑκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπί τινος λόφου θεασάμενος Ἴβηρας καὶ Κελτοὺς συνεστῶτας ἐξίππευσεν ὡς κἀκείνους ἐπάξων. τότε γὰρ οἱ μαχόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αἰτίας οὐ συνιέντες, τὴν δ' ἀποχώρησιν αὐτοῦ φυγὴν ὑπολαβόντες εἶναι, τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθῆκαν ἑκόντες καὶ ἔφυγον ἀκόσμως, οὐχ ἥπερ ἑώρων Ἀννίβαν, ἀλλ' ὅπῃ τύχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτούς, ὡς τετελεσμένης τῆς μάχης, ἐδίωκον ἀτάκτως, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ τῆς Ἀννίβου προαιρέσεως συνιέντες.

47. Ὁ δ' ἐπανῄει πεφραγμένος Ἴβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς ἀπὸ του λόφου. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὖθις ἐκ τῆς διώξεως τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνεκάλει μετὰ σπουδῆς, καὶ παρέτασσε πολὺ πλείονας τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ

took place. These too rushed fiercely upon each other, and Masinissa drove his spear into Hannibal's shield, while Hannibal then, as before, wounded his antagonist's horse. Masinissa, being thrown, sprang towards Hannibal on foot, and struck and killed a horseman who was advancing towards him in front of the others. He received the darts of the rest in his shield—made of elephant's hide—one of which he pulled out and hurled at Hannibal, but missed him again, killing, as Scipio had done, the horseman next to him. While he was pulling out another, he was wounded in the arm, and withdrew from the fight for a brief space. When Scipio learned this, he feared for Masinissa and hastened to his relief, but he found that the latter had bound up his wound and was returning to the fight on a fresh horse. Then the battle was again doubtful and very severe, the soldiers on either side having the utmost reverence for their commanders, until Hannibal, discovering a body of Spanish and Celtic troops on a hill near by, dashed over to them to bring them into the fight. Those who were still engaged, not knowing the cause of his going, thought that he had fled. Accordingly, they abandoned the fight of their own accord, and broke into disorderly rout, not following after Hannibal, but helter skelter. This band having been dispersed, the Romans thought that the fight was over and pursued them in a disorderly way, in their turn not perceiving Hannibal's purpose. CHAP. VII

47. Presently Hannibal returned protected by the Spanish and Celtic troops from the hill. Scipio hastened to recall the Romans from the pursuit, and formed a new line of battle which considerably out-

CAP. VII λόφου καταβεβηκότων· ὅθεν αὐτῶν οὐ δυσχερῶς περιεγίγνετο. Ἀννίβας δὲ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας τελευταίας γενομένης ἀποτυχών, ἔφευγεν ἤδη σαφῶς ἀπογνοὺς ἅπαντα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον ἱππεῖς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Μασσανάσσης, περιώδυνος ὢν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος, ἀεί τε πλησιάζων, καὶ μέγα ποιούμενος αἰχμάλωτον Ἀννίβαν ἀγαγεῖν Σκιπίωνι. τὸν δὲ νὺξ ἐρρύσατο, καὶ σκότιος μετ' εἴκοσιν ἱππέων, τῶν δυνηθέντων σὺν αὐτῷ συνανύσαι τὸν δρόμον, ἐς πόλιν κατέφυγεν ᾗ ὄνομα Θῶν, ἔνθα Βρεττίων ἔγνω καὶ Ἰβήρων ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης συμπεφευγότας. δείσας οὖν περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰβήρων ὡς βαρβάρων ταχυέργων, περὶ δὲ Βρεττίων ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοεθνῶν Σκιπίωνι, μὴ ἐς συγγνώμην ὧν ἐξήμαρτον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, προσαγάγωσιν αὐτὸν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε μεθ' ἑνὸς ἱππέως, ᾧ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευεν. σταδίους δ' ἀνύσας ἐς τρισχιλίους δύο νυξί τε καὶ ἡμέραις, ἦκεν ἐς πόλιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης Ἀδρυμητόν, ἔνθα τι μέρος ἦν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς σιτοφυλακοῦν. περιπέμπων δ' ἐς τὰ πλησίον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας ἀναλαμβάνων, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα εἰργάζετο.

VIII

CAP. VIII 48. Σκιπιων δε νίκην ἀριστην νενικηκως, τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα τῆς λείας ἐνεπίμπρη διαζωσάμενος αὐτός, ὥσπερ εἰώθασι Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατηγοι, χρυσίου δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τάλαντα δέκα καὶ ἀργυριου δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐλέφαντα εἰργασ-

numbered those who had come down from the hill, so that he overcame them without difficulty. When this last effort had failed, Hannibal fled, having now manifestly abandoned all hope. Many horsemen pursued him, and among others Masinissa, although suffering from his wound, pressed him hard, striving eagerly to take him prisoner and deliver him to Scipio. But night came to his rescue and under cover of darkness, with twenty horsemen who had alone been able to keep pace with him, he took refuge in a town named Thon. Here he found many Bruttian and Spanish horsemen who had fled after the defeat. Fearing the Spaniards as impulsive barbarians, and apprehending that the Bruttians, as they were Scipio's countrymen, might deliver him up in order to secure pardon for their transgression against Italy, he fled secretly with one horseman in whom he had full confidence. Having accomplished about 3000 stades in two nights and days, he arrived at the seaport of Hadrumetum, where a part of his army had been left to guard his supplies. Here he began to collect forces from the adjacent country and recover those who had escaped from the recent engagement, and to prepare arms and engines of war.

CHAP VII

VIII

48. Now Scipio, having gained this splendid victory, girded himself for sacrifice, and burned with his own hands, as is the custom of the Roman generals, the less valuable spoils of the enemy. He sent to Rome ten talents of gold, 2500 talents of silver, a quantity of carved ivory,

CHAP. VIII

Spoils of victory

CAP. VIII

μένον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμπε, καὶ Λαίλιον ἐξαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐπὶ νεῶν . . , τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀποδόμενος τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιδιεῖλε τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἀριστεύσασιν ἐδίδου, καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐστεφάνου καὶ τότε. καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιὼν ἐχειροῦτο. τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς Ἀννίβου τε καὶ Σκιπίωνος ἐν Λιβύῃ μάχης, τότε πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τοῦτ' ἦν, ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, Μασσανάσσου δ' ἔτι πλείονες, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. καὶ Ἴβηρες ηὐτομόλησαν πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τριακόσιοι, καὶ Νομάδες πρὸς Μασσανάσσην ὀκτακόσιοι.

49. Οὔπω δὲ οὔτε Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπέστελλον Μάγωνι, ξενολογοῦντι ἔτι Κελτούς, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἢ ἐς Λιβύην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπλεῦσαι, οἱ δέ, τῶνδε τῶν γραμμάτων ἀλόντων καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην κομισθέντων, στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ ἵππους καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα ἔπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δὲ ἤδη τῇ Καρχηδόνι κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐπέπεμπεν Ὀκτάουιον, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν ἧσσαν Ἀννίβου πυθόμενοι, πρέσβεις ἐπὶ κελητίου προσέπεμπον τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Ἄννων τε ὁ μέγας λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος· οἳ τὸ κηρύκειον ὑψηλὸν ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πρῴρας, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγον ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἱκετῶν τρόπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ προκαθ-

and the most distinguished of the captives in ships, and Laelius to carry news of the victory. The remainder of the spoils he sold, and divided the proceeds among the troops. He also made presents for distinguished valour, and crowned Masinissa again. He also visited the cities and received their submission. Such was the result of the engagement between Hannibal and Scipio, who here met in combat for the first time. The Roman loss was 2500 men, that of Masinissa still more. That of the enemy was 25,000 killed, and 8500 taken prisoners. Three hundred Spaniards deserted to Scipio, and 800 Numidians to Masinissa. CHAP. VIII

An embassy to Scipio

49. Before the news reached either Carthage or Rome, the former sent word to Mago, who was still collecting Gallic mercenaries, to invade Italy if possible, and if not, to set sail with his mercenaries for Africa. These letters being intercepted and brought to Rome, another army, together with horses, ships, and money, was despatched to Scipio. He had already sent Octavius by the land route to Carthage, and was going thither himself with his fleet. When the Carthaginians learned of Hannibal's defeat they sent ambassadors to Scipio on a small fast-sailing ship, of whom the leaders were Hanno the Great and Hasdrubal Eriphus, who bore the herald's staff aloft on the prow and stretched out their hands toward Scipio in the manner of suppliants. He directed them to come to the camp, and when they had arrived he attended to their

CAP. VIII

ἡμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀνιστάντων καὶ λέγειν κελευόντων ὅ τι θέλοιεν, Ἀσδρούβας ὁ ἔριφος εἶπεν· 50. "ἐμοὶ μὲν ἔστιν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ Ἄννωνι τῷδε, καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδονίων ἔμφρονες, καθαρεύειν ἁμαρτημάτων ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπικαλεῖτε· τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἐς οὓς ἐξήμαρτεν ἡ πατρὶς ἄκουσα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, περιεσώζομεν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπέμπομεν. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς μηδὲ Καρχηδονίων καταγιγνώσκειν ἁπάντων, οἵ γε τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρότερον ἤτησαν καὶ λαβόντες προθύμως ὤμνυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον εὐεπίστρεπτοι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν ἀεὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπικρατεῖ. ἃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπάθομεν, οὔτε πεῖσαι δυνηθέντες τὸ πλῆθος οὔτ' ἐπισχεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖ μὲν διαβάλλοντας ἡμᾶς, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφῃρημένους. μὴ δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐπειθείας ἢ εὐβουλίας, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν κρίνετε, ἀλλ' εἴ τῳ καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἀδίκημα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὸν λιμὸν ἐπίδεσθε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἣ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργον ἑκούσιον ἦν ἄρτι μὲν περὶ εἰρήνης παρακαλεῖν, καὶ χρήματα τοσαῦτα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μακρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν παριέναι, καὶ περὶ τῶνδε ὀμνύναι τε καὶ ὅρκοῦν πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥωμην, ἔτι δ' ὄντων τῶν ἡμετέρων πρέσβεων παρ' ὑμῖν ἑκόντας ἁμαρτεῖν. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν θεῶν τις ἔβλαψε, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ὁ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑμῶν ἐς Καρχηδόνα καταγαγών· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι ὁ

business in high state. They threw themselves on the ground weeping, and when the attendants had lifted them up and bade them say what they wished, Hasdrubal Eriphus spoke as follows:

Speech of Hasdrubal Eriphus

50. "For myself, Romans, and for Hanno here, and for all sensible Carthaginians, let me say that we are guiltless of the wrongs which you lay at our door. For when our country, driven by hunger, did violence to your legates, we rescued them and sent them back to you. You ought not either to condemn the whole people of Carthage who so recently sought peace, and when it was granted eagerly took the oath to support it. But cities are easily swayed towards the worse, because the masses are always controlled by what is pleasing to their ears. We too have suffered from this, having been unable either to persuade or to restrain the multitude by reason of those who slandered us at home and who have prevented us from speaking freely to you. Romans, do not judge us by the standard of your own discipline and good counsel. If any one esteems it a crime to have yielded to the persuasions of these rabble-rousers, consider the hunger and the necessity which suffering imposed upon us. For it could not have been a deliberate intention on the part of our people, first to ask for peace, and give such a large sum of money to obtain it, and deliver up all their ships of war except a few, and surrender the bulk of their territory, and send ambassadors to Rome to give and receive oaths, and then wantonly to violate the agreement before our embassy had returned. Surely some god was our ruin, and the tempest that drove your supplies into Carthage; and besides the tempest, hunger carried us away, for people who are

CAP. VIII λιμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφείλετο μὴ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φρονῆσαι, πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. οὐδὲ λογισμὸν αἰτεῖν ἄξιον παρὰ πλήθους ἀσυντάκτου καὶ ἀτυχοῦντος.

51. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ' ἁμαρτόντων παράκλησις. ἐφ' ᾗ ταχύτερός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχούντων ἔλεος, τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὑφορωμένων, ὅταν αἴσθωνται διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους μεταβολὰς παρακαλοῦντας τοὺς ἐχθὲς ἀδικεῖν δυναμένους. οἷα καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων πόλις, ἡ τῆς Λιβύης μεγίστη καὶ δυνατωτάτη ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐλέφασι καὶ στρατῷ πεζῷ τε καὶ ἱππικῷ, καὶ ὑπηκόοις πολλοῖς, ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασα, καὶ Λιβύης πάσης καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης τοσῆσδε ἄρξασα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀμφήριστον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐλθοῦσα, νῦν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλέφασι καὶ ἵπποις, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὧν πάντων ὑμῖν ἀφίσταται, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἔχει τοῖς προπεπονθόσι κακῶς. ἃ χρὴ θεωροῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νέμεσιν φυλασσομένους, μετριοπαθῶς χρῆσθαι ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, καὶ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ τύχης ἄξια πράσσειν, τάς τε τοῦ δαιμονίου μεταβολὰς ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς διατίθεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναμάρτητα ᾖ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξιέπαινα πάντας.

in want of everything do not form the best judgments respecting other people's property. A disordered mob, stricken with calamity, cannot be expected to account for its actions. CHAP. VIII

51. "But if even so you consider us guilty, not unfortunate, we confess our fault and for this very reason entreat you. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended. Entreaty makes the fortunate more ready to extend pity to others, when they observe the mutability of human affairs, and see people craving mercy to-day who yesterday were powerful enough to wrong others. Such is the condition of Carthage, the greatest and most powerful city of Africa in ships and money, in elephants, in infantry and cavalry, and in subject peoples, which has flourished 700 years and held sway over all Africa and so many other nations, islands, and seas, standing for a very long time on an equality with yourselves, but which now places her hope of safety not in her dominion of the sea, her ships, her elephants, her horses, her subjects, all of which she surrenders to you, but in yourselves, whom we have heretofore shamefully treated. Contemplating these facts, Romans, it is fit that you should beware of the Nemesis which presides over them, and should use your good fortune mercifully, to do deeds worthy of your own magnanimity and of the former fortunes of Carthage, and to deal with the changes which Providence has ordered in our affairs without reproach, so that your conduct may both be blameless before the gods and also win the praises of all mankind.

CAP. VIII

52. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μὴ μετάθωνται γε καὶ νῦν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέος ἔστιν, οἳ τοσήνδε μετάνοιαν καὶ δίκην τῆς πρὶν ἀγνωμοσύνης ὑφίστανται. ἔστι δ' ἀναμαρτησίας τοῖς μὲν σώφροσιν ἡ εὐβουλία φυλακή, τοῖς δ' ἁμαρτοῦσι τὸ προπαθεῖν καὶ μεταγνῶναι. βεβαιοτέρους τε εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς νενουθετημένους εἶναι τῶν ἀπειράτων. οὐδ' ἄξιον Καρχηδονίοις ὑμᾶς ὠμότητα καὶ ἁμαρτίαν ἐπικαλοῦντας ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσιν ἑτέρων ἁμαρτημάτων ἄρχουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας αἱ συμφοραί, τοῖς δ' εὖ πράσσουσιν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τὸ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐστιν. οὐδ' εὐκλεές, οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑμῖν ἐστὶ πόλιν τοσήνδε καθαιρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ περισώζειν. ἐστὲ δὲ ἀμείνονες μὲν ὑμεῖς τῶν ὑμετέρων συμφερόντων κριταί, ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν δύο ταῦτα μάλιστα φέρομεν ἐκ πάντων, τὸ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ποτὲ ἀξίωμα ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἐς πάντα μετριοπάθειαν, ἣ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑμᾶς ἐπῆρεν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως. τίσι δὲ συνθήκαις, ἂν ἄρα διδῶτε τὴν εἰρήνην, χρησόμεθα περὶ αὐτῆς, περισσὸν λέγειν τοὺς ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν τιθεμένους."

53. Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ ἔριφος ἐπέκλαυσεν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ πολύ. ὡς δ' ἔκρινεν, ἐσκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ὧδε. "ἐστὲ μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἁμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερῶς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι

52. "There need be no fear that the Carthaginians will change their minds again, after being subjected to such repentance and punishment for their past folly. Wise men are prevented from wrong-doing by their prudence, the wicked by their suffering and repentance. It is reasonable to suppose that those who have been chastised will be more trusty than those who have not had such experience. Be careful that you do not imitate the cruelty and the sinfulness that you lay at the door of the Carthaginians. For the misfortunes of the miserable are the source of fresh transgressions arising from helplessness, while to the fortunate the opportunity for clemency exists in the abundance of their means. It will be neither to the glory nor to the advantage of your government to destroy so great a city as ours, instead of preserving it. You are the better judges of your own interests, but we, with regard to our preservation, remind you of two things above all, the ancient dignity of the empire of Carthage and your own universal moderation, which, together with your arms, has raised you to so great dominion and power. As for the terms, if after all you grant us peace, it is superfluous for us to discuss them, since we place ourselves entirely in your hands." CHAP. VIII

53. At the conclusion of his speech Eriphus burst into tears. Then Scipio dismissed them and consulted with his officers a long time. After he had come to a decision, he called the Carthaginian envoys back and addressed them thus: "You do not deserve any pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and now finally even abused our envoys in such a public and lawless manner that you cannot deny or dispute that you are worthy of Scipio's reply

CAP. VIII μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ καταγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων; ἐς ἱκεσίας καταφεύγετε οἱ μηδ' ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιπόντες ἄν, εἰ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐδέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ὅμοια ποιήσομεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ὑμῶν, ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, παρεσπονδηκότων ὑμῶν καὶ ἐς πρέσβεις ἁμαρτόντων, ἥ τε πόλις ἀπέλυσε, κἀγὼ καταχθέντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤδη πολεμοῦντας ἀπέπεμψα ἀπαθεῖς. χρὴ δ' ὑμᾶς καταγιγνώσκοντας αὐτῶν, ὅ τι ἂν λάβητε, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι. λέξω δ' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφιεῖ ἃ ἂν δοκιμάσῃ.

54. Δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἔτι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἢν τάς τε ναῦς τὰς μακρὰς παραδιδῶτε Ῥωμαίοις χωρὶς δέκα μόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχετε, καὶ ὅσα ἡρπάσατε πρῴην, ἢ τῶν ἀπολωλότων τιμήν, ἐμοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα κρίνοντος, καὶ αἰχμάλωτα πάντα καὶ αὐτομόλους, καὶ ὅσους Ἀννίβας ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἤγαγεν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη κριθῇ· ἐν δ' ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις Μάγωνα χρὴ Λιγύων ἀποστῆναι, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὅσαι τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων ἐκτός εἰσι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἔχετε ὅμηρα, ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέρειν Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα διακόσια ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτούς. καὶ μήτε ξενολογεῖν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἢ Λιγύων ἔτι, μήτε Μασσανάσσῃ μηδὲ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν, μηδὲ στρατεύειν τινὰ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἀπό γε τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσην ἐντὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων εἴχετε ἐμοῦ διαπλέοντος ἐς Λιβύην. Ῥωμαίων τε εἶναι

the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess? You take refuge in prayers, you who would have wiped out the very name of Rome if you had conquered. But we will never imitate your bad example. When your ambassadors were at Rome, although you had violated the agreement and maltreated our envoys, the city allowed them to go free, and when they were driven into my camp, although the war had been recommenced, I sent them back to you unharmed. You ought, condemning yourselves, to consider whatever terms are granted to you in the light of a gain. I will tell you what my views are, and our Senate will vote upon them as it shall think best.

Scipio's conditions of peace

54. "We will yet grant you peace, Carthaginians, on condition that you surrender to the Romans all your warships except ten, all your elephants, the plunder you have lately taken from us, or the value of what has been lost, of which I shall be the judge in case of doubt, all prisoners and deserters and those whom Hannibal led from Italy. These conditions shall be fulfilled within thirty days after peace is declared. Within sixty, Mago shall evacuate Liguria, and your garrisons shall be withdrawn from all cities beyond the Phoenician trenches and their hostages shall be surrendered. You shall pay to Rome the sum of 250 Euboic talents a year for fifty years. You shall not recruit mercenaries from the Celts or the Ligurians, nor wage war against Masinissa or any other friend of Rome, nor permit any Carthaginians to serve against them with consent of your people. You shall retain your city and as much territory inside the Phoenician trenches as you had when I sailed for Africa. You shall remain friends of

CAP. VIII φίλους καὶ συμμάχους κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἣν ἀρέσκῃ ταῦτα τῇ βουλῇ. ἀρεσάντων δέ, Ῥωμαίους ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκ Λιβύης πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις. ἀνοχὰς δὲ ἢν ἐθέλητε λαβεῖν ἔστε πρεσβεύσητε ἐς Ῥώμην, δώσετε μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτίκα ὅμηρα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παῖδας, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξωμαι, δώσετε δὲ ἐς δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ἄλλα τάλαντα χίλια καὶ ἀγοράν. καὶ γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπολήψεσθε τὰ ὅμηρα."

IX

CAP. IX 55. Ταῦτα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ἔφερον ἐς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς λόγους, συνιόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοῖς μὲν ἀρίστοις ἐδόκει τὰ προτεινόμενα δέξασθαι καὶ μὴ περὶ τινῶν ἀπειθοῦντας κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἁπάντων, τὸ δ' ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος οὐ τὸ παρὸν δεινὸν ἐκλογιζόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν ὧν ἔχουσι, τοσήνδε οὖσαν, ἠπείθουν, καὶ ἠγανάκτουν εἰ ἐν λιμῷ τὸν σῖτον οἱ ἄρχοντες αἱροῦνται Ῥωμαίοις ἀντὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς παρασχεῖν, ἐφ' ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν συνιστάμενοι πᾶσιν ἠπείλουν τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν διαρπάσειν καὶ καταπρήσειν. τέλος δ' ἔγνωσαν Ἀννίβαν, ἔχοντα μὲν ἤδη πεζοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους ἱππέας δὲ πεντακοσίους, σταθμεύοντα δ' ἐν πόλει Μαρθαμά, σύμβουλον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἦκε, καὶ τῶν μητρίων δεδιότων μὴ φιλοπόλεμος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτρίψῃ τὸ πλῆθος, πάνυ σεμνῶς ἐκέλευε τὴν εἰρήνην δέχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ

Rome and be her allies on land and sea. All this, if the Senate please, in which case the Romans will evacuate Africa within 150 days. If you desire an armistice until you can send ambassadors to Rome, you shall forthwith give us 150 of your children as hostages, whomever I shall choose. You shall also give 1000 talents in addition for the pay of my army, and provisions likewise. When the treaty is ratified we will release your hostages."

IX

Hannibal advises acceptance of the terms of peace

55. When Scipio had finished speaking the envoys bore his conditions to Carthage, where the people debated them in the Assembly for several days. The chief men thought that it was best to accept the offer, and not, by refusing a part, to run the risk of losing all; but the vulgar crowd, not considering the instant peril rather than the enormous loss of property, refused compliance. They were angry that their rulers, in time of famine, should send provisions away to the Romans instead of supplying their own citizens during the armistice, and they banded together, threatening to plunder and burn the houses of every one of these men. Finally, they decided to take counsel with Hannibal, who now had 6000 infantry and 500 cavalry stationed at the town of Marthama. He came and, although moderate citizens feared lest a man so fond of war should excite the people to renewed exertions, solemnly advised them to accept peace. But the people,

CAP. IX τόνδε ὑπ' ὀργῆς μανιώδους ἐβλασφήμει καὶ πᾶσιν ἠπείλει, μέχρι τῶν γνωρίμων τοὺς μὲν ἐς Μασσανάσσην καταφυγεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτομολῆσαι, τῆς πόλεως ἀπογνόντας.

56. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι σῖτον πολὺν ἐς ἐμπόριόν τι ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου σεσωρεῦσθαι, ὁλκάδας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμπον καὶ ναῦς μακράς, ἐγνωκότες, εἰ τὸν σῖτον λάβοιεν, ἐκστρατεῦσαι καὶ ὑπομεῖναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν ἡ τύχη κρίνῃ, μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεύειν ἑκόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνεμός τε καὶ χειμὼν τὰς ναῦς συνέτριψαν, ἀπογνόντες ἁπάντων ἐμέμφοντο τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ συνετίθεντο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἔπεμπε τοὺς συμβουλεύσοντας κυροῦν τὰ συγκείμενα. λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο ἐσηγήσασθαι τῇ τε πόλει συμφέρειν ὑπολαβών, καὶ πυθόμενος Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντλον τὸν ὕπατον ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῦ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, τὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἐθέλων ἑτέρου γενέσθαι. προσέταξε γοῦν λέγειν ἀπιοῦσιν ὅτι βραδυνόντων Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθήσεται.

57. Οἱ δὲ πάνυ μὲν ἥδοντο κεκρατηκότες πόλεως τοσαύτης, ἣ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἐδεδράκει, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δευτέραν ἢ τρίτην εἶχεν ἡγεμονίαν· οἱ σύμβουλοι δ' ἐστασίαζον, οἱ μὲν ἔτι σὺν ὀργῇ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐλεοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἤδη, καὶ ἀξιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς τὸ σφέτερον εὐπρεπῶς διατίθεσθαι. ὑπαναστὰς δέ τις τῶν

mad with rage, reviled him also, and threatened everybody, until some of the notables, despairing of the city, took refuge with Masinissa, and others with the Romans themselves. CHAP. IX

56. The remaining Carthaginians, hearing that a large quantity of provisions had been stored by Hannibal at a certain post, sent a number of transports and warships thither, being resolved, if they could obtain food, to march out and endure whatever fate decreed, rather than voluntarily to be slaves of the Romans. But after a storm had shattered their ships, despairing of everything, they accused the Gods of conspiring against them, assented to the agreement with Scipio, and sent an embassy to Rome. Scipio also sent men to advise the ratification of the agreement. It is said that he made this proposal both because he thought that peace would be for the advantage of the city and because he had heard that the consul, C. Cornelius Lentulus, was waiting to succeed him in his command, and he was not willing that another should reap the glory of bringing the war to an end. At all events he enjoined upon his messengers to say that if there should be delay at Rome he would conclude peace himself. B.C. 201 Another embassy to Rome

57. There was great rejoicing at Rome that this mighty city, which had brought so many calamities upon them in the past, and had been the second or third in the leadership of the world, had been completely vanquished. But the senators differed as to what should be done. Some were still exceedingly bitter toward the Carthaginians, while others now had pity on them, wishing to behave nobly themselves in the hour of another's misfortune. One of Scipio's Debate in the Senate

CAP. IX Σκιπίωνος φίλων εἶπεν· "οὐ περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἡ φροντίς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἔς τε θεοὺς πίστεως καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εὐφημίας, μὴ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν ὠμότερα πράξωμεν, οἳ Καρχηδονίοις ὠμότητα ἐπικαλοῦμεν, καὶ μετριοπαθείας ἀεὶ φροντίσαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βραχυτέρων, ἀμελήσωμεν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσιν· ἃ μηδὲ λαθεῖν ἔνεστι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἅπασαν γῆν περιελεύσεται καὶ νῦν καὶ ὕστερον, ἣν πόλιν περιώυμον καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀνέλωμεν, ἣ καὶ νήσων ἦρξε πολλῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὅλης καὶ Λιβύης ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πολλὰ καὶ τύχης καὶ δυνάμεως ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο, οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν πεσόντα ἔτι τύπτει, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ φείδεται τῶν καταπεσόντων. καλὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι νέμεσιν θεῶν φυλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. εἰ δέ τις, ὅσα ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, ἀκριβῶς ἐκλογίζεται, αὐτὸ μάλιστά ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς τύχης τὸ φοβερώτατον, εἰ περὶ μόνης ἄρτι σωτηρίας παρακαλοῦσιν οἱ πόσα καὶ πηλίκα δεδυνημένοι δρᾶσαι καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ περί τε Σικελίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν δίκας ἔδοσαν, τῶν δὲ τελευταίων παραβάσεων λιμὸν αἰτιῶνται, κακὸν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιπονώτατον, ὃ πάντας ἐξαιρεῖν δύναται λογισμούς.

Views of Scipio's friends

friends rose and said: "Gentlemen, this is not so much a question of saving Carthage as of preserving our faith with the gods and our reputation among men—lest it be said that we, who charge the Carthaginians with cruelty, behave with greater cruelty than they, and while always exercising moderation in small matters neglect it in large ones, which, on account of their very magnitude, cannot even escape notice. The deed will be sounded through all the earth, now and hereafter, if we destroy this famous city, former mistress of the seas, ruler of so many islands, and of the whole expanse of water, and more than half of Africa, a city which in contests with ourselves has exhibited such wonderful success and power. While they were combative it was necessary to contend against them; now that they have fallen they should be spared, just as athletes refrain from striking a fallen antagonist, and as most wild beasts spare fallen bodies. It is fitting, in the hour of success, to beware of the indignation of the Gods and of the envy of mankind. If we consider closely what they have done to us, it is in itself the most fearful example of the fickleness of fortune, that they are now asking us simply to save them from destruction, they who have been able to inflict so many and so great evils upon us, and not long ago were fighting gloriously for the possession of Sicily and Spain. But for these things they have already been punished. For their later transgressions they blame the pangs of hunger, the most painful suffering that can afflict mankind, a thing capable of depriving man of all his rational faculties.

The counsels of clemency and prudence

CAP. IX

58. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ Καρχηδονίων (οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον), οὐδ' ἀγνοῶ καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἄλλας συνθήκας πρὸ τῶνδε παραβῆναι· ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ποιοῦντες οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐς τόδε τύχης προῆλθον, εἰδότας ὑμᾶς ἀναμνήσω. τῶν γὰρ γειτόνων ἡμῖν τῶνδε πάντων ἐν κύκλῳ πολλάκις ἀποστάντων καὶ σπονδὰς συνεχῶς λυσάντων οὐ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐ Λατίνων, οὐ Τυρρηνῶν, οὐ Σαβίνων. τούς τε αὖ μετ' ἐκείνους περιοικοῦντας ἡμῖν Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐολούσκους καὶ Καμπανούς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς σπονδὰς ὕβρισεν, εὐσταθῶς ἔφερον. καὶ τὸ Σαυνιτῶν γένος τρὶς μὲν φιλίας καὶ συνθηκῶν καταφρονῆσαν, ἔτεσι δ' ὀγδοήκοντα μεγίστους ἡμῖν πολέμους πεπολεμηκὸς οὐκ ἀνέστησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι Πύρρον προσηγάγοντο κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐδ' ἡμεῖς, τὰ ἔναγχος ταῦτα, τοὺς Ἰταλῶν Ἀννίβᾳ προσθεμένους διεφθείραμεν, οὐδὲ Βρεττίους, οἳ μέχρι τέλους αὐτῷ συνηγωνίσαντο, ἀλλὰ γῇ μόνῃ ζημιώσαντες εἰάσαμεν ἔχειν τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὡς εὐσεβὲς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐς εὐτυχίαν ἡμῖν χρήσιμον, μὴ ἀφανίζειν ἀνθρώπων γένη μᾶλλον ἢ νουθετεῖν.

59. Τί οὖν παθόντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν φύσιν, ἣ χρώμενοι μέχρι νῦν εὐτυχοῦμεν; ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις αὕτη; διὰ αὐτὸ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔτι φειδοῦς ἀξία. ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλάκις παρεσπόνδησεν ἐς ἡμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. ἀλλ' ὅτι μικρὰν νῦν ὑφίστανται τιμωρίαν; ὧν νῆές τε πᾶσαι χωρὶς

58. "I will say nothing in defence of the Carthaginians; they do not deserve it. Nor do I forget that they violated other treaties before those which are now under review. But what our fathers did in like circumstances (by which means they arrived at this summit of fortune) I will recall to your minds, though you know it already. Although all the neighbouring peoples round about us often revolted and were continually breaking treaties, our ancestors did not disdain them, neither the Latins, nor the Etruscans, nor the Sabines. Afterwards, when the Aequi, the Volsci, the Campanians, also our neighbours, and various other peoples of Italy, committed breaches of their treaties, our fathers met them calmly. Moreover, the Samnite race, after betraying friendship and agreements three times and waging the most desperate wars against us for eighty years, were not destroyed, nor were those others who called Pyrrhus into Italy. Nor did we destroy those Italians who lately joined forces with Hannibal, not even the Bruttians, who remained with him to the last. We only took from them a part of their lands and allowed them to keep the remainder, considering it at once righteous and expedient to our prosperity not to exterminate whole races, but to bring them into a better state of mind. CHAP. IX

59. "Why, in dealing with the Carthaginians, should we change our nature, in the possession of which we have until now so greatly prospered? Is it because their city is large? That is the very reason why it ought to be spared. Is it because they have often violated their treaties with us? So have other nations, almost all of them. Is it because they are now to be subjected to a light punishment?

CAP. IX δέκα παραιροῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, οἷς ἰσχύουσι, παραδιδόασι, καὶ τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ μύρια τελοῦσι, καὶ πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἀφίστανται καὶ χώρας ὅσης ἄρχουσιν ἐκτὸς τῶν Φοινικίδων τάφρων, καὶ στρατολογεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγόρευται, καὶ ὅσα λιμώττοντες ἥρπασαν ἀποδιδόασιν ἔτι λιμώττοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀμφιλόγων ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς Σκιπίων ὁ πολεμήσας κριτής. ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶνδε καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαινῶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φείσασθαι διὰ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων μεταβολήν, οἷς εἰσὶν ἔτι νῆες, πρὶν συνθώμεθα, πολλαὶ καὶ πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων, καὶ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικώτατος ἀνὴρ ἤδη στρατιὰν ἔχει, καὶ Μάγων ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Λιγύων ἑτέρους ἄγει πολλούς, καὶ Οὐερμινᾶς ὁ Σύφακος αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖ καὶ ἄλλα Νομάδων ἔθνη, δούλους τε ἔχουσι πολλούς. καὶ ἣν ἀπογνῶσι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀφειδῶς ἅπασι χρήσονται. χαλεπώτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἀφειδίας ἐν μάχαις, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνώμαλον καὶ ἐπίφθονόν ἐστιν.

60. Ἃ καὶ Σκιπίων ἔοικεν ὑφορώμενος ἐπιστεῖλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπειπεῖν δ' ὅτι καὶ βραδυνόντων συνθήσεται. εἰκὸς δ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τάδε ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκλογίζεσθαι καὶ πλέον τι συνορᾶν, ὄντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. λυπήσομέν τε, ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν παραίνεσιν, ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον, ὃς οὐδ' ἐς Λιβύην ἡμᾶς ὁρμωμένους παρώξυνέ τε, καὶ

They are to lose all their ships but ten. They are to give up their elephants, which constitute so large a part of their strength. They are to pay 10,000 Euboic talents. They are to yield all the cities and territories outside of the Phoenician trenches, and they are forbidden to enlist soldiers. What they took from us when pressed by hunger they are to restore, although they are still hungry. As to all doubtful matters, Scipio, the man who fought against them, is the judge. I myself praise Scipio for the magnitude and multitude of these things, and you I ask to spare them considering the enviousness of heaven and the mutability of human affairs. They still have (until the treaty is ratified) an abundance of ships and elephants. Hannibal, that most skilful captain, still has an army; Mago is leading another considerable force from the Celts and Ligurians; Vermina, the son of Syphax, is allied with them, and other Numidian tribes; and they have also a great many slaves. If they despair of pardon from you they will use all these assurances recklessly. And nothing is more dangerous than recklessness in battles, in which also the divine will is both uncertain and jealous. CHAP IX

60. "It seems that Scipio too was apprehensive of these things when he communicated his own opinion to us, adding that if we delayed he would conclude peace himself. It is reasonable to suppose that in these matters too his judgment is better than ours, and that, being on the spot, he sees more than we. If we reject his advice we shall give pain to that ardent patriot, that unique general, who urged us to carry the war into Africa when we were not in favour of that either; and when he could not obtain

CAP. IX στρατιὰν οὐ λαβὼν αὐτῷ συνεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ προήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς ὅσον οὐκ ἠλπίζομεν. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅτι ῥᾳθύμως ἔχοντες ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νῦν ἔχετε φιλονείκως καὶ ἀμέτρως. εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα μὲν ἡγεῖται καλῶς ἔχειν, δέδιε δὲ μὴ καὶ νῦν τὰς σπονδὰς παραβῶσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, μάλιστα μὲν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἤδη σπονδῶν φυλακῆς αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν παραβάσεων παθόντας, καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ποιήσεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, ἐξ ἀσεβείας ἐς γόνυ πεσόντας· οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβούλων ἄρτι μὲν καταφρονεῖν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἰσχυόντων, δεδιέναι δ' αὖθις ὡς ἀποστῆναι δυναμένους. ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ φυλάσσειν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ μὴ πάλιν αὔξεσθαι τοῦ νῦν ἀνελεῖν εὐχερέστερόν ἐστι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπογνώσεως μαχοῦνται, ὕστερον δ' ἀεὶ δεδιότας τηρήσομεν. ἄλις δὲ κακῶν ἔξουσι καὶ χωρὶς ἡμῶν, οἷς οἵ τε περίοικοι πάντες ἐπικείσονται δυσμενεῖνοντες τῆς ποτὲ βίας, καὶ Μασσανάσσης, ἀνὴρ πιστότατος ἡμῖν, ἐφεδρεύσει παρὼν ἀεί.

61. Εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ τῶνδε πάντων καταφρονεῖ, ὅπως δ' αὐτὸς ἐκδέξεται τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρχήν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπεῖ, καὶ πιστεύει καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης αὐτῷ ἐς τέλος ἀπαντήσειν, τί καὶ χρησόμεθα τῇ πόλει λαβόντες αὐτήν, ἣν καὶ λάβωμεν; ἀνελοῦμεν ἄρδην, ὅτι σῖτον ἡμῶν καὶ ναῦς ἥρπασαν; ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσιν ἀποδοῦναι. ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πράξομεν, νέμεσίν

an army from us, raised it himself, and there achieved for us a success far beyond our expectations. And it is this which is so astonishing, that you who entered upon this war so sluggishly in the beginning, should now prosecute it so fiercely and to such extremity. If any one agrees to this, but fears lest the Carthaginians should break faith again, I answer that it is more likely that they now perceive the necessity of keeping their agreements because they have suffered so much from former violations of them, and that they will observe the claims of conscience all the more since their lack of conscience has brought about their fall. It is not consistent to despise the Carthaginians as being powerless, and in the same breath to fear lest they should have power to rebel. It will be easier for us to keep watch over them, that they do not become too great hereafter, than to destroy them now. Now they will fight with desperation, but hereafter they will always be held in check by their fears. Besides, they will have plenty of troubles without us, for all their neighbours, angered by their former tyranny, will press upon them, and Masinissa, our most faithful ally, will always be there to watch over them. CHAP. IX

61. "If any one is disposed to treat all these considerations lightly, and is only thinking how he may succeed to Scipio's command and turn it to his own advantage, trusting that even the favours of fortune will attend him to the end, what are we going to do with the city after we have taken it—supposing we do take it? Shall we destroy it utterly because they seized some of our corn and ships, which they are ready to give back, together with many other things? If we do not do this (having

CAP. IX τε θεῶν φυλασσόμενοι καὶ ψόγον ἀνθρώπων, Μασσανάσσῃ δ' ἔχειν δώσομεν; ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ φίλος ἐστίν, οὐ χρὴ στερροποιεῖν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον ἀμέτρως, ἡγεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν ἔριν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους τῷ Ῥωμαίων κοινῷ συμφέρειν. ἀλλ' ἐς προσόδους τὴν χώραν ἀνήσομεν; ἀλλ' ἡ φυλάξουσα στρατιὰ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀναλώσει· πολλῆς γάρ, ὡς ἐν πολλοῖς περιοίκοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις, δεησόμεθα. ἀλλ' ἀποίκους πέμψομεν ἐς μέσους τοσούσδε Νομάδας; οἳ τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἰσχυόντων ἀεὶ δεινὰ πείσονται, ἢν δ' ἐπικρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἡμῖν ἔσονται φοβεροὶ καὶ ἐπίφθονοι, χώραν τοσήνδε καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχοντες. ἃ καὶ αὐτά μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ Σκιπίων κελεύειν ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι τὰς Καρχηδονίων παρακλήσεις. πειθώμεθα οὖν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ."

62. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, Πόπλιος δὲ Κορνήλιος, Κορνηλίου Λέντλου συγγενὴς τοῦ τότε ὄντος ὑπάτου καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαδέξεσθαι προσδοκῶντος, ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως· "τὸ μὲν συμφέρον ἐστὶ μόνον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὦ ἄνδρες, χρήσιμον· καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, φυλάξασθαι χρὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν προανελεῖν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπιστίαν δυνάμεθα. οὐδεὶς δ' ἡμῖν καιρὸς ἐς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων φόβον ἐπιτηδειότερός ἐστι τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ πάντων εἰσὶν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἄποροι, πρὶν αὖθις αὐτῶν ἐς ἑκάτερον αὐξηθῆναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λογισμὸν ἂν περιφύγοιμι, οὐδ' ἀμετρίας μοι

regard to the indignation of the gods and the censures of men) shall we give it to Masinissa? Although he is our friend, it is best not to make him inordinately strong, but it should rather be considered a public advantage to the Romans that the two should be at strife with each other. Shall we collect rent from their land? The expense of military protection would eat up the rent, for we shall need a strong force, being surrounded by numerous tribes, all of them barbarians. Are we going to plant colonies in the midst of such a host of Numidians? If the barbarians are too strong for them, they will have no peace, while if they overpower them, they will hereafter become objects of fear and jealousy to us, possessing a country so great and so much more fruitful than ours. These are the very things, it seems to me, which Scipio clearly discerned when he advised us to yield to the prayers of the Carthaginians. Let us then grant their request and that of our general."

CHAP. IX

62. When he had thus spoken, Publius Cornelius, a relative of Cornelius Lentulus, who was then consul and who expected to be Scipio's successor, replied thus: "In war, gentlemen, that which is expedient is alone advantageous. We are told that this city is still powerful. So much the more ought we to be on our guard against treachery joined to power, and to crush the power in time since we cannot extinguish the treachery. No time can be better chosen to free ourselves from all fear of the Carthaginians than the present, when they are weak and poor, and before they again accumulate strength and resources. Not that I would evade the claims of justice, but I do not think that we can be accused of

Views of Scipio's rivals

CAP. IX δοκῶ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οἳ παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐπραξίας ἀδικοῦσι καὶ ἐνυβρίζουσιν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρακαλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τύχωσιν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις μετατίθενται. καὶ οὔτε σπονδῶν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς αἰδὼς οὔτε λόγος ὅρκων· οὓς οὗτος ἀξιοῖ περισώζειν διὰ νέμεσιν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων φθόνον. ἐγὼ δ' αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τόδε τὴν Καρχηδόνα περιενεγκεῖν, ἵνα δῶσί ποτε δίκην τῆς ἀσεβείας οἳ καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἀεὶ συνετίθεντο καὶ παρώρκουν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια ἔδρων. ὧν τὰ ἀλλότρια ὑμῖν πρὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων διέξειμι, ἵνα εἰδῆτε πάντας ἐφησθησομένους Καρχηδονίοις, εἰ δίκην δοῖεν.

63. Οὗτοι Ζακανθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηριας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἔνσπονδον καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν, ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας. οὗτοι Νουκερίαν ὑπήκοον ἡμῶν ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ λαβόντες, καὶ ὀμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἕκαστον ἀπολύσειν, τὴν μὲν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ βαλανεῖα συνέκλεισαν καὶ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ βαλανεῖα ἀπέπνιξαν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπιόντα κατηκόντισαν. Ἀχερραυῶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐς τὰ φρέατα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὰ φρέατα ἐπέχωσαν. Μᾶρκόν τε Κορνήλιον ὕπατον ἡμέτερον ὅρκοις ἀπατήσαντες ἤγαγον μὲν ὡς ἐπισκεψόμενον αὐτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρρωστοῦντα, συναρπάσαντες δὲ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Λιβύην ἐκ Σικε-

want of moderation toward the Carthaginians, who in their days of prosperity are unjust and insolent to everybody, but are suppliants in adversity, and then, if successful, break treaties as soon as they are made. They have neither respect for treaties nor regard for their oaths—these people whom this gentleman thinks we ought to spare, in order that we may avoid the indignation of the Gods and the censures of men. I think that the Gods themselves have brought Carthage into this plight in order to punish at last for their former impiety those who in Sicily, in Spain, in Italy, and in Africa itself, in dealing with us and with all others, were always making covenants and breaking oaths, and committing outrageous and savage acts. Of these things I will give you some foreign examples before I speak of those that concern ourselves, in order that you may know that all men will rejoice over the Carthaginians if they are brought to condign punishment. CHAP IX

63. "The people of Saguntum, a noble city of Spain, in league with themselves and friendly to us, they slaughtered to the last man, although they had given no offence. Those of Nuceria, a town subject to us, surrendered to them under a sworn agreement that they might depart with two garments each. They shut the senators of Nuceria up in a bath-room and suffocated them with heat. Then they shot the common people with arrows as they were going away. After entering into a treaty with the Senate of Acerra they threw them into wells and then filled up the wells with earth. Our consul, Marcus Cornelius, they lured by false oaths to an interview with their general, who pretended to be sick, and then seized and carried him prisoner from Sicily into Africa The crimes of Carthage

CAP. IX λίας αἰχμάλωτον μετὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι νεῶν. ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ Ῥῆγλον αἰκισάμενοι, στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἡμῶν, ὑπ' εὐορκίας ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτούς. ὅσα δ' Ἀννίβας ἢ πολεμῶν ἢ ἐνεδρεύων ἢ παρορκῶν ἔς τε πόλεις καὶ στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν καὶ λήγων ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους ἔδρασε τοὺς αὑτοῦ, τάς τε πόλεις πορθῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένους κατακαίνων, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν. πλὴν ὅτι τετρακόσια ἡμῶν ἀνέστησεν ἄστη. τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐς τάφρους καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ὡς γεφύραις ἐπέβαινον, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν ὑπέβαλλον, τοὺς δ' ἀλλήλοις μονομαχεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἀδελφοὺς ἀδελφοῖς συνιστάντες καὶ πατέρας υἱοῖς. τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ταῦτα, περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρεκάλουν καὶ ὤμνυον, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔτι παρῆσαν, ἐν δὲ Διβύῃ τὰς ναῦς ἡμῶν διήρπαζον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας κατέδεον. τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀνοίας διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα περίεστιν.

64. Τούτοις οὖν τίς ἐστὶν ἔλεος ἢ μετριοπάθεια παρ' ἑτέρων, τοῖς οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδ' ἥμερον ἐς οὐδένας εἰργασμένοις; τοῖς, ὥσπερ ἔφη Σκιπίων, εἰ ἐλάβοντο ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ἂν ὄνομα Ῥωμαίων ὑπολιποῦσιν; ἀλλὰ πίστις ἐστὶ βέβαιος ἡ δεξιά. ποία; τίς σπονδή, τίς ὅρκος ὃν οὐκ ἐπάτησαν; τίς δὲ συνθήκη καὶ χάρις ἐς ἣν οὐχ ὕβρισαν; μὴ μιμησώμεθα, φησίν, αὐτούς. τίνα γὰρ συνθήκην ἡμεῖς λύομεν οἱ μήπω τι συνθέμενοι; ἀλλὰ τὴν ὠμοτητα, φησίν, αὐτῶν μὴ μιμησώμεθα. φίλους οὖν καὶ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθα τοὺς ὠμοτάτους; οὐδέτερα τούτων ἄξια. ἀλλ' ἐπιτρεψάτωσαν ἡμῖν

with twenty-two of our ships. They put another general of ours, Regulus, to death with torture after he had gone back to them in accordance with his oath. The acts perpetrated by Hannibal himself in war, by stratagem and by perjury, against our cities and armies, and at last against his own allies, destroying their cities and slaughtering their soldiers serving with him, it would take too long to enumerate. In a word, 400 of our towns were depopulated by him. They cast our men, whom they had taken prisoners, into ditches and rivers, making bridges of their bodies to pass over. They had them trodden under foot by elephants. They made them fight with each other, brothers against brothers and fathers against sons. And just now, while they were here treating for peace, and beseeching us, and taking oaths, and while their ambassadors were still among us, they seized our ships in Africa and put our men in chains. To such a pitch of madness have they been brought by the practice of cruelty. CHAP. IX

64. "What pity, therefore, or what moderation is due from others to these Carthaginians, who have never exercised moderation or clemency towards anyone, and who, as Scipio says, would have expunged the very name of Rome if they had vanquished us? But the right hand, he says, is a sure pledge. How so? What treaty, what oath, have they not trampled under foot? We should not imitate them, this gentleman says. What treaty can we violate when we have not yet made any? But we should not imitate their cruelty, he says. Ought we then to make the most cruel people in the world our friend and allies? Neither of these things is desirable. Let them surrender at discretion, as is the Call for vengeance

CAP. IX αὐτοὺς νόμῳ νενικημένων, ὡς πολλοὶ σφᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν, σκεψόμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δῶμεν, εἴσονται χάριν, οὐχὶ συνθήκην νομίζοντες εἶναι. διαφέρει δὲ τούτοιν ἑκάτερον ὧδε. μέχρι μὲν συντίθενται, παραβήσονται καθάπερ καὶ πάλαι, πρόφασιν ἀεί τινα τῶν συνθηκῶν φέροντες ὡς ἐν αὐταῖς ἠλαττωμένοι· τὰ δ' ἀμφίλογα εὐπροφάσιστα. ὅταν δὲ παραδῶσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παρελώμεθα, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμῖν γένηται, καὶ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, τὰ μὲν φρονήματα αὐτῶν καταβήσεται, ἀγαπήσουσι δ' ὅ τι ἂν παρ' ἡμῶν λάβωσιν ὡς ἀλλότριον. εἰ μὲν οὖν Σκιπίων ἑτέρως δοκεῖ, τὰς γνώμας ἔχετε συγκρίνειν· εἰ δὲ συνθήσεται Καρχηδονίοις χωρὶς ὑμῶν, τί καὶ ἐπέστελλεν ὑμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὑμῖν κυρίοις οὖσι περὶ τῶνδε κρῖναι, τὴν γνώμην εἶπον, ἣν νομίζω συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει."

65. Τοιαῦτα μὲν κα' ὁ Πόπλιος εἶπεν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατ' ἄνδρα παρ' ἑκάστου ψῆφον ἤτει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Σκιπίωνος γνώμην αἱ πλείους συνέδραμον. ἐγίγνοντο οὖν αἱ συνθῆκαι, τρίται αἵδε, Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς αὐτὰς ἐδόκει μάλιστα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐναγαγέσθαι, εἴτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὕνεκα λογισμῶν, εἴτε ὡς ἀρκοῦν Ῥωμαίοις ἐς εὐτυχίαν τὸ μόνην ἀφελέσθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἳ καὶ τόδε νομίζουσιν, αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίων σωφρονισμὸν ἐθελῆσαι γείτονα καὶ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς φόβον ἐς ἀεὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μή ποτε ἐξυβρίσειαν

custom of the vanquished, and as many others have surrendered to us, and then we will see what we will do. Whatever we accord to them they will then take in the light of a favour and not of a bargain. There is this difference between the two plans. As long as we treat with them they will violate the treaties as they have heretofore, always making some excuse that they were overreached, for doubtful points always provide plausible grounds for dispute. But when they surrender at discretion, and we take away their arms, and when their persons are in our possession and they see that there is nothing they can call their own, their spirits will be tamed and they will welcome whatever we allow them to have, as a gift bestowed upon them by us. If Scipio thinks differently you have the two opinions to choose from. If he is going to make peace with the Carthaginians without you, why did he send word to you at all? For my part, I have given to you, as to judges who are really going to exercise a judgment on the matter in hand, the opinion which I think will be for the advantage of the city."

CHAP IX

65. After Publius had spoken, the Senate took a vote on the question, and the majority agreed with Scipio. Thus a third treaty was made between the Romans and the Carthaginians. Scipio was thought to have urged this policy upon the Romans, either for the reasons mentioned above, or because he considered it a sufficient success for Rome to have taken the supremacy away from Carthage. There are some who think that in order to preserve the Roman discipline he wished to keep a neighbour and rival as a perpetual menace, so that they might never become intoxicated with success and careless

The Senate ratifies Scipio's treaty

B.C. 201

CAP. IX

ἐν μεγέθει τύχης καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ. καὶ τόδε οὕτω φρονῆσαι τὸν Σκιπίωνα οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐξεῖπε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις Κάτων, ἐπιπλήττων παρωξυμμένοις κατὰ Ῥόδου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ταῦτα συνθέμενος ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διέπλει, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλαυνε θριαμβεύων, ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

66. Καὶ ὁ τρόπος, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ἐστὶ τοιόσδε. ἐστεφάνωνται μὲν ἅπαντες, ἡγοῦνται δὲ σαλπικταί τε καὶ λαφύρων ἄμαξαι, πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μιμήματα τῶν εἱλημμένων πόλεων, καὶ γραφαὶ καὶ σχήματα τῶν γεγονότων, εἶτα χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἀσήμαντός τε καὶ σεσημασμένος καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, καὶ στέφανοι ὅσοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα ἀναδοῦσιν ἢ πόλεις ἢ σύμμαχοι ἢ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατόπεδα. βόες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσδε λευκοί, καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς βουσί, καὶ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῶν καὶ Νομάδων ὅσοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐλήφθησαν. αὐτοῦ δ' ἡγοῦνται τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ῥαβδοῦχοι φοινικοῦς χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες, καὶ χορὸς κιθαριστῶν τε καὶ τιτυριστῶν, ἐς μίμημα Τυρρηνικῆς πομπῆς, περιεζωσμένοι τε καὶ στεφάνην χρυσῆν ἐπικείμενοι· ἴσα τε βαίνουσιν ἐν τάξει μετὰ ᾠδῆς καὶ μετ' ὀρχήσεως. Λυδοὺς αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι (οἶμαι) Τυρρηνοὶ Λυδῶν ἄποικοι. τούτων δέ τις ἐν μέσῳ, πορφύραν ποδήρη περικείμενος καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτὰ ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, σχηματίζεται ποικίλως ἐς γέλωτα ὡς ἐπορχούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ θυμιατηρίων πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιάμασιν, ἐφ' ἅρματος καταγεγραμμένου ποικίλως, ἕστεπται μὲν ἀπὸ

by reason of the greatness of their prosperity. That Scipio had this feeling, Cato, not long after, publicly declared to the Romans when he reproached them for undue severity towards the Rhodians. When Scipio had concluded the treaty, he sailed from Africa to Italy with his whole army, and made a triumphal entry into Rome far more splendid than that of any of his predecessors.

Scipio's return

66. The form of the triumph (which the Romans still continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were borne along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they had captured of that kind: then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself. White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs. Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general; also a chorus of harpists and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march in regular order, keeping step with song and dance. They are called Lydi because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian colony. One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak reaching to the feet and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were dancing in triumph over the enemy. Next came a number of incense-bearers, and after them the general himself on a chariot embellished with various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious

Form of Roman triumph

CAP. IX χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων πολυτίμων, ἔσταλται δ' ἐς τὸν πάτριον τρόπον πορφύραν, ἀστέρων χρυσῶν ἐνυφασμένων, καὶ σκῆπτρον ἐξ ἐλέφαντος φέρει, καὶ δάφνην, ἣν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίζουσι νίκης σύμβολον. ἐπιβαίνουσι δ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα παῖδές τε καὶ παρθένοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρηόρων ἑκατέρωθεν ἥθεοι συγγενεῖς. καὶ παρέπονται ὅσοι παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦσαν αὐτῷ γραμματεῖς τε καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ ὑπασπισταί. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἡ στρατιὰ κατά τε ἴλας καὶ τάξεις, ἐστεφανωμένη πᾶσα καὶ δαφνηφοροῦσα· οἱ δὲ ἀριστεῖς καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἐπίκεινται. καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὓς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν, οὓς δὲ σκώπτουσιν, οὓς δὲ ψέγουσιν· ἀφελὴς γὰρ ὁ θρίαμβος, καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν μὲν πομπὴν κατέπαυσεν, εἱστία δὲ τοὺς φίλους, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.

X

CAP. X 67. Καὶ τέλος εἶχε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δεύτερος πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμος, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας, λήξας δ' ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐς τάσδε τὰς περὶ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος σπονδάς. καὶ ὀλυμπιάδες ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας. Μασσανάσσης δὲ Καρχηδονίοις τε μηνίων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις θαρρῶν ἐπέβαινε γῇ πολλῇ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὡς γενομένῃ ποτὲ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίους παρεκάλουν σφίσι Μασσανάσσην συναλλάξαι. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον διαλλακτάς, οἷς εἴρητο συμπράσ-

stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga inwoven with golden stars. He bore a sceptre of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory. Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on the trace-horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armour-bearers. After these came the army arranged in squadrons and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their military prizes. They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple, according to custom. CHAP. IX

X

67. Thus the second war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, which began in Spain and terminated in Africa with the aforesaid treaty concerning Carthage itself, came to an end. This was about the 144th Olympiad according to the Greek reckoning. Presently Masinissa, being incensed against the Carthaginians and relying on the friendship of the Romans, seized a considerable part of the territory belonging to the former on the ground that it had once belonged to himself. The Carthaginians appealed to the Romans to bring Masinissa to terms. The Romans accordingly sent CHAP. X

Masinissa's depredations

CAP. X

σειν ὅσα δύναιντο Μασσανάσσῃ. οὕτω μὲν τὴν γῆν ἀπετέμετο Καρχηδονιων ὁ Μασσανάσσης, καὶ συνθῆκαι Καρχηδονίοις καὶ πρὸς τόνδε ἐγένοντο, αἳ διέμειναν ἐς ἔτη πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἡ Καρχηδὼν εἰρηνεύουσα ὁμαλῶς ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ εὐανδρίας ἦλθεν ἔκ τε πεδίων εὐκαρπίας καὶ θαλάσσης εὐκαιρίας.

68. Καὶ εὐθύς, οἷον ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις γίγνεται, οἱ μὲν ἐρρωζμάιον, οἱ δὲ ἐδημοκράτιζον, οἷς δ' ἤρεσκε Μασσανάσσης. ἡγοῦντο δ' ἑκάστων οἱ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ προύχοντες, τῶν μὲν ῥωμαϊζόντων ὁ μέγας Ἄννων, τῶν δ' αἱρουμένων τὰ Μασσανάσσου Ἀννίβας ὁ ψὰρ ἐπικαλούμενος, τῶν δὲ δημοκρατιζόντων Ἀμίλχαρ, ᾧ Σαυνίτης ἐπώνυμον ἦν, καὶ Καρθάλων· οἳ φυλάξαντες Ῥωμαίους τε Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντας καὶ Μασσανάσσην ἐπικουροῦντα υἱῷ πρὸς ἑτέρων Ἰβήρων συγκεκλεισμένῳ, πείθουσι τὸν Καρθάλωνα βοήθαρχον ὄντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν περιιόντα, ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Μασσανάσσου σκηνουμένοις ἐν ἀμφιλόγῳ γῇ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἔκτεινέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ λείαν περιήλασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς Λίβυας ἐπὶ τοὺς Νομάδας ἤγειρεν. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ αὐτοῖς ἔργα πολέμων ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνεται, μέχρι Ῥωμαίων ἕτεροι πρέσβεις ἐπῆλθον ἐς διαλύσεις, οἷς ὁμοίως εἴρητο Μασσανάσσῃ βοηθεῖν ἀδήλως. καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν οἵδε τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ ὅσα προειλήφει, μετὰ τέχνης, ὧδε. εἶπον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἤκουσαν, ἵνα μή τι ὡς ἐν δίκῃ Μασσανάσσης ἐλαττοῖτο, ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀμφοῖν γενόμενοι τὰς χεῖρας

arbitrators, but told them to favour Masinissa as much as they could. Thus Masinissa appropriated a part of the territory of the Carthaginians, and they made a treaty with him also which lasted about fifty years, during which Carthage, blessed with unbroken peace, advanced greatly in population and power by reason of the fertility of her soil and her advantageous position on the coast. CHAP. X

68. Very soon (as frequently happens in periods of prosperity) factions arose. There was a Roman party, a democratic party, and a party which favoured Masinissa. Each had leaders of eminent reputation and bravery. Hanno the Great was the leader of the Romanizing faction: Hannibal, surnamed the Starling, was the chief of those who favoured Masinissa; and Hamilcar surnamed the Samnite, and Carthalo, of the democrats. The latter party, watching their opportunity while the Romans were at war with the Celtiberians, and Masinissa was marching to the aid of his son, who was surrounded by other Spanish forces, persuaded Carthalo (the commander of auxiliaries and in discharge of that office going about the country), to attack the subjects of Masinissa, who were encamped on disputed territory. Accordingly he slew some of them, carried off booty. and incited the rural Africans against the Numidians, Many other hostile acts took place on both sides, until the Romans again sent envoys to restore peace, telling them as before to help Masinissa secretly. They artfully confirmed Masinissa in the possession of what he had taken before, in this way. They would neither say anything nor listen to anything, so that Masinissa might not be worsted in the controversy, but they stood between the two litigants and B.C. 193 Factions in Carthage B.C. 182

CAP. X διέστησαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτοῖς κέλευσμα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐς διαλύσεις. οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἠμφισβήτει καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μεγάλων πεδίων καὶ χώρας πεντήκοντα πόλεων, ἣν Τύσκαν προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐφ' οἷς πάλιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατέφυγον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τότε πρέσβεις πέμψειν ἐς δίαιταν, διέτριψαν δὲ ἕως εἵκασαν πολλὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρθαι.

69. Καὶ τότε πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἑτέρους τε καὶ Κάτωνα, οἳ ἐς τὴν ἀμφίλογον γῆν ἀφικόμενοι ἠξίουν σφίσιν ἀμφοτέρους περὶ ἁπάντων ἐπιτρέπειν. Μασσανάσσης μὲν οὖν, οἷα πλεονεκτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀεὶ θαρρῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὑπώπτευον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἤδεσαν οὐκ εὖ δικάσαντας. ἔφασαν οὖν τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν χρῄζειν δικῶν οὐδὲ διορθώσεως, ὅσα μὴ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραβαίνεται μόνα. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι περὶ μέρους δικάζειν ἐπανῄεσαν, καὶ τὴν χώραν περιεσκόπουν, ἀκριβῶς τε εἰργασμένην καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγάλας ἔχουσαν. εἶδον δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντες, ὅση τε τὴν δύναμιν ἦν, καὶ πλῆθος ὅσον ηὔξητο ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ Σκιπίωνα διαφθορᾶς. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔφραζον οὐ ζήλου μᾶλλον ἢ φόβου γέμειν αὐτοῖς τὰ Καρχηδονίων, πόλεως δυσμενοῦς τοσῆσδε καὶ γείτονος εὐχερῶς οὕτως αὐξανομένης. καὶ ὁ Κάτων μάλιστα ἔλεγεν οὔ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις βέβαιον οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔσεσθαι πρὶν ἐξελεῖν Καρχηδόνα. ὧν ἡ βουλὴ

stretched out their hands, and this was their way of commanding both to keep the peace. Not long afterward Masinissa raised a dispute about the land known as the "big fields" and the country belonging to fifty towns, which is called Tysca. Again the Carthaginians had recourse to the Romans. Again the latter promised to send envoys to arbitrate the matter, but they delayed until they conjectured that the Carthaginian interests were almost entirely ruined. B.C. 174

69. They then sent the envoys, and among others Cato. These went to the disputed territories and asked that both parties should submit all their differences to them. Masinissa, who was seizing more than his share and who always had confidence in the Romans, consented; but the Carthaginians were suspicious, because they knew that the former ambassadors had given unfair decisions. They said therefore that there was no need to have a dispute and a correction of the treaty made with Scipio, and that they only complained about transgressions of it. As the envoys would not consent to arbitrate on the controversy in parts, they returned home. But they carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently it was cultivated, and what valuable resources it possessed. They entered the city too and saw how greatly it had increased in power and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before; and when they returned to Rome they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather than of jealousy, a great and hostile city, near at hand, and growing thus easily. Cato especially said that even the liberty of Rome would never be secure until Carthage was destroyed. B.C. 157 The visit of Cato

CAP. X πυνθανομένη ἔκρινε μὲν πολεμεῖν, ἔτι δ' ἔχρηζε προφάσεων, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀπόρρητον εἶχον. Κάτωνα δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συνεχεῖ γνώμῃ λέγειν, Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι, Σκιπίωνα δὲ τὸν Νασικᾶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀξιοῦν, Καρχηδόνα εἶν, ἐς φόβον ἄρα καὶ τόνδε Ῥωμαίων ἐκδιαιτωμένων ἤδη.

70. Καρχηδονίων δ' οἱ δημοκρατίζοντες τοὺς τὰ Μασσανάσσου φρονοῦντας ἐξέβαλον, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ὄντας, καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήνεγκαν φυγῆς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὥρκωσαν μήτε καταδέξεσθαί ποτε μήτε ἀνέξεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων καταδέχεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐξελαθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην κατέφυγον, καὶ ἐξώτρυνον ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἔχων ἔπεμπε τῶν παίδων ἐς Καρχηδόνα Γολόσσην τε καὶ Μικίψαν, ἀξιῶν καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς δι' αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένους. τούτοις προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ὁ βοήθαρχος ἀπέκλεισε, δείσας μὴ τὸν δῆμον οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν φευγόντων καταδακρύσειαν. Γολόσσῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπανιόντι Ἀμίλχαρ ὁ Σαυνίτης ἐπέθετο, καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐθορύβησεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μασσανάσσης προφάσεις τάσδε ποιούμενος ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν Ὁρόσκοπα. καὶ τῆσδε παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἐφιέμενος. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, ἱππεῦσι δὲ πολιτικοῖς τετρακοσίοις, Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ τότε σφῶν βοηθάρχου στρατηγοῦντος, ἐπὶ τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐστράτευον. καὶ πλησιάσασιν αὐτοῖς Ἄσασίς τε καὶ Σούβας ταξίαρχοι τοῦ Μασσανάσσου, διενεχθέντες τι τοῖς παισὶ Μασσανάσσου, προσέδραμον ἐς αὐτομολίαν ἱππέας ἄγοντες ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς ἐπαρθεὶς

When the Senate learned these things it resolved upon war, but still needed a pretext, and meanwhile concealed its determination. It is said that Cato, from that time, continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must not exist. Scipio Nasica held the contrary opinion, that Carthage ought to be spared so that the Roman discipline, which was already relaxing, might be preserved through fear of her. CHAP. X

70. The democratic faction in Carthage drove out the leaders of the party favouring Masinissa, to the number of about forty, and also carried a vote of banishment, and made the people swear that they should never be taken back, and that the question of taking them back should never be discussed. The banished men took refuge with Masinissa and urged him to declare war. He, nothing loath, sent two of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to Carthage to demand that those who had been expelled on his account should be taken back. When they came to the city gates the captain of auxiliaries shut them out, fearing lest the relatives of the exiles should prevail with the multitude by their tears. As Gulussa was returning Hamilcar the Samnite set upon him, killed some of his attendants, and thoroughly frightened him. Thereupon Masinissa, making this an excuse, laid siege to the town of Oroscopa, which he desired to possess contrary to the treaty. The Carthaginians with 25,000 foot and 400 city horse under Hasdrubal, who was then their captain of auxiliaries, marched against Masinissa. At their approach, Asasis and Suba, Masinissa's lieutenants, on account of some difference with his sons, deserted with 6000 horse. Encouraged by this B.C. 152 War with Masinissa B.C. 150

CAP. X ὁ Ἀσδρούβας μετεστρατοπέδευεν ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροβολίαις ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ἦν. ὁ δὲ Μασσανάσσης ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον οἷα φεύγων, ἕως προσήγαγεν ἐς πεδίον μέγα καὶ ἔρημον, οὗ πανταχόθεν ἦσαν λόφοι καὶ ἀπόκρημνα καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀπορία. τότε δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς· ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἐς τοὺς λόφους ὡς ὀχυρωτέρους ἀνέδραμεν.

71. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλον ἐς χεῖρας ἥξειν, Σκιπίων δ' ὁ νεώτερος, ὁ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἑλών, ὑποστρατευόμενος τότε Λευκόλλῳ Κελτίβηρσι πολεμοῦντι, ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἀφικνεῖτο πεμφθεὶς ἐλέφαντας αἰτῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ Μασσανάσσης, τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐπιμελούμενος, ἱππέας ἀπαντᾶν ἔπεμψε, καὶ τῶν παίδων τισὶν ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα ὑποδέξασθαι. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμ' ἕῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξέτασσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν καὶ ὀκτὼ γεγονὼς ἔτη, ἱππεύων δ' ἔτι καρτερῶς καὶ γυμνὸν τὸν ἵππον ἀναβαίνων, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Νομάσι, καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ μαχόμενος εἰσὶ γὰρ Λιβύων οἱ Νομάδες εὐρωστότατοι, καὶ μακροβίων ὄντων μακροβιώτατοι. αἴτιον δ' ἴσως ὅ τε χειμὼν οὐ πολὺ κρύος ἔχων, [ὑφ' οὗ φθείρεται πάντα,] καὶ τὸ θέρος οὐ κατακαῖον ὥσπερ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδούς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δυνατώτατα ἥδε ἡ γῆ φέρει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ καὶ πόνοις εἰσὶν ἀεί. ὀλίγος τε ὁ οἶνος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσιν ἁπλῆ τε καὶ εὐτελής. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασσανάσσης ἐπιβὰς ἵππου διεκόσμει τὸν στρατόν, καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ἀντεξῆγε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῷ, πολὺ πλῆθος· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῷδε πολλοὶ προσελη-

accession, Hasdrubal moved his forces nearer to the king and in some skirmishes gained the advantage. But Masinissa, laying a trap for him, retired little by little as if in flight, until he had drawn him into a great desert surrounded by hills and crags, and destitute of provisions. Then turning about he pitched his camp in the open plain, but Hasdrubal drew up among the hills as being a stronger position. CHAP. X

71. They were to fight the following day. Scipio the younger, who afterwards captured Carthage, and who was then serving under Lucullus in the war against the Celtiberians, came to Masinissa's camp, having been sent thither to procure elephants. Masinissa, as he was preparing his own person for battle, sent a body of horse to meet him, and charged some of his sons to receive him when he should arrive. At daylight he put his army in order of battle in person, for although he was eighty-eight years old he was still a vigorous horseman and rode bareback, as is the Numidian custom, both when fighting and when performing the duties of a general. Indeed, the Numidians are the most robust of all the African peoples and are the longest-lived of all those long-lived nations. The reason probably is that their winter is not cold enough to do them much harm and their summer is not so extremely hot as that of Ethiopia and India ; for which reason also this country produces the most powerful wild beasts, and the men are always working and in the open air, while they drink very little wine and their food is simple and frugal. When Masinissa, upon his charger, drew up his army Hasdrubal drew up his in opposition, its numbers being great, since on his side also many recruits had flocked in from the A battle with Masinissa

CAP. X λύθεσαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐθεᾶτο τὴν μάχην ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθάπερ ἐκ θεάτρου. ἔλεγέ τε πολλάκις ὕστερον, ἀγῶσι συνενεχθεὶς ποικίλοις, οὔποτε ὧδε ἡσθῆναι· μόνον γὰρ ἔφη τόνδε τὸν πόνον ἄφροντις ἰδεῖν, μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνιούσας ἐς μάχην ἔνδεκα. ἔλεγέ τε σεμνύνων δύο πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιάνδε θέαν ἰδεῖν ἐν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ, τὸν Δία ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἐκ Σαμοθράκης.

72. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐς νύκτα ἀπ' ἠοῦς, καὶ πολλῶν πεσόντων ἑκατέρωθεν, ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων ὁ Μασσανάσσης γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ὑποστρέφοντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Σκιπίων ὤφθη. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν οἷα φίλον ἐκ πάππου περιεῖπε θεραπεύων. ὅπερ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι μαθόντες, ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πρὸς Μασσανάσσην σφᾶς συναλλάξαι. ὁ δὲ συνήγαγε μὲν αὐτούς, γιγνομένων δὲ προκλήσεων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον γῆν ἔλεγον μεθήσειν, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δώσειν διακόσια αὐτίκα καὶ ὀκτακόσια σὺν χρόνῳ, τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους αἰτοῦντος οὐχ ὑπέστησαν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν. καὶ Σκιπίων μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔχων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπανῄει, Μασσανάσσης δὲ τὸν λόφον τῶν πολεμίων περιταφρεύσας, ἐφύλασσε μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἐσφέρεσθαι. οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐγγὺς ἦν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ μόλις ἐκ μακροῦ σφόδρα ἐπιμόχθως ἐφέρετο ὀλίγη. Ἀσδρούβας δ' εὐθὺς μὲν ἐδόκει δύνασθαι διεκπαῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρρωμένῳ ἔτι καὶ ἀπαθεῖ τῷ στρατῷ,

country. Scipio witnessed this battle from a height, as one views a spectacle in a theatre. He often said afterwards that he had been present at many contests, but never enjoyed any other so much, for here only had he seen at his ease 110,000 men join battle. He added with an air of solemnity that only two before him had seen such a spectacle: Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, in the Trojan war. CHAP. X

72. The battle continued from dawn till night, many falling on both sides, and it seemed that Masinissa had the advantage. As he was returning from the field Scipio presented himself, and Masinissa greeted him with the greatest cordiality, having been a friend of his grandfather. When the Carthaginians learned of this they besought Scipio to make terms for them with Masinissa. He brought them to a conference, and the Carthaginians made proposals that they would surrender to Masinissa the territory belonging to the town of Emporium and give him 200 talents of silver now and 800 talents later. But when he asked for the deserters they would not even hear of it. So they separated without coming to an agreement. Then Scipio returned to Spain with his elephants, but Masinissa drew a line of circumvallation around the hill where the enemy were encamped and prevented them from getting any food brought in. Nor could any be found in the neighbourhood, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he could procure a scant supply for himself from a long distance. Hasdrubal considered himself strong enough to break through the enemy's line at once with his army, which was still in good health and unharmed. But having more supplies

CAP. X ἀγορὰν δ' ἔχων Μασσανάσσου πλείονα προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν Μασσανάσσην ἐνόμιζε, καὶ παρέμενε, πυνθανόμενος ἅμα καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιέναι πρέσβεις ἐς διαλύσεις. οἱ δ' ἦλθον μέν, εἴρητο δ' αὐτοῖς, εἰ Μασσανάσσης ἐλασσοῖτο, λῦσαι τὴν διαφοράν, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ κρεισσόνων εἴη, καὶ παροξῦναι.

73. Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔπραξαν, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐξέτριβε· καὶ τοῖς σώμασι πάντα ἔχοντες ἀσθενῶς, βιάσασθαι μὲν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδύναντο, τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔθυον, καὶ ἰμάντας ἑψοῦντες ἤσθιον. καὶ νόσων αὐτοὺς ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατελάμβανον ἔκ τε πονηρίας τροφῶν καὶ ἀκινησίας ἔργων καὶ ὥρας ἔτους· συνεκέκλειστο γὰρ ἐς ἓν χωρίον καὶ στενὸν στρατόπεδον ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων ἐν Λιβύῃ θέρους. τῶν τε ξύλων αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν ἕψησιν ἐπιλιπόντων τὰ ὅπλα κατέκαιον. καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐξεφέρετο, Μασσανάσσου τὴν φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀνιέντος, οὔτ' ἐξεκαίετο ξύλων ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ οὖν φθόρος αὐτοῖς ἦν πολύς τε καὶ περιώδυνος, συνοῦσιν ὀδωδόσι καὶ σηπομένοις σώμασιν. τό τε πλεῖστον ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθαρτο· καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ὁρῶντες, τοὺς αὐτομόλους ὑπέστησαν ἐκδοῦναι τῷ Μασσανάσσῃ, καὶ πεντακισχίλια ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐσενεγκεῖν, τούς τε φυγάδας σφῶν καταδέξασθαι παρὰ τὸ ὅρκιον, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ μιᾶς πύλης τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθ' ἕνα διεξελθεῖν σὺν χιτωνίσκῳ μόνῳ. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι, χαλεπαίνων τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ διώξεως, εἴτε συνειδότος τοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε δι'

than Masinissa he supposed that the latter would offer battle. So he waited near him, hearing also at the same time that ambassadors were on their way from Rome to negotiate a peace. By and bye they came, having instructions if Masinissa were beaten to put an end to the strife, but if he were successful, to spur him on. And they carried out their orders.

Carthaginian army surrounded and captured

73. In the meantime hunger wasted Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians and, being much debilitated, they were no longer able to assault the enemy. First they ate their pack animals, and after them their horses, and boiled their leather straps for food. They also fell sick of all kinds of diseases due to bad food, want of exercise, and the season, for they were enclosed in one place and in a contracted camp—a great multitude of men exposed to the heat of an African summer. When the supply of wood for cooking failed they burned their shields. They could not carry out the bodies of the dead because Masinissa kept strict guard; nor could they burn them for want of fuel. So there arose a destructive and painful pestilence among them in consequence of living in the stench of putrefying corpses. The greater part of the army was already wasted away. The rest, seeing no hope of escape, agreed to give up the deserters to Masinissa and to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and to take back those who had been banished, although this was contrary to their oath. They were to pass out through their enemies, one by one, through a single gate, and with nothing but a short tunic for each. But Gulussa, full of wrath at the assault made upon him not long before, either with the connivance of his father or upon his

CAP. X

ἑαυτοῦ, Νομάδας ἱππέας ἐπέπεμψεν, οἳ οὐκ ἀμυνομένους, οὔτε ὅπλον ἔχοντας ἐς ἄμυναν οὔτε φυγεῖν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας δυναμένους ἔκτειναν. ἔκ τε μυριάδων πέντε στρατοῦ καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα περιεσώθησαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀσδρουβας τε ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.

XI

CAP. XI

74. Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ Μασσανάσσου καὶ Καρχηδονίων πόλεμος ἦν, ἐκδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ τελευταῖος Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μασσανάσσου παίσματι συμπεσόντες, ἀσθενεστάτης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενομένης, αὐτόν τε Μασσανάσσην ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐγγὺς ἔτι ὄντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ Ῥωμαίους δυσμεναίνοντας ἀεὶ σφίσι καὶ πρόφασιν θησομένους τὰ ἐς τὸν Μασσανάσσην γενόμενα. ὧν οὐδέτερον κακῶς ὑπενόουν· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι στρατὸν ἐπήγγελλον ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τὴν μὲν χρείαν οὐ λέγοντες, ὡς δ' ἂν ὀξέως ἔχοιεν ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νομίζοντες ἐκλύσειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἐπεκήρυσσον Ἀσδρούβᾳ τε τῷ στρατηγήσαντι τοῦδε τοῦ πρὸς Μασσανάσσην πολέμου καὶ Καρθάλωνι τῷ βοηθάρχῳ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐφῆπτο τοῦ ἔργου, θάνατον, ἐς ἐκείνους τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου περιφέροντες. ἔς τε Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἳ κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῦ Μασσανάσσου, κατηγόρουν δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀμυναμένων αὐτὸν

own motion, sent against them a body of Numidian cavalry as they were going out. Having neither arms to resist nor strength to fly, the defenceless men were slain. So, out of 58,000 men composing the army only a few returned safe to Carthage, among them Hasdrubal, the general, and others of the nobility. CHAP. X

XI

74. Such was the war between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. The third and last Punic war of the Romans in Africa followed it. The Carthaginians having suffered this calamity at the hands of Masinissa, and the city being much weakened by it, they began to be apprehensive of the king himself, who was still near them with a large army, and also of the Romans, who were always harbouring ill-will toward them and would make the affairs of Masinissa an excuse for it. They were not wrong in either particular. The Romans, when they learned the foregoing facts, straightway began to collect an army throughout all Italy, not saying for what it was intended but in order, they said, to have it ready for emergencies. The Carthaginians, thinking to put an end to the excuse, condemned Hasdrubal, who had conducted the campaign against Masinissa, and Carthalo, the captain of auxiliaries, and any others who were concerned in the matter, to death, putting the whole blame of the war upon them. They then sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of Masinissa, and at the same time to accuse these men of taking up arms against him too hastily and rashly, and of CHAP. XI B.C. 149 Third Punic war

CAP. XI

ὀξέως τε καὶ προπετῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐς πρόφασιν ἔχθρας ἐμβαλόντων. ὡς δέ τις τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἤρετο ὅπως οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἧσσαν ἐξεκήρυξαν, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐ πρότερον ἀλλὰ νῦν πρεσβεύεσθε, οἱ μὲν ἀποκρίσεως ἠπόρουν, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάλαι διεγνωκυῖα πολεμῆσαι καὶ προφάσεις ἐρεσχηλοῦσα ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, Καρχηδονίους οὔπω Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἀπολογήσασθαι. πάλιν οὖν ἀγωνιῶντες ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτεῖν, τί παθόντες ἀπολύσονται τὸ ἔγκλημα. οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἔφασαν τῷ ῥήματι, "εἰ τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιήσετε Ῥωμαίοις." ζητούντων δ' ἐκείνων ὅ τι εἴη τὸ ἱκανόν, οἱ μὲν ὤοντο Ῥωμαίους ἐθέλειν τοῖς χρήμασι προσεπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος ὡρισμένοις, οἱ δὲ Μασσανάσσῃ τῆς ἀμφιλόγου γῆς μεταστῆναι. ἀποροῦντες οὖν πάλιν ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον, καὶ παρεκάλουν γνῶναι σαφῶς ὅ τι ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἱκανόν. οἱ δὲ αὖθις ἔφασαν εἰδέναι Καρχηδονίους καλῶς, καὶ εἰπόντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

75. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβου καὶ ἀπορίας ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ, Ἰτύκη δέ, ἡ Λιβύης μεγίστη μετὰ Καρχηδόνα πόλις, λιμένας τε ἔχουσα εὐόρμους καὶ στρατοπέδων καταγωγὰς δαψιλεῖς, ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀφεστῶσα καὶ καλῶς ἐς πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένη, τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἄρα καὶ αὕτη τότε ἀπογνοῦσα καὶ τὸ πάλαι μῖσος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρουσα ἐν καιρῷ, πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν, οἳ τὴν Ἰτύκην Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέτρεπον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ

furnishing an occasion for an imputation of hostility on the part of their city. When one of the senators asked the ambassadors why they did not condemn their officers at the beginning of the war instead of waiting till they were beaten, and why they did not send their embassy before, instead of postponing it till now, they could not give any answer. The Senate, which had previously resolved upon war and was only seeking some petty excuse, answered that the defence so far offered by the Carthaginians was not satisfactory. The latter, much disturbed, asked again, if they had done wrong, how they could atone for it. The answer was given in a word: "You must satisfy the Roman people." When they inquired amongst themselves what satisfaction meant, some thought that the Romans would like to have something added to the pecuniary fine imposed by Scipio; others, that the disputed territory should be given up to Masinissa. Being therefore again at a loss what to do they sent another embassy to Rome, and asked to know exactly what satisfaction was required. The Romans replied that the Carthaginians knew perfectly well, and having given this answer dismissed them.

CHAP. XI

No excuse for war

75. While they were in this state of fear and perplexity, the city of Utica (the largest in Africa after Carthage itself, having harbours with good anchorage and numerous landing-places for disembarking armies, at a distance of sixty stades from Carthage and well situated as a base of operations against it), observing the plight the Carthaginians were in, and recalling their ancient animosity toward them at this critical moment, sent an embassy to Rome offering to give themselves up to the Romans.

Utica joins the Romans

CAP. XI καὶ τέως ἐς τὸν πολεμον ὁρμῶσά τε καὶ παρασκευαζομένη, πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς οὕτω καὶ ἐπικαίρου προσγενομένης ἐξέφηνέ τε τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗπερ εἰώθασι περὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν, συνελθοῦσα ἐψηφίσατο Καρχηδονίοις πολεμεῖν. στρατηγούς τε τοὺς ὑπάτους αὐτίκα ἐξέπεμπον, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πεζοῦ Μάνιον Μανίλιον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στόλου Λεύκιον Μάρκιον Κηνσωρῖνον, οἷς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ἐλέλεκτο μὴ ἀνασχεῖν τοῦ πολέμου πρὶν Καρχηδόνα κατασκάψαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ θύσαντες ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰτύκην διαβαλοῦντες, ναυσὶ δ' ἐφέροντο πεντήκοντα μὲν πεντήρεσιν, ἑκατὸν δ' ἡμιολίαις, ἀφράκτοις δὲ καὶ κερκούροις καὶ στρογγύλοις πολλοῖς. καὶ στρατὸν ἦγον ὀκτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, ἀρίστους ἅπαντας· ὡς γὰρ ἐς ἐπιφανῆ στρατείαν καὶ προῦπτον ἐλπίδα πᾶς τις ἀστῶν καὶ συμμάχων ὥρμα, καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ παρήγγελλον ἐς τὸν κατάλογον.

76. Καρχηδονίοις δὲ προσέπεσεν ἥ τε κρίσις τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ἔργον ὁμοῦ δι' ἑνὸς ἀγγέλου· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφερέ τε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐδήλου πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. ἐκπλαγέντες οὖν ἀπεγίγνωσκον αὑτῶν ἀπορίᾳ τε νεῶν καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ προσφάτῳ τοσῆδε νεότητος, οὐ συμμάχους ἔχοντες, οὐ μισθοφόρους ἑτοίμους, οὐ σῖτον ἐς πολιορκίαν συνενηνεγμένον, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἀκηρύκτῳ καὶ ταχεῖ πολέμῳ, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ διαρκεῖν δυνάμενοι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Μασσανάσσῃ. πρέσβεις οὖν ἑτέρους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπον αὐτοκράτορας, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, τὰ παρόντα

The Senate, which had been previously eager and prepared for war, having gained the accession of a city so strong and so conveniently placed, now disclosed its purpose. Assembling in the Capitol (where they are accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war), the senators voted to declare war against Carthage. They immediately despatched the consuls in command of the forces, M. Manilius having charge of the foot soldiers and L. Marcius Censorinus of the fleet, and they gave them secret orders not to desist from the war until Carthage was razed to the ground. After offering sacrifice they sailed for Sicily, intending to cross over thence to Utica. They were conveyed in 50 quinqueremes and 100 hemiolii,[1] besides many open boats, light ships and merchantmen. The army consisted of 80,000 infantry and about 4000 cavalry, all the very best. There was a general rush of citizens and allies to join this splendid expedition, and absolute confidence in the result, and many volunteers offered themselves for enrolment. CHAP. XI

76. The declaration of war and the fact that it had begun reached the Carthaginians by the same messenger, who brought both the vote of the Senate and the news that the fleet had already sailed. They were astounded, and in despair owing to want of ships and the recent loss of so many young men. They had neither allies, nor mercenaries, nor supplies for enduring a siege, nor anything else in readiness for this sudden and unheralded war, while by themselves they could not prevail against the Romans and Masinissa combined. They therefore sent another embassy to Rome with full powers to settle the difficulty on any

[1] A light vessel with one and a half banks of oars.

CAP. XI διαθέσθαι. οἷς ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν, ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν τῶνδε, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρείαν παράσχωσι καὶ τἆλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἔξειν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ γῆν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔδωκαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα φέρειν τὸ δόγμα· ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπέστειλαν ἔχεσθαι τῶν ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐντεταλμένων.

77. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπώπτευον, οὐκ ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ βεβαίᾳ τὰ ὅμηρα παρέχοντες· οἷα δ' ἐν κινδύνῳ τοσῷδε, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἐκλείψουσι τιθέμενοι, σπουδῇ προλαβόντες τὴν προθεσμίαν, τοὺς παῖδας ἦγον ἐς Σικελίαν, γονέων τε αὐτοῖς ἐπικλαιόντων καὶ οἰκείων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μητέρων, αἳ σὺν ὀλολυγῇ μανιώδει τῶν τέκνων ἐξήπτοντο καὶ νεῶν τῶν φερουσῶν αὐτὰ καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἀγόντων, ἀγκυρῶν τε ἐπελαμβάνοντο καὶ καλῴδια διέσπων καὶ ναύταις συνεπλέκοντο καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ἐκώλυον. εἰσὶ δ' αἳ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης παρένεον, δεδακρυμέναι τε καὶ ἐς τὰ τέκνα ἀφορῶσαι. αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἔκοπτον ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν εἶναι τὴν ὁμηρείαν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδοσιν, ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ συνθήκῃ τῶνδε τῶν παίδων διδομένων. καὶ πολλαὶ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς κατε-

terms they could. The Senate was convened, and told them that if, within thirty days, the Carthaginians would give to the consuls, who were still in Sicily, 300 children of their noblest families as hostages, and would obey their orders in other respects, the freedom and autonomy of Carthage should be preserved and they should retain their lands in Africa. This was voted in public, and they gave the resolution to the ambassadors to carry to Carthage; but they sent word privately to the consuls that they should carry out their secret instructions. CHAP. XI

77. The Carthaginians had some suspicion of their design, since there was no security given for the return of the hostages. But in this hour of great peril they felt that their only hope lay in carrying out the commands to the letter. So, hastily anticipating the appointed time, they sent their children into Sicily, amid the tears of the parents, the kindred, and especially the mothers, who clung to their little ones with frantic cries and seized hold of the ships and of the officers who were taking them away, even holding the anchors and tearing the ropes, and throwing their arms around the sailors in order to prevent the ships from moving; some of them even swam out far into the sea beside the ships, shedding tears and gazing at their children. Others on the shore tore out their hair and smote their breasts as though they were mourning the dead. For it seemed to them that the giving of hostages was a mere specious phrase, which meant really the giving up of the city, when they surrendered their children without any fixed conditions. Many of them predicted, with lamentations, that it would

Pitiful scenes when the hostages were sent

CAP. XI μαντεύοντο τῇ πόλει, μηδὲν αὐτὴν ὀνήσειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐκδιδομένους· ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Καρχηδόνι τῶν ὑμήρων ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τοιάδε τις ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ παραλαβόντες αὐτὰ οἱ ὕπατοι διέπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν ἐς τὸ τέλος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἐρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ.

78. Διαπλεύσαντές τε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὁ μὲν πεζὸς ἔνθα πάλαι τὸ Σκιπίωνος ἦν στρατόπεδον, αἱ δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων. ἀφικομένων δὲ κἀκεῖ πρέσβεων ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προυκάθηντο ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, ἡγεμόνων τε σφίσι καὶ χιλιάρχων παρεστώτων, ἡ στρατιὰ δ' ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ μῆκος πολὺ ὅπλοις τε ἐπισήμοις ἐσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἔφερον ὀρθά, ἵνα οἱ πρέσβεις τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ τούτων συμβάλοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τῷ σαλπικτῇ προσέταξαν ὑποσημῆναι σιωπήν, ὁ δὲ κήρυξ ἀνεῖπε τοὺς Καρχηδονίων πρέσβεις προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν ἐσήγοντο διὰ στρατοπέδου μακροῦ, καὶ τοῦ βήματος οὐ προσεπέλαζον, ἀλλὰ περισχοίνισμα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ὅ τι χρῄζοιεν. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ἐλεεινὰ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, συνθηκῶν τε πέρι τῶν σφίσι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γενομένων, καὶ Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς χρόνου καὶ πλήθους καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐς πολὺ μεγίστης ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γενομένης. οὐκ ἐπὶ σεμνολογίᾳ δὲ ἔφασαν λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι καιρὸν ἐν συμφοραῖς σεμνολογίας, "ἀλλ' ἐς σωφρόνισμα ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταβολῆς ὀξύτης ἔστω. κράτιστοι δέ, ὅσοι τοὺς πταίσαντας ἐλεοῦντες τὸ σφέτερον εὔελπι ποιοῦνται τῷ μηδὲν ἐς ἄλλας

profit the city nothing to have delivered up their children. Such were the scenes that took place in Carthage when the hostages were sent away. When the consuls received them in Sicily they sent them to Rome, and said to the Carthaginians that in reference to the ending of the war they would give them further information at Utica. CHAP. XI

78. Crossing to the latter place they pitched the camp for their infantry at the same place where that of Scipio had formerly been. The fleet remained in the harbour of Utica. When the ambassadors came there also from Carthage the consuls placed themselves on a high seat, with the chief officers and military tribunes standing near, and the whole army drawn up extending far on either side with arms glistening and standards erect, in order that the ambassadors might be impressed in this way with the strength of the expedition. When the consuls had proclaimed silence by the trumpet, a herald told the Carthaginian envoys to come forward, and they were led in through the long camp, but did not draw near to the place where the consuls sat, because they were fenced off by a rope. The consuls then ordered them to say what they wanted, and the envoys told a varied and pitiful tale about the former agreements between the Romans and themselves, about the antiquity of Carthage, its size and power, and its wide and long-enduring dominion on land and sea. They said that they did not mention these things in a boasting way, this was no fit occasion for boasting, "but in order that you, Romans, may be moved to moderation and clemency by the example of our sudden change of fortune. The strongest are they who pity the fallen, and found their hopes

Roman army land at Utica

Embassy from Carthage

CAP. XI τύχας ἁμαρτεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑμῶν ἄξια καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας, ἣν προσποιεῖσθε μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων·

79. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀνημέρων ἐτετυχήκειμεν ἐχθρῶν, κόρος ἐστὶν ἀτυχημάτων ὅσα πεπόνθαμεν, οἳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀφῃρήμεθα, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἐπικτώμεθα, καὶ θήρας καὶ κτήσεως ἐλεφάντων ἀπέστημεν, καὶ ὅμηρα τὰ κράτιστα καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ φόρους τελοῦμεν εὐτάκτως οἱ παρ' ἑτέρων ἀεὶ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ τάδε ἤρκεσε τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ συνθήκας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐγράψαντο ἡμῖν ὡς φίλοις τε καὶ συμμάχοις, καὶ ὅρκος ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιος. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμῖν, οἷς ἐπολεμήσαμεν, πιστοὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένοντο· ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἤλθομεν, τί τῶνδε τῶν συνθηκῶν αἰτιώμενοι παραβεβάσθαι, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐψηφίσασθέ τε καὶ ἀκηρύκτως ἐπηγάγετε ἡμῖν; πότερον οὐ δίδομεν τοὺς φόρους; ἢ ναῦς ἔχομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; ἢ οὐ πιστοὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγόναμεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐλεεινοὶ τῶν πέντε μυριάδων τῶν χθὲς ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ λιμοῦ; ἀλλὰ Μασσανάσσῃ πεπολεμήκαμεν· πολλά γε πλεονεκτοῦντι· καὶ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς ἐφέρομεν. ἀπαύστως δ' ἔχων καὶ ἀθεμίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη, γῆν ἄλλην ἡμῶν ἀπέσπα περὶ τὸ Ἐμπόριον· καὶ λαβὼν καὶ τήνδε ἐπέβαινεν ἑτέρας, μέχρι τὰς συνθήκας ἡμῖν

on the consciousness of never having wronged others. Such a course will be worthy of you, Romans, and of that morality in which you claim to be pre-eminent. CHAP XI

79. "But even if we had met ruthless enemies, the cup of our misfortunes is already full. Our leadership on land and sea has been taken from us; we delivered our ships to you, and have not built others; we have abstained from the hunting and possession of elephants. We have given you, both before and now, our noblest hostages, and have paid tribute to you regularly, we who had always been accustomed to receive it from others. These things were satisfactory to your fathers, with whom we had been at war. They entered into a treaty with us that we should be friends and allies, and we took the same oath together to observe it. And they, with whom we had been at war, thereafter kept faith towards us. But you, with whom we have not even come to blows, what part of the treaty do you accuse us of violating, that you vote for war so suddenly, and march against us without even declaring it? Have we not paid the tribute? Have we any ships, or any of the elephants which you grudge us? Have we not been faithful to you from that time to this? Are we not to be pitied for the recent loss of 50,000 men by hunger? But we have fought against Masinissa, you say. Yes, but he was always seizing our property, and we endured all things on your account. Treating with unceasing injustice ourselves and the very ground on which he was nurtured and educated, he seized other lands of ours around Emporium, and after taking them he invaded still others, until he brought our treaty with

CAP. XI τὰς πρὸς ὑμᾶς συνέχεεν· εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πρόφασις, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀμυναμένους αὐτὸν ἐξεκηρύξαμεν, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψαμεν οἳ περὶ τούτων ἀπελογοῦντο, καὶ ἑτέρους αὐτοκράτορας ὅπῃ θέλετε συνθέσθαι. τί οὖν ἔδει νεῶν καὶ στόλου καὶ στρατοῦ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντας μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποντας; ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀπατῶντες ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ μικρολογούμενοι παθεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ζημιῶτε, ταῦτα προυτείνομεν, ἐπιδέδεικται σαφῶς. ὅτε τοὺς ἀρίστους παῖδας ἐς ὁμηρείαν αἰτοῦσιν ὑμῖν εὐθύς, ὡς τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευε, τὰς τριάκοντα προλαβόντες ἡμέρας, ἀπεστείλαμεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ δόγματός ἐστιν, ἣν παράσχωμεν ὑμῖν τὰ ὅμηρα, τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν ἐᾶν καὶ αὐτόνομον, κεκτημένην ἃ ἔχομεν."

XII

CAP. XII 80. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον, Κηνσωρῖνος δ' ὑπαναστὰς ἀντέλεξεν ὧδε· "τὰς μὲν αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου τί δεῖ λέγειν ὑμῖν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, πρεσβεύσασιν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μαθοῦσιν; ὃ δὲ ἐψεύσασθε περὶ ἡμῶν, τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλέγξω. καὶ γὰρ τὸ δόγμα δηλοῖ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ προείπομεν τὰ ὅμηρα παραλαμβάνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπικελεύσειν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμήρων τῆς τε ταχυτῆτος καὶ τῆς ἐπιλέξεως ἐπαινοῦμεν ὑμᾶς·

you into confusion. If this is your pretext for the war, we even condemned those who resisted him, and sent ambassadors to you to make the necessary explanations, and afterwards others empowered to make a settlement on any terms you pleased. What need then is there of a fleet, an expedition, an army against men who do not acknowledge that they have done wrong, but who, nevertheless, put themselves entirely in your hands? That we were not deceiving you in making this offer, and that we would submit ungrudgingly to whatever penalty you impose, we demonstrated plainly when we sent, as hostages, the children of our noblest families, demanded by you, as the decree of your Senate ordered us, not even awaiting the expiration of the thirty days. It was a part of this decree that if we would deliver the hostages Carthage should remain free under her own laws and in the enjoyment of her possessions."

CHAP. XI

XII

80. So spake the ambassadors. Then Censorinus rose and replied as follows: "Why is it necessary that I should tell you the causes of the war, Carthaginians, when your ambassadors have been at Rome and have learned them from the Senate? But what you have stated falsely about us, that I will refute. The decree itself declared, and we gave you notice in Sicily when we received the hostages, that the rest of the conditions would be made known to you at Utica. For your promptness in sending the hostages and your care in selecting them, you are entitled to praise. But if you are sincerely desirous

CHAP. XII

Reply of Censorinus

CAP. XII τί δὲ ὅπλων δεῖ τοῖς εἰρηνεύουσι καθαρῶς; φέρετε· πάντα ὅσα δημόσιά τε καὶ ἴδια ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει, βέλη τε καὶ καταπέλτας, ἡμῖν παράδοτε." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν ἐθέλειν μὲν καὶ τοῖσδε ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ὅπως Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατον ἐπεκήρυξαν, δύο μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη συναγαγόντα καὶ αὐτῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύοντα ἀμυνοῦνται. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τούτων ἐπιμελήσονται, οἱ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα δώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. καὶ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτοῖς Κορνήλιός τε Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὁ Ἰσπανὸς ἐπίκλησιν παρελάμβανον εἴκοσι μυριάδας πανοπλιῶν, καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀκοντίων πλῆθος ἄπειρον, καὶ καταπέλτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ λιθοβόλους ἐς δισχιλίους· καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν ὄψις ἦν λαμπρὰ καὶ παράλογος, ἀμαξῶν τοσῶνδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἀγομένων, οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἵποντο αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γερουσίας ἢ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἄριστοι ἢ ἱερεῖς ἢ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ἔμελλον τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐς ἐντροπὴν ἢ ἔλεον ἄξειν. ἐσαχθέντες δὲ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις παρέστησαν. καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος (ἦν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτερος τοῦ συνάρχου) ἀναστὰς καὶ τότε, καὶ σκυθρωπάσας ἐπὶ πολύ, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

81. "Τῆς μὲν εὐπειθείας ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας τῆς μέχρι νῦν ἔς τε τὰ ὅμηρα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπαινοῦμεν, χρὴ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις βραχυλογεῖν. ὑπόστητε γενναίως τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς συγκλήτου κέλευσμα· ἔκστητε τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπῃ θέλετε τῆς ὑμετέρας,

of peace why do you need any arms? Come, surrender to us all your weapons and engines of war, both public and private." When he had thus spoken the ambassadors said that they would comply with this order also, but that they did not know how they could defend themselves against Hasdrubal, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 20,000 men and was encamped outside the very walls of Carthage. When the consuls said that the Romans would see to this, they promised to deliver up their arms. Thereupon Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Cnaeus Cornelius Hispanus were sent with the ambassadors, and received complete armour for 200,000 men, besides innumerable javelins and darts, and about 2000 catapults for throwing pointed missiles and stones. When they came back it was a remarkable and unparalleled spectacle to behold the vast number of loaded wagons which the enemy themselves brought in. The ambassadors accompanied them, together with leading senators and citizens, priests and other distinguished persons, who hoped to inspire the consuls with respect or pity for them. They were brought in and stood in their robes before the consuls. Again Censorinus (who was a better speaker than his colleague) rose, and after long contemplating them with a frown spake as follows:— CHAP. XII

81. "Your ready obedience up to this point, Carthaginians, in the matter of the hostages and the arms, is worthy of all praise. But in cases of necessity, we must not multiply words. Bear bravely the remaining command of the Senate. Yield Carthage to us, and betake yourselves where you like within your own territory at a distance of at least ten miles from

CAP. XII ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης· τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔγνωσται κατασκάψαι." οἱ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέσχον μετὰ βοῆς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς ἠπατημένοι κατεκάλουν, πολλά τε καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐβλασφήμουν, ἢ θανατῶντες ἢ ἔκφρονες ὄντες, ἢ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐς μύσος πρέσβεων διερεθίζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν γῆν σφᾶς ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ κεφαλαῖς αὐτὴν ἔτυπτον· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπερρήγνυντο, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐνύβριζον ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνοίας ἐνηδρευμένοι. ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ οἶστρος ἔληξε, σιωπὴ πολλὴ καὶ κατήφεια ἦν οἷα νεκρῶν κειμένων. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐξεπλήσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι φέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ κελεύσματι, μέχρι παύσαιντο ἀγανακτοῦντες, καλῶς εἰδότες ὅτι τὰ μέγιστα δεινὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς θρασύτητα ἐκπλήσσει, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ καταδουλοῖ τὴν τόλμαν ἡ ἀνάγκη. ὃ καὶ τότε ἔπαθον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι· παρὰ γὰρ τὴν σιωπὴν ἁπτομένου σφῶν τοῦ κακοῦ μᾶλλον, ἀγανακτεῖν μὲν ἔτι ἐπαύσαντο, ἀνέκλαιον δὲ καὶ κατεθρήνουν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξ ὀνομάτων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτήν, ὡς ἐς ἄνθρωπον ἀκούουσαν λέγοντες οἰκτρὰ καὶ πολλά. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν, ὡς παροῦσι κἀκείνοις προφέροντες τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἦν τε παμμιγὴς καὶ ἐλεεινὸς οἶκτος οἰμωζόντων ὁμοῦ τά τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια, μέχρι καὶ Ῥωμαίους αὐτοῖς ἐπιδακρῦσαι.

the sea, for we are resolved to raze your city to the ground." While he was yet speaking, the Carthaginians lifted their hands toward heaven with loud cries, and called on the gods as avengers of violated faith. Repeatedly and virulently they cursed the Romans, either because they wished to die, or because they were out of their minds, or because they were determined to provoke the Romans to sacrilegious violence to ambassadors. They flung themselves on the ground and beat it with their hands and heads. Some of them even tore their clothes and lacerated their flesh as though they were absolutely bereft of their senses. When at last the frenzy was past they lay there, crushed and silent, like dead men. The Romans were struck with amazement, and the consuls thought it best to bear with men who were overwhelmed at an appalling command until their indignation should subside, for they well knew that great dangers often bring desperate courage on the instant, which time and necessity gradually subdue. This was the case with the Carthaginians; for when during the interval of silence the sense of their calamity came over them, they ceased their reproaches and began to bewail, with fresh lamentations, their own fate and that of their wives and children, calling them by name, and also that of their country, as though she could hear their pitiful and incessant cries like a human being. The priests also invoked their temples, and the gods within them, as though they too were present, accusing them of being the cause of their destruction. So pitiable was this mingling together of public and private grief, that it drew tears from the Romans themselves.

CHAP. XII

Terrible plight of Carthage

CAP. XII

82. Τοὺς δὲ ὑπάτους ἐσῄει μὲν οἶκτος ἀνθρωπίνης μεταβολῆς, σκυθρωποὶ δ' ἀνέμενον καὶ τούτων κόρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ἔληξαν, αὖθις ἦν σιωπή. καὶ λόγον αὐτοῖς διδόντες ὡς ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐστὶν ἄνοπλος ἔρημος, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ καταπέλτην, οὐ βέλος, οὐ ξίφος ἔχουσα, οὐκ ἄνδρας οἰκείους ἱκανοὺς ἀπομάχεσθαι πέντε μυριάδων ἔναγχος διεφθαρμένων, ξενικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἢ φίλος ἢ σύμμαχος ἢ καιρὸς ἐς ταῦτα, ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ περικάθηνται τὸ ἄστυ ἔνοπλοι ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ μηχανήμασι καὶ ἵπποις, Μασσανάσσης δ' ἐχθρὸς ἕτερος ἐν πλευραῖς, θορύβου μὲν ἔτι καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὠφελούντων, ἐς δὲ λόγους αὖθις ἐτράποντο. καὶ Βάννων, ᾧ Τιγίλλας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, ἐπιφανέστατος ὢν ἐν τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, αἰτήσας εἰπεῖν ἔλεξεν·

83. "Εἰ μὲν ἔστι καὶ τῶν πρότερον εἰρημένων ἔτι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λόγος, ἐροῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς δίκαια προφέροντες (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν καιρῷ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἀντιλογία), ἀλλ' ἵνα μάθητε ὡς οὐκ ἀπροφάσιστός ἐστιν ὑμῖν ὁ ἔλεος ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ ἄλογος. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Λιβύης ἄρχοντες καὶ θαλάσσης ὅτι πλείστης, περὶ ἡγεμονίας ὑμῖν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· καὶ ταύτης ἀπέστημεν ἐπὶ Σκιπίωνος, ὅτε τὰς ναῦς ὑμῖν παρέδομεν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ὅσους εἴχομεν, καὶ φόρους ἐταξάμεθα δώσειν καὶ δίδομεν ἐν καιρῷ. πρὸς οὖν θεῶν τῶν τότε ὁμωμοσμένων, φείδεσθε μὲν ἡμῶν, φείδεσθε δὲ τῶν Σκιπίωνος ὅρκων, ὁμόσαντος ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους

82. The consuls, although moved to pity by this exhibition of the mutability of human affairs, waited with stern countenances till they should weary of lamentations. When their outcries ceased there was another interval of silence in which they reflected that their city was without arms, that it was empty of defenders, that it had not a ship, not a catapult, not a javelin, not a sword, nor a sufficient number of fighting men at home, having lost 50,000 a short time ago. Nor had they mercenaries, nor friends, nor allies, nor time to procure any. Their enemies were in possession of their children, their arms, and their territory. Their city was besieged by foes provided with ships, infantry, cavalry, and engines, while Masinissa, another enemy, was on their flank. Seeing the uselessness of noisy reproaches they desisted from them, and again turned to argument. Banno, surnamed Tigillas, the most distinguished man among them, having obtained permission to speak, said:— CHAP. XII

83. "If you still have any respect for what we have said to you before, Romans, we will speak, not as though we were contending for right (since disputation is never timely for the unfortunate), but that you may perceive that pity on your part toward us is not without excuse and not without reason. We were once the rulers of Africa and of the greater part of the sea, and contended with yourselves for empire. We desisted from this in the time of Scipio, when we gave up to you all the ships and elephants we had. We agreed to pay you tribute and we pay it at the appointed time. Now, in the name of the gods who witnessed the oaths, spare us, respect the oath sworn by Scipio that the Romans Pathetic speech of Banno

CAP. XII Καρχηδονίοις συμμάχους καὶ φίλους. οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐς ταυθ' ὅ τι ἡμάρτομεν. οὐ ναῦς ἔχομεν, οὐκ ἐλέφαντας, οὐ τοὺς φόρους ἐκλείπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεμαχήσαμεν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τρεῖς βασιλέας. μηδέ τῳ παραστῇ καταγιγνώσκειν, εἰ ταῦτα καὶ πρῴην εἴπομεν, ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα ᾐτεῖτε· αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ ποιοῦσι μακρολόγους, καὶ ἅμα συνθηκῶν οὐδὲν ἐν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις δυνατώτερον, οὐδ' ἔχομεν ἐν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἀντὶ λόγων καταφυγεῖν, οἷ τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῖν ἅπασαν ἐξέδομεν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρότερα τοιαῦτα, ὧν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, βεβαιωτής· τῶν δὲ παρόντων ὑμεῖς, ὦ ὕπατοι, δημιουργοὶ καὶ μάρτυρές ἐστε ἡμῖν. ὅμηρα ᾐτήσατε, καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἠγάγομεν ὑμῖν. ὅπλα ᾐτήσατε, καὶ πάντα ἐλάβετε, ὧν οὐδὲ οἱ ληφθέντες ἐν ταῖς πολιορκίαις ἑκόντες μεθίενται. ἐπιστεύσαμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἤθει καὶ τρόπῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμῖν ἐπέστειλε, καὶ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ὅμηρα αἰτοῦντες, ἔφατε τὴν Καρχηδόνα αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν, εἰ λάβοιτε. εἰ δὲ προσέκειτο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑμῶν ἀνέξεσθαι κελευόντων, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ὁμήροις, αἰτήματι σοφεῖ, τὴν πόλιν αὐτόνομον ἔσεσθαι προαγορεῦσαι, ἐν δὲ προσθήκῃ τῶν ὁμήρων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς κατασκαφήν, ἣν εἰ θέμις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀνελεῖν, πῶς ἐλευθέραν ἔτι ἀφήσετε ἢ αὐτόνομον, ὡς ἐλέγετε;

84. Τάδε μὲν εἴχομεν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν προτέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς γενομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἀνέξεσθε, παρίεμεν ἅπαντα, καὶ ὃ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσίν ἐστι λοιπόν, ὀδυρό-

and Carthaginians should be allies and friends. We have not violated the treaty. We have no ships, no elephants. The tribute is not in default. On the contrary, we have fought on your side against three kings. You must not take offence at this recital, although we made it before when you demanded our arms. Calamities make men verbose, and nothing gives more force to an appeal than the terms of a treaty. Nor can we take refuge in anything else than words, since we have given all other power over to you. Such, Romans, were the former conditions, for which Scipio is our surety. Of the present ones you, consuls, are yourselves the authors and the witnesses. You asked hostages, and we gave you our best. You asked for our arms, and you have received them all, which even captured cities do not willingly give up. We had confidence in the Romans' habits and character. Your Senate sent us word, and you confirmed it, when the hostages were demanded, that if they were delivered, Carthage should be left free and autonomous. If it was added that we should endure your further commands it was not to be expected that in the matter of the hostages you would, in your distinct demand, promise that the city should be independent, and then besides the hostages would make a further demand that Carthage itself be destroyed. If it is right for you to destroy it, how can you leave it free and autonomous as you said you would?

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84. "This is what we have to say concerning the former treaties and those made with yourselves. If you refuse to hear even about the latter, then we abandon all else and have recourse to prayers and tears, the last refuge of the unfortunate, for which

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μεθα καὶ δεόμεθα. πολλὴ δ' ἡ ἱκεσία δι' ἀφθονίαν κακῶν· ὑπέρ τε γὰρ πόλεως παρακαλοῦμεν ἀρχαίας, χρησμοῖς μετὰ θεῶν συνῳκισμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐπὶ μέγα προελθούσης, καὶ ὀνόματος ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅλην, ὑπέρ τε ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσῶνδε καὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων, οὓς μὴ πανηγύρεις ἀφέλησθε καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἑορτάς, μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους τὰ ἐναγίσματα, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιζημίων ὄντων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ἔλεος (φατὲ δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλεεῖν οἳ συγχωρεῖτε μετοικίσασθαι), φείσασθε πολιτικῆς ἑστίας, φείσασθε ἀγορᾶς, φείσασθε βουλαίας θεοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τοῖς ἔτι ζῶσι τερπνὰ καὶ τίμια. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ δέος ἔστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι Καρχηδόνος, οἳ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔχετε ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφθόνους ἐλέφαντας; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀνοικίσεως, εἴ τῳ δοκεῖ τοῦτο ἐς παρηγορίαν ἡμῖν προτίθεσθαι, ἔστι καὶ τόδε ἀμήχανον, ἀνδράσιν ἐς ἤπειρον ἀνοικίσασθαι θαλασσοβιώτοις, ὧν ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἐργάζεται τὴν θάλασσαν. δίδομεν δ' ὑμῖν ἀντίδοσιν αἱρετωτέραν ἡμῖν καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ὑμῖν. τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐᾶτε τὴν οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἡμᾶς οὓς ἀνοικίζετε, εἰ θέλετε, διαχρήσασθε. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δόξετε χαλεπαίνειν, οὐχ ἱεροῖς καὶ θεοῖς καὶ τάφοις καὶ πόλει μηδὲν ἀδικούσῃ.

85. Δόξης δ' ἀγαθῆς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἐφίεσθε, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, παρὰ πάντα ἔργα, καὶ μετριοπάθειαν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπαγγέλλεσθε, καὶ τοῦθ' οἷς ἂν ἀεὶ λάβητε καταλογίζεσθε· μὴ δή, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὅσοι Καρχηδόνα ἔτι ἔχουσί τε καὶ μή ποτε μνησικακήσαιεν ὑμῖν μηδὲ

there is ample occasion in the abundance of our calamity. We beseech you, in behalf of an ancient city founded by command of the gods, in behalf of a glory that has become great and a name that has pervaded the whole world, in behalf of the many temples it contains and of its gods who have done you no wrong. Do not deprive them of their nightly festivals, their processions and their solemnities. Deprive not the tombs of the dead, who harm you no more, of their offerings. If you have pity for us (as you say that out of pity you yield us another dwelling-place), spare the city's hearth, spare our forum, spare the goddess who presides over our council, and all else that is dear and precious to the living. What fear can you have of Carthage when you are in possession of our ships and our arms and the elephants which you grudge us? As to a change of dwelling-place (if that is considered in the light of a consolation), it is impracticable for our people, a countless number of whom get their living by the sea, to move into the country. We propose an alternative more desirable for us and more glorious for you. Spare the city which has done you no harm, but, if you please, kill us, whom you have ordered to move away. In this way you will seem to vent your wrath upon men, not upon temples, gods, tombs, and an innocent city. CHAP XII

85. "Romans, you desire a good name and reputation for piety in all that you do, and you profess the virtue of moderation in prosperity, and claim credit for it from those whom you conquer. Do not, I implore you in the name of Jove and of the other gods, especially those who still preside over Carthage (and may they never bear a grudge

CAP. XII παισὶν ὑμετέροις, μὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμῖν πρώτοις διαβάλητε, μηδὲ τοιῷδε ἔργῳ τὴν εὔκλειαν ὑμῶν καταμιάνητε, χαλεπῷ μὲν ἐργασθῆναι χαλεπῷ δὲ ἀκουσθῆναι, παρά τε πρώτοις ὑμῖν ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ βίου γενησομένῳ. πόλεμοι γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἐγένοντο καὶ βαρβάροις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ἑτέρους· καὶ οὐδείς πω κατέσκαψε πόλιν χεῖράς τε πρὸ μάχης καθεῖσαν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τέκνα παραδοῦσαν. καὶ εἴ τις ἔστιν ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἄλλη ζημία, καὶ ταύτην παθεῖν ὑπομένουσαν. προφέροντες δ' ὑμῖν ὁρκίους θεοὺς καὶ τύχην ἀνθρωπείαν καὶ τὴν φοβερωτάτην τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι Νέμεσιν, δεόμεθα μήτε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐπραγίαν ὑμᾶς ὑβρίσαι, μήτε τὰς ἡμετέρας συμφορὰς ἐς ἀνήκεστον προαγαγεῖν, συγχωρῆσαι δ', εἰ μὴ δίδοτε τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν, ἔς γε τὴν σύγκλητον ἔτι πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ δεηθῆναι. βραχὺ δ' ὁρᾶτε τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου, βάσανον μὲν ἡμῖν φέρον μακρὰν ἐν ὀλίγῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἀμφιβολίαν· ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς ἴσον, ἢ νῦν ἢ μετ' ὀλίγον τὰ δοκοῦντα δρᾶν, τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐπιγίγνεται."

86. Τοιαῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Βάννων, οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δῆλοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐσκυθρωπακότες παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδώσουσιν αὐτοῖς, παυσαμένου δὲ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἔλεξε "περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος προσέταξε, τί δεῖ πολλάκις λέγειν; προσέταξε γάρ, καὶ χρὴ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ ἀναθέσθαι δυνάμεθα τὰ ἤδη κεκελευσμένα γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐχθροῖς ἐπεκελεύομεν, ἔδει μόνον εἰπεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ κοινῇ,

against you or your children), do not tarnish your own good name for the first time in your dealings with us. Do not defile your reputation by an act so horrible to do and to hear, and which you will be the first in all history to perform. Greeks and barbarians have waged many wars, and you, Romans, have waged many against other nations, but no one has ever razed to the ground a city whose people had surrendered before the fight, and delivered up their arms and children, and submitted to every other penalty that could be imposed upon men. Reminding you of the oaths sworn before the gods, of the mutability of the human lot, and Nemesis, most terrible to the fortunate, we beseech you not to do violence to your own fair record, and not to increase our calamities beyond all cure. Or, if you cannot spare our city, grant us time for sending another embassy to your Senate and for making our petition. Although the intervening time is short, you see that it will bring long agony to us through the uncertainty of the event. But your security is the same, whether you execute your purposes now or a little later, and in the meantime you will have performed a pious and humane act." CHAP XII

86. So spake Banno, but the consuls showed by their stern looks during the whole speech that they would yield nothing. When he had ceased, Censorinus replied: "What is the use of repeating what the Senate has ordered? It has issued its decrees and they must be carried out. We have not even power to defer what has already been commanded. If we had imposed these commands on you as enemies, Carthaginians, it would be necessary only to speak and then use force, but since this is a Reply of Censorinus

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τάχα μέν τι καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ πλέον ὑμῶν, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, γίγνεται, οὐκ ὀκνήσω καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν, ἣν δύνησθε πεισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ βιασθῆναι. ἡ θάλασσα ὑμᾶς ἥδε, μεμνημένους τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, ἀδικεῖν ἐπαίρει, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐς συμφορὰς περιφέρει. Σικελίᾳ τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρήσατε, καὶ Σικελίαν ἀπωλέσατε· ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν διεπλεύσατε, καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀφῄρησθε. ἔν τε ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐλῄζεσθε τοὺς ἐμπόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους μάλιστα, ἵνα λανθάνοιτε, κατεποντοῦτε, ἕως ἁλόντες ποινὴν ἡμῖν ἔδοτε Σαρδώ. οὕτω καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἀφῃρέθητε διὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ πέφυκε πείθειν ἅπαντας ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ὀρέγεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ταχυεργίαν.

87. Ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε ἐγένοντο ναυτικοί, μάλιστα ἠὔξησέ τε καὶ καθεῖλεν· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ θαλάσσια τοῖς ἐμπορικοῖς κέρδεσιν, ἃ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀθρόαν. ἵστε γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐκτείνοντες ἐς Σικελίαν οὐ πρὶν ἀπέστησαν τῆς πλεονεξίας, πρὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνδέξασθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ τὰ τείχη σφῶν αὐτοὶ τὰ μακρὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἠπειρῶται τότε κἀκεῖνοι γενέσθαι. ὃ καὶ διέσωσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτούς. εὐσταθέστερος γάρ, ὦ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὁ ἐν ἠπείρῳ βίος, γεωργίᾳ καὶ ἠρεμίᾳ προσπονῶν· καὶ σμικρότερα μὲν ἴσως τὰ κέρδη, βεβαιότερα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερα καθάπαξ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας τῶν ἐμπόρων. ὅλως τέ

matter of the common good (ours, perhaps, to a certain extent, but yours even more), I have no objection to giving you the reasons, if you may be thus persuaded instead of being coerced. The sea reminds you of the dominion and power you once acquired by means of it. It prompts you to wrong-doing and brings you thus into disaster. The sea made you invade Sicily and lose it again. Then you invaded Spain and were driven out of it. While a treaty was in force you plundered merchants on the sea, and ours especially, and in order to conceal the crime you threw them overboard, until finally you were detected, and then you gave us Sardinia by way of penalty. Thus you lost Sardinia also because of the sea, which always begets a grasping disposition by the very facilities which it offers for gain. CHAP XU

87. "Through this the Athenians, when they became a maritime people, grew mightily, but fell as suddenly. Naval prowess is like merchants' gains—a good profit to-day and a total loss to-morrow. You know at any rate that those very people whom I have mentioned, when they had extended their sway over the Ionian Sea to Sicily, could not restrain their greed until they had lost their whole empire, and were compelled to surrender their harbour and their ships to their enemies, to receive a garrison in their city, to demolish their own Long Walls, and to become almost an inland people. And this very thing secured their existence for a long time. Believe me, Carthaginians, life inland, with the joys of agriculture and quiet, is much more equable. Although the gains of agriculture are, perhaps, smaller than those of mercantile life, they are surer and a great deal safer. In fact, a maritime city seems to me to be

CAP. XII μοι δοκεῖ πόλις ἡ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ναῦς τις εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ γῇ, πολὺν τὸν σάλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσα καὶ τὰς μεταβολάς, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ μεσογείῳ καρποῦσθαι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ὡς ἐν γῇ. διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ πάλαι βασίλεια ὡς ἐπίπαν ἦν ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε μέγιστα ἐγένοντο τὰ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ ἑτέρων.

88. Ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶν μὲν ὑποδειγμάτων παύομαι, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἔτι διαφερόντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν Λιβύην ἀπίδετε, ὅσαι μεσόγειοι πόλεις ἀκινδύνως βιοῦσιν. ὧν ἧς ἂν ἐθέλητε, γείτονες ἔσεσθε, ἵνα τὴν ἐρεθίζουσαν ὑμᾶς ὄψιν τε καὶ μνήμην ἀφῆτε τῶν νῦν ἐνοχλούντων κακῶν, ὅταν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν κενὴν σκαφῶν ἀφορῶντες ἀναμιμνήσκησθε τοῦ πλήθους ὧν εἴχετε νεῶν, καὶ λαφύρων ὅσων ἐφέρετε, καὶ ἐς οἵους γε τοὺς λιμένας κατήγεσθε σοβαροί, καὶ τὰ νεώρια καὶ τὰ τῶν σκευῶν ταμιεῖα ἐνεπίμπλατε. τί δὲ αἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑποδοχαὶ στρατοπέδων τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων; τί δὲ θησαυροὶ τούτοις παρῳκοδομημένοι; τί ταῦτα μνημεῖα ὑμῖν ἐστίν; ἢ τί ἄλλο πλὴν ὀδύνη, καὶ ἐρέθισμα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς αὐτά, εἴ ποτε δύναισθε; πάθος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπειον τοῖς μεμνημένοις τῆς ποτὲ τύχης, ἐλπίζειν τὴν τύχην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι, φάρμακον δὲ κακῶν ἀκεστήριον λήθη, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι μετασχεῖν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπόθησθε. καὶ τούτου σαφέστατος ἔλεγχος, ὅτι πολλάκις συγγνώμης καὶ συνθηκῶν τυχόντες παρεσπονδήσατε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐφίεσθε καὶ δυσμεναίνετε ἡμῖν ὡς ἀφῃρημένοι καὶ καιροφυλακ-

more like a ship than like solid ground, being so tossed about on the waves of trouble and so much exposed to the vicissitudes of life, whereas an inland city enjoys all the security of the solid earth. For this reason the ancient seats of empire were generally inland, and in this way those of the Medes, the Assyrians, the Persians, and others became very powerful. CHAP. XII

88. "But I will omit examples of monarchies, which no longer concern you. Look over your African possessions, where there are numerous inland cities out of the reach of danger, from which you can choose the one that you would like to have as a neighbour, so that you may no longer be in the presence of the thing that excites you, so that you may lose the sight and memory of the ills that now vex you whenever you cast your eyes upon the sea empty of ships, and call to mind the great fleets you once possessed and the spoils you captured and the harbours into which you proudly brought them, and filled your dockyards and arsenals. When you behold the barracks of your soldiers, the stables of your horses and elephants, and the storehouses alongside them, what do these things put into your minds? What else but grief and an intense longing to get them back again if you can? When we recall our departed fortune it is human nature to hope that we may recover it. The healing drug for all evils is oblivion, and this is not possible to you unless you put away the sight. The plainest proof of this is that as often as you obtained forgiveness and peace from us you violated the agreement. If you still yearn for dominion, and bear ill-will toward us who took it away from you, and if you are waiting your

CAP. XII εἴτε, δεῖ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ὑμῖν καὶ λιμένων τοιῶνδε καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τειχῶν ἐς στρατοπέδου τρόπον εἰργασμένων. καὶ τί ἔτι φειδόμεθα ἐχθρῶν εἰλημμένων; εἰ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπέστητε καθαρῶς, οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ, μόνα δ' ἐξῄρησθε Λιβύης ἃ ἔχετε, καὶ τάδε ἀπροφασίστως συνέθεσθε ἡμῖν, φέρετε, καὶ ἔργῳ ταῦτα ἐπιδείξατε, ἐς μὲν Λιβύην, ἣν ἔχετε, ἀνοικισάμενοι, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης ἐκστάντες, ἧς ἀπέστητε.

89. Μηδ' ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐλεεῖν ἱερὰ καὶ ἑστίας καὶ ἀγορὰς καὶ τάφους· ὧν τάφοι μὲν ἔστων ἀκίνητοι, καὶ ἐναγίζετε αὐτοῖς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς θύειν εἰ θέλετε ἐπιόντες, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καθέλωμεν. οὐ γὰρ καὶ νεωρίοις θύετε, οὐδὲ ἐναγίζετε τείχεσιν. ἑστίας δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἀγορὰς ἔνι καὶ μετελθόντας ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταχὺ κἀκεῖνα ὑμῖν ἔσται πάτρια, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τύρῳ καταλιπόντες ἠλλάξασθε Λιβύην, τά τε ἐπίκτητα ὑμῖν τότε γενόμενα νῦν πάτρια τίθεσθε. βραχεῖ τε λόγῳ μάθοιτε ἂν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βεβαίῳ τε ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀμεριμνίᾳ κοινῇ τάδε προστάσσομεν, εἰ ἀναμνησθείητε ὅτι καὶ Ἄλβην ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἐχθρὰν ἀλλὰ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, οὐδὲ δυσμεναίνοντες ἀλλ' ὡς ἄποικοι προτιμῶντες, ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ μετῳκίσαμεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐλυσιτέλησεν ἀμφοτέροις. ἀλλ' εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔτι χειρώνακτες πολλοὶ θαλασσοβίωτοι. καὶ τούτου

opportunity, then of course you have need of this city, this great harbour and its dockyards, and these walls built for the shelter of an army. In that case, why should we spare any longer our captured enemies? But if you have abdicated dominion sincerely, not in words only but with your hearts, and are content with what you possess in Africa, and if you made this peace with us in an honest spirit, come now, prove it by your acts. Move into the interior of Africa, which belongs to you, and leave the sea, the dominion of which you have yielded to us. CHAP. XII

89. "Do not pretend that you are grieved for your temples, your hearths, your forum, your tombs. We shall not harm your tombs. You may come and make offerings there, and sacrifice in your temples, if you like. The rest, however, we shall destroy. You do not sacrifice to your shipyards, nor do you make offerings to your walls. You can provide yourselves with other hearths and temples and a forum in the place you move to, and presently that will be your country; just as you left your home in Tyre when you migrated to Africa, and now consider the land then acquired your country. In brief, you will understand that we do not make this decision from any ill-will toward you, but in the interest of a lasting concord and of the common security; if you remember how we caused Alba, not an enemy, but our mother city, to change her abode to Rome for the common good, acting not in a hostile spirit, but treating the citizens with the honour due to them from their colonists, and this proved to be for the advantage of both. But you say you have many workpeople who gain their living by the sea. We

CAP. XII πεφροντικαμεν, ὡς ἂν εὐκόλως ἐπιμιγνύοισθε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὡραίων διάθεσίν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἔχοιτε εὐμαρῆ· οὐ γὰρ μακρὰν ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους ἀναδραμεῖν κελεύομεν. ἡμεῖς δ' ταῦτα προστάσσοντες ὑμῖν ἑκατὸν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχομεν. χωρίον δὲ ὑμῖν δίδομεν, ὃ θέλετε, ἐπιλέξασθαι, καὶ μετελθοῦσιν αὐτονόμοις εἶναι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ προυλέγομεν, αὐτόνομον ἐάσειν Καρχηδόνα, εἰ πείθοιτο ἡμῖν· Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος ἡγούμεθα."

XIII

CAP. XIII 90. Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἡσύχασεν. καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως οὐδὲν ἀποκρινομένων ἐπεῖπεν· "ἃ μὲν ἔδειπείθοντα καὶ παρηγοροῦντα εἰπεῖν, εἴρηται· τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα τῆς βουλῆς δεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτίκα γενέσθαι. ἄπιτε οὖν· ἐστὲ γὰρ ἔτι πρέσβεις." ὃ μὲν εἶπεν οὕτως, οἱ δ' ἐξωθούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔσεσθαι προορῶντες, ἤτησαν αὖθις εἰπεῖν. καὶ ἐσαχθέντες ἔφασαν "τὸ μὲν ἀπαραίτητον τοῦ κελεύσματος ὁρῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ πρεσβεῦσαι δίδοτε ἐς Ῥώμην. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανελεύσεσθαι μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔτι λέγοντες ἀπολεῖσθαι· δεόμεθα δ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν (ἑσμὲν γὰρ πάντα παθεῖν ἕτοιμοι) ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἔτι

have thought of this too. In order that you might easily have access to the sea and a convenient importation and exportation of commodities, we have not ordered you to go more than ten miles from the shore, while we, who give the order, are twelve miles from it ourselves. We offer you whatever place you choose to take, and when you have taken it you shall live under your own laws. This is what we told you beforehand, that Carthage should have her own laws if you would obey our commands. We considered *you* to be Carthage, not the ground where you live."

CHAP. XII

XIII

90. Having spoken thus, Censorinus paused. When the Carthaginians, thunderstruck, answered not a word, he added, "All that can be said in the way of persuasion and consolation has been said. The order of the Senate must be carried out, and quickly too. Therefore take your departure, for you are still ambassadors." When he had thus spoken they were thrust out by the lictors, but as they foresaw what was likely to be done by the people of Carthage, they asked permission to speak again. Being readmitted they said, "We see that your orders are inexorable, since you will not even allow us to send an embassy to Rome. And we do not expect to return to you again, but to be slain by the people of Carthage before we have finished speaking to them. But we make this request of you, not on our own account (for we are ready to suffer everything), but on account of Carthage itself, which may

CHAP. XIII

Return of the ambassadors

CAP. XIII Καρχηδόνος, εἰ δύναιτο καταπλαγεῖσα τὰς συμφορὰς ὑποστῆναι. περιστήσατε αὐτῇ τὰς ναῦς ἕως ὁδεύοντες ἄπιμεν, ἵνα καὶ θεωροῦντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ὧν προσετάξατε ἐνέγκωσιν, ἂν ἄρα δύνωνται. ἐς τοῦτο δ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἀφῖκται καὶ τύχης ὡς αὐτοὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τὰς ναῦς ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ἀπῆεσαν, καὶ ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος πεντήρεσιν εἴκοσι παραπλεύσας ἀνεκώχευε παρὰ τὴν πόλιν· τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διεδίδρασκον, οἱ δὲ πλέονες ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ.

91. Καρχηδόνιοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὁπότε ἥξουσιν, ἀφεώρων καὶ βραδύνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἤχθοντο, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐτίλλοντο· οἱ δ' ὑπήντων ἔτι προσιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένοντες ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενοι μαθεῖν. σκυθρωποὺς δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐτύπτοντο τὰ μέτωπα, καὶ διηρώτων, οἱ μὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας οἱ δ' ἕκαστον, ὡς εἰχέ τις φιλίας ἢ γνώσεως ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιστρέφων τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνετο, ἀνῴμωζον ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ σαφεῖ. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀκούοντες συναν῾ώμωζον αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰδότες μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ σαφεῖ καὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας ὀλίγου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεπάτουν, ἐπιπίπτοντες ἀθρόοι, ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ διέσπασαν, εἰ μὴ τοσόνδε ἔφασαν, ὅτι χρὴ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πρότερον ἐντυχεῖν. τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν διίσταντο αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὠδοποίουν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ θᾶσσον μαθεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσῆλθον, ἡ μὲν γερουσία τοὺς ἄλλους μετεστήσατο, καὶ μόνοι συνήδρευον

be able, if stricken with terror, to bow before misfortune. Surround the city with your fleet while we are returning by the road, so that both seeing and hearing what you have ordered, they may bear it if they can. To this state has fortune and necessity brought us that we ourselves ask you to hasten your ships against our fatherland." Having spoken thus, they departed, and Censorinus coasted along with twenty quinqueremes and cast anchor alongside the city. Some of the ambassadors fled on the journey home, but the greater part moved on in silence. CHAP. XIII

Terrible scenes in the city

91. Meanwhile some of the Carthaginians were watching from the walls the return of the ambassadors, and tore their hair with impatience at their delay. Others, not waiting, ran to meet them in order to learn the news; and when they saw them coming with downcast eyes they smote their own foreheads and questioned them, now altogether, now one by one, as each chanced to meet a friend or acquaintance, seizing hold of them and asking questions. When no one answered they wept aloud as though certain destruction awaited them, while those on the walls, as they heard them, joined in the lamentations, knowing nothing, but feeling unmistakably the presence of a great calamity. At the gates the crowd almost trod the envoys underfoot, rushing upon them in such number. They would have been torn to pieces had they not said that they must make their first communication to the senate. Then some of the crowd made room, and others even opened a path for them, in order to learn the news sooner. After they were come into the senate-chamber the senators turned the others out and sat down alone by themselves, and the crowd remained

CAP. XIII ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔξω περιειστήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον πρῶτα μὲν τὸ κέλευσμα τῶν ὑπάτων· καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν βοὴ τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔξω συνεβόα. ὡς δὲ ἐπῆγον οἱ πρέσβεις ὅσα ἀντέλεξαν δικαιολογούμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι παραιτούμενοι, αὖθις ἦν τῆς βουλῆς σιγὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ τέλος μαθεῖν περιμενούσης, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῇ συνεσιώπα. ὡς δ' ἔμαθον ὅτι μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἠλάλαξαν ἐξαίσιον ὀδυρόμενοι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐσέδραμεν ἐς αὐτούς.

92. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἦν οἶστρος ἄλογός τε καὶ μανιώδης, οἷον ἐν τοῖς βακχείοις πάθεσί φασι τὰς μαινάδας ἀλλόκοτα καινουργεῖν. οἱ μὲν τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων ἐσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐξάρχους τῆς ἐνέδρας ἠκίζοντο καὶ διέσπων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συμβουλεύσαντας περὶ τῶν ὅπλων. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κατέλευον ὡς κακῶν ἀγγέλους, οἱ δὲ καὶ περιέσυρον ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλούς, οἳ ἔτι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀκηρύκτῳ κακῷ ἦσαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο ποικίλως, ἐπιλέγοντες ὁμήρων πέρι καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἀπάτης ἀμύνεσθαι. οἰμωγῆς τε ἅμα παὶ ὀργῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἡ πόλις ἐνεπέπλητο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀνεκάλουν τὰ φίλτατα, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὡς ἄσυλα κατέφευγον, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὠνείδιζον ὡς οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρῆσαι δυναμένους. ἕτεροι δὲ ἐς τὰς ὁπλοθήκας ἰόντες ἔκλαιον, ὁρῶντες κενάς· οἱ δ' ἐς τὰ νεώρια καταθέοντες ὠδύροντο τὰς ναῦς ὡς ἀπίστοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκδεδο-

standing outside. Then the envoys announced first of all the order of the consuls. Immediately there was a great outcry in the senate which was echoed by the people outside. When the envoys went on to tell what arguments and prayers they had used to get permission to send an embassy to Rome, there was again profound silence among the senators, who listened to the end; and the people kept silence also. But when they learned that they were not even allowed to send an embassy, there was an outburst of loud lamentation, and the people rushed in among them. CHAP. XIII

92. Then followed a scene of blind, raving madness, like the strange acts which the Maenads are said to perform when under the influence of Bacchus. Some fell upon those senators who had advised giving the hostages and tore them in pieces, considering them the ones who had led them into the trap. Others treated in a similar way those who had favoured giving up the arms. Some stoned the ambassadors for bringing the bad news, and others dragged them through the city. Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, adding that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms. The city was full of wailing and wrath, of fear and threatenings. People roamed the streets invoking whatever was most dear to them and took refuge in the temples as in asylums. They upbraided their gods for not even being able to defend themselves. Some went into the arsenals and wept when they found them empty. Others ran to the dockyards and bewailed the ships

CAP. XIII

μένας. καὶ τὰ ὀνόματά τινες τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀνεκάλουν ὡς ἔτι παρόντων, τούς τε προγόνους καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐλοιδόρουν, ὡς δέον μήτε ναῦς μήτε ἐλέφαντας μήτε φόρους μήτε τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἀποθανεῖν σὺν τῇ πατρίδι ὡπλισμένῃ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀργὴν ἀνέκαιον αἱ μητέρες αἱ τῶν ὁμήρων, οἷά τινες ἐκ τραγῳδίας ἐρινύες ἐντυγχάνουσαι μετ' ὀλολυγῆς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν παίδων προφέρουσαι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπόρρησιν· ἐπεγέλων τε αὐτοῖς ὡς θεῶν ἀμυνομένων αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν παίδων. ὀλίγον δ' ὅσον ἐσωφρόνει, τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειε, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος λίθων ἀντὶ καταπελτῶν ἐπλήρουν.

93. Ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐψηφισατο αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυξεν ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, στρατηγοὺς δὲ εἵλοντο τῶν μὲν ἔξω πράξεων Ἀσδρούβαν, ᾧ θάνατος ἐπικήρυκτος ἦν, ἔχοντα δισμυρίων ἤδη σύνοδον ἀνδρῶν· καί τις ἐξέτρεχεν αὐτοῦ δεησόμενος μὴ μνησικακῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι ἐνδὲ χάτῳ κινδύνου, μηδέ, ὧν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἠδικήθη Ῥωμαίων δέει, νῦν ἀναφέρειν. ἐντὸς δὲ τειχῶν ἠρέθη στρατηγὸς ἕτερος Ἀσδρούβας, θυγατριδοῦς Μασσανάσσου. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους, αἰτοῦντες αὖθις ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀνοχάς, ἵνα πρεσβεύσειαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἀποτυχόντες δὲ καὶ τότε, ἐπὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐγίγνοντο μεταβολῆς τε καὶ τόλμης ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν. ταχὺ δὲ καὶ θάρσους ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπίμπλαντο. καὶ δημιουργεῖα μὲν τὰ δημόσια τεμένη καὶ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο εὐρύχωρον ἦν, ἐγένετο· εἰργάζοντο δὲ ὁμοῦ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, μὴ ἀναπαύομενοι

that had been surrendered to perfidious men. Some called their elephants by name, as though they were still there, and reviled their own ancestors and themselves for not perishing, sword in hand, with their country, without paying tribute and giving up their elephants, their ships, and their arms. Most of all was their anger kindled by the mothers of the hostages who, like Furies in a tragedy, accosted those whom they met with shrieks, and reproached them with giving away their children against their protest, or mocked at them, saying that the gods were now taking vengeance on them for the lost children. The few who remained sane closed the gates, and brought stones upon the walls to be used in place of catapults. CHAP. XIII

93. The same day the Carthaginian senate declared war and proclaimed freedom to the slaves. They also chose generals and selected Hasdrubal for the outside work, whom they had condemned to death, and who had already collected 30,000 men. They despatched a messenger to him begging that, in the extreme peril of his country, he would not remember, or lay up against them, the wrong they had done him under the pressure of necessity from fear of the Romans. Within the walls they chose for general another Hasdrubal, the son of a daughter of Masinissa. They also sent to the consuls asking a truce of thirty days in order to send an embassy to Rome. When this was refused a second time, a wonderful change and determination came over them, to endure everything rather than abandon their city. Quickly all minds were filled with courage from this transformation. All the sacred places, the temples, and every other wide and open space, were turned into workshops, where men and women worked Carthage resolves to fight

CAP. XIII καὶ σῖτον αἰρούμενοι παρὰ μέρος, ἐπὶ ὅρῳ τακτῷ, θυρεοὺς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας ἑκάστης καὶ ξίφη τριακόσια καὶ καταπελτικὰ βέλη χίλια, σαυνία δὲ καὶ λόγχας πενκακοσίας, καὶ καταπέλτας ὅσους δυνηθεῖεν. ἐς δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπέκειραν τὰς γυναῖκας, τριχῶν ἑτέρων ἀπορίᾳ.

94. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ σπουδῆς καὶ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι τάχα μέν τι καὶ ὄκνῳ, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνοπλον οὖσαν λήψεσθαι κατὰ κράτος, ὅτε θέλοιεν, ἡγούμενοι, διέμελλον ἔτι καὶ ἐνδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας, οἷον ἐν τοῖς δυσχερέσι γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, εὐθὺς μὲν ἀντιλέγειν, προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ λογισμοῦ φόβον ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπειθούντων. ἃ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τις αὐτῶν, εἰκάσας σφῶν ἤδη τὸ δέος ἅπτεσθαι, ἐτόλμησεν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τι ἄλλο παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ μέσον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χρὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ μετριώτερα, ὄντας ἀνόπλους, οὕτω σαφῶς εἰπὼν τὰ τῆς γνώμης. Μασσανάσσης δὲ ἤχθετο Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἔφερε βαρέως ὅτι τὴν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν ἄλλους ἑώρα τῷ ἐπιγράμματι αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέχοντάς τε καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντας αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πάλαι πολέμοις ἐποίουν. ὅμως δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποπειρωμένων καὶ καλούντων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ἔφη τὴν συμμαχίαν πέμψειν, ὅταν αἴσθηται δεομένων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψας ἤρετο εἴ τινος ἤδη δέονται. οἱ δὲ οὐ φέροντες αὐτοῦ τὸ σοβαρόν, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ ἀπιστοῦντες ὡς δυσμεναί-

together day and night, on a fixed schedule, without pause, taking their food by turns. Each day they made 100 shields, 300 swords, 1000 missiles for catapults, 500 darts and spears, and as many catapults as they could. For strings to bend them the women cut off their hair for want of other fibres.

Slow movements of the consuls

94. While the Carthaginians were preparing for war with such haste and zeal, the consuls, who perhaps hesitated about performing such an atrocious act on the instant, and besides thought they could capture an unarmed city by storm whenever they liked, kept still delaying. They thought also that the Carthaginians would give in for want of means, as it usually happens that those who are in desperate straits, resist at first, but as time brings opportunity for reflection, fear of the consequences of disobedience takes possession of them. Something of this kind actually happened in Carthage, where a certain citizen, conjecturing that fear had already come upon them, came forward in the assembly as if on other business and dared to say that among evils they ought to choose the least, since they were unarmed, thus speaking his mind plainly. Masinissa was vexed with the Romans, and took it hard that when he had brought the Carthaginians to their knees others should carry off the glory before his eyes, not even communicating with him beforehand as they had done in the former wars. Nevertheless, when the consuls, by way of testing him, asked his assistance, he said he would send it whenever he should see that they needed it. Not long after he sent to inquire if they wanted anything at present. They, not tolerating his haughtiness and already suspicious of him as a disaffected person, answered

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νοντι, ἀπεκρίναντο προσπέμψειν ὅτε δεηθεῖεν. περὶ δὲ ἀγορᾶς τῷ στρατῷ καὶ πάνυ ἐφρόντιζον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντες Ἀδρυμητοῦ καὶ Λέπτεως καὶ Θάψου καὶ Ἰτύκης καὶ Ἀχόλλης· τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ Λιβύης ἦν ἔτι πάντα ὑπὸ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ἀγορὰν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπεν. ὀλίγων δ' ἐς ταῦτα διατριφθεισῶν ἡμερῶν, οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι προσῄεσαν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἐπεχείρουν.

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95. Ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ κόλπου μεγίστου, χερρονήσῳ τι μάλιστα προσεοικυῖα. αὐχὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διεῖργεν, εὖρος ὢν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐχένος ταινία στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, ἡμισταδίου μάλιστα τὸ πλάτος, ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ἐχώρει, μέση λίμνης τε καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ἁπλῷ τείχει περίκρημνα ὄντα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐς ἤπειρον, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Βύρσα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος, τριπλῷ τείχει. τούτων δ' ἕκαστον ἦν ὕψος μὲν πηχῶν τριάκοντα, χωρὶς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ πύργων, οἳ ἐκ διπλέθρου διαστήματος αὐτοῖς τετρώροφοι περιέκειντο, βάθος δὲ ποδῶν τριάκοντα, διώροφον δ' ἦν ἑκάστου τείχους τὸ ὕψος, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κοίλῳ τε ὄντι καὶ στεγανῷ κάτω μὲν ἐστάθμευον ἐλέφαντες τριακόσιοι, καὶ θησαυροὶ παρέκειντο αὐτοῖς τῶν τροφῶν, ἱππόστασια δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἦν τετρακισχιλίοις ἵπποις, καὶ ταμιεῖα χιλοῦ τε καὶ κριθῆς, ἀνδράσι τε καταγωγαὶ πεζοῖς μὲν ἐς

that they would send for him whenever they needed him. Yet they were already in much trouble for supplies for the army, which they drew from Hadrumetum, Leptis, Thapsus, Utica, and Acholla only. For Hasdrubal was still in possession of all the rest of Africa, whence he sent supplies to Carthage. Several days having been consumed in this way, the two consuls moved their forces against Carthage, prepared for battle, and laid siege to it.

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95. The city lay in a recess of a great gulf and was in the form of a peninsula. It was separated from the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in width. From this isthmus a narrow and longish tongue of land, about 300 feet wide, extended towards the west between a lake and the sea. <On the sea side,> where the city faced a precipice, it was protected by a single wall. Towards the south and the mainland, where the city of Byrsa stood on the isthmus, there was a triple wall. The height of each wall was forty-five feet, not taking account of the parapets and the towers, which were placed all round at intervals of 200 feet, each having four stories, while their depth was thirty feet. Each wall was divided into two stories. In the lower space there were stables for 300 elephants, and alongside were receptacles for their food. Above were stables for 4000 horses and places for their fodder and grain. There were barracks also for soldiers, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. Such preparation for

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Topography of Carthage

CAP. XIV δισμυρίους, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. τοσήδε παρασκευὴ πολέμου διετέτακτο σταθμεύειν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι μόνοις. γωνία δ' ἦ παρὰ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας περιέκαμπτεν, ἀσθενὴς ἦν μόνη καὶ ταπεινή, καὶ ἠμέλητο ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

96. Οἱ δὲ λιμένες ἐς ἀλλήλους διεπλέοντο, καὶ ἔσπλους ἐκ πελάγους ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν ἐς εὖρος ποδῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ὃν ἁλύσεσιν ἀπέκλειον σιδηραῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἐμπόροις ἀνεῖτο, καὶ πείσματα ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πυκνὰ καὶ ποικίλα· τοῦ δ' ἐντὸς ἐν μέσῳ νῆσος ἦν, καὶ κρηπῖσι μεγάλαις ἥ τε νῆσος καὶ ὁ λιμὴν διείληπτο. νεωρίων τε ἔγεμον αἱ κρηπῖδες αἵδε ἐς ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ εἴκοσι πεποιημένων, καὶ ταμιείων ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωρίοις ἐς τριηρετικὰ σκεύη. κίονες δ' ἑκάστου νεωσοίκου προὔχον Ἰωνικοὶ δύο, ἐς εἰκόνα στοᾶς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ τε λιμένος καὶ τῆς νήσου περιφέροντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς νήσου σκηνὴ ἐπεποίητο τῷ ναυάρχῳ, ὅθεν ἔδει καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν σημαίνειν, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα προλέγειν, καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐφορᾶν. ἔκειτο δ' ἡ νῆσος κατὰ τὸν ἔσπλουν, καὶ ἀνετέτατο ἰσχυρῶς, ἵνα ὅ τε ναύαρχος τὰ ἐκ πελάγους πάντα ἐφορᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσιν ἀφανὴς ἡ τῶν ἔνδον ᾖ ὄψις ἡ ἀκριβής. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐσπλεύσασιν ἐμπόροις εὐθὺς ἦν τὰ νεώρια σύνοπτα· τεῖχός τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς διπλοῦν περιέκειτο, καὶ πύλαι, αἳ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λιμένος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφερον οὐ διερχομένους τὰ νεώρια.

97. Οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἡ τότε, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ᾔεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, Μανίλιος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς

war was arranged and provided for in their walls alone. The angle which ran around from this wall to the harbour along the tongue of land mentioned above was the only weak and low spot in the fortifications, having been neglected from the beginning. CHAP XIV

96. The harbours had communication with each other, and a common entrance from the sea seventy feet wide, which could be closed with iron chains. The first port was for merchant vessels, and here were collected all kinds of ships' tackle. Within the second port was an island, and great quays were set at intervals round both the harbour and the island. These embankments were full of shipyards which had capacity for 220 vessels. In addition to them were magazines for their tackle and furniture. Two Ionic columns stood in front of each dock, giving the appearance of a continuous portico to both the harbour and the island. On the island was built the admiral's house, from which the trumpeter gave signals, the herald delivered orders, and the admiral himself overlooked everything. The island lay near the entrance to the harbour, and rose to a considerable height, so that the admiral could observe what was going on at sea, while those who were approaching by water could not get any clear view of what took place within. Not even incoming merchants could see the docks at once, for a double wall enclosed them, and there were gates by which merchant ships could pass from the first port to the city without traversing the dockyards. Such was the appearance of Carthage at that time. The two harbours

97. But the consuls, having divided their work, moved against the enemy. Manilius advanced from the mainland by way of the isthmus, intending to

CAP. XIV ἠπείρου κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐγχώσων τε τὴν τάφρον καὶ βραχὺ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βιασόμενος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τείχη· Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ κλίμακας ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ νεῶν ἐπέφερε κατὰ τὴν εὐτελῆ τοῦ τείχους γωνίαν. ἄμφω δ' ὡς ἀνόπλων κατεφρόνουν, ἕως ἐντυχόντες ὅπλοις τε καινοῖς καὶ ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ παραλόγῳ κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ὑπεχώρουν. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει, ἐλπίσασιν ἀμαχὶ λήψεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν καὶ αὖθις ἀπετύγχανον, τὰ μὲν τῶν Καρχηδονίων φρονήματα ἐπῆρτο, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι δεδιότες Ἀσδρούβαν ὄπισθεν σφῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν λίμνην οὐκ ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἐστρατοπεδευμένον, ὠχύρουν καὶ αὐτοὶ δύο στρατόπεδα, Κηνσωρῖνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων, Μανίλιος δ' ἐν τῷ αὐχένι τῆς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ὁδοῦ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγήγερτο τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἐπὶ ὕλῃ ἐς μηχανὰς διέπλευσε διὰ τῆς λίμνης· καὶ ἀπέβαλεν ὑλοτόμων ἐς πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ὅπλα τε πολλά, Ἰμίλκωνος αἰφνίδιον αὐτῷ, τοῦ Καρχηδονίων ἱππάρχου, προσπεσόντος, ᾧ Φαμέας ἐπώνυμον ἦν. κομίσας δ' ὅμως τινὰ ὕλην, μηχανὰς ἐποίησε καὶ κλίμακας. καὶ πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν ἄμφω τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀπετύγχανον ὁμοίως. Μανίλιος μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἔτι προσκαμὼν καὶ μόλις τι τοῦ προτειχίσματος καταβαλών, ἀπέγνω μηδὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι ταύτῃ·

98. Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ χώσας τι τῆς λίμνης παρὰ τὴν ταινίαν, ἵνα εὐρύτερον εἴη, δύο μηχανὰς κριοφόρους ἐπῆγε μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ὠθουμένην

fill up the ditch, surmount the low parapet overlooking it, and from that to scale the high wall. Censorinus raised ladders both from the ground and from the decks of ships against the neglected angle of the wall. Both of them despised the enemy, thinking that they were unarmed, but when they found that they were provided with new arms and were full of unexpected courage they were astounded and retreated. Thus they met a rebuff at the very beginning, in expecting to take the city without fighting. When they made a second attempt and were again repulsed, the spirits of the Carthaginians were very much raised. But the consuls, fearing Hasdrubal, who had pitched his camp behind them on the other side of the lake, not far distant, themselves fortified two camps, Censorinus on the lake under the walls of the enemy, and Manilius on the isthmus leading to the mainland. When the camps were finished Censorinus crossed the lake to get timber for building engines and lost about 500 men, who were cutting wood, and also many tools, the Carthaginian cavalry-general, Himilco, surnamed Phameas, having suddenly fallen upon them. Nevertheless, he secured a certain amount of timber with which he made engines and ladders. Again they made an attempt upon the city in concert, and again they failed. Manilius, after a few further efforts, having with difficulty beaten down part of the outworks, despaired even of attacking on that side.

CHAP. XIV

The Romans repulsed

98. Censorinus, having filled up a portion of the lake along the tongue of land in order to have a broader road, brought up two enormous battering rams, one of which was driven by 6000 foot-soldiers

CAP. XIV ἑξακισχιλίοις πεζοῖς, ἡγουμένων τῶν χιλιάρχων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρετῶν, ἡγουμένων καὶ τοῖσδε ναυάρχων. φιλονεικίας δ', ὡς ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ ὁμοίῳ ἔργῳ, τοῖς τε ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν γενομένης, συνέπεσέ τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἤδη κατεφαίνετο. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι, τὰ πεσόντα νυκτὸς ᾠκοδόμουν. οὐκ ἀρκούσης δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς τῆς νυκτός, δεδιότες περὶ τῷ ἤδη γεγονότι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ νεότευκτον καὶ ὑγρὸν ἔτι καταβάλοιεν, ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν σὺν ὅπλοις, οἱ δὲ γυμνοὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν μὲν οὐχ ὅλα (οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων), ἀχρεῖα δ' ὅλα ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρουν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέπεσεν ὁρμὴ διὰ τοῦ πεσόντος οὔπω τελέως ἐγηγερμένου βιάσασθαι καὶ ἐσδραμεῖν· καὶ γάρ τι πεδίον ἐντὸς ἐφαίνετο εὐφυὲς ἐς μάχην, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐνόπλους ἔστησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ μετώπου, τοὺς δ' ἀνόπλους αὐτοῖς ἐπέταξαν σὺν λίθοις ὀπίσω καὶ ξύλοις, ἑτέρους τε πολλοὺς διαθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν περικειμένων οἰκιῶν ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἐπερχομένους ἐσδραμεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο ὡς ὑπὸ γυμνῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονούμενοι, καὶ θρασέως ἐπεπήδων. Σκιπίων δέ, ὃς μετ' ὀλίγον εἶλε Καρχηδόνα καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπεκλήθη, χιλιαρχῶν τότε ὤκνει, καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόχους ἐς πολλὰ διελών, καὶ στήσας ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπὶ τοῦ τειχίου, κατιέναι μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ εἴα, τοὺς

under charge of the military tribunes, and the other by oarsmen of the ships under charge of their captains. The two detachments, officers as well as men, were fired by rivalry in the performance of their similar tasks, and beat down a part of the wall, so that they could look into the city. But even so the Carthaginians drove them back and began to repair the breaches in the wall by night. As the night time was not sufficient for the work and they feared lest the Roman engines should readily destroy by daylight the part which they had already completed, as it was newly made and still moist, they made a sally, some with arms and others with torches only, to set fire to the machines. They had not time to burn these entirely (the Romans running up and preventing them), but they rendered them quite useless and regained the city. When daylight returned the Romans conceived the purpose of rushing in through the opening where the Carthaginians had not finished their work and overpowering them. They saw inside an open space, well suited for fighting, where the Carthaginians had stationed armed men in front and others in the rear provided only with stones and clubs, and many others on the roofs of the neighbouring houses, all in readiness to meet the invaders. The Romans, when they saw themselves scorned by an unarmed enemy, were still more exasperated, and dashed in fiercely. But Scipio, who a little later took Carthage and from that feat gained the surname Africanus, being then a military tribunal, held back, divided his companies into several parts, and stationed them at intervals along the wall, not allowing them to go down into the city. When those who entered were driven

CHAP. XIV

Roman rams destroyed

Scipio the younger

CAP. XIV δὲ ἐσελθόντας ἐξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντων ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιέσωζεν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξης ἐποίησεν, εὐβουλότερον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φανέντα.

99. Κυνὸς δ' ἦν ἐπιτολή, καὶ τὸ Κηνσωρίνου στρατόπεδον ἐνόσει, σταθμεῦον ἐπὶ λίμνῃ σταθεροῦ καὶ βαρέος ὕδατος καὶ ὑπὸ τείχεσι μεγίστοις, οὐ καταπνεόμενον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ὅθεν ὁ Κηνσωρῖνος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης μετεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὅτε γίγνοιτο πνεῦμα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίφορον, σκάφας φρυγάνων καὶ στυππίου εἵλκον ὑπὸ τοῖς τείχεσιν, οὐ καθορώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπὸ κάλων· εἰ δὲ ἐπικάμπτοντες ἔμελλον γενήσεσθαι καταφανεῖς, θεῖον αὐταῖς καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ ἱστία, καὶ πλήσαντες ἀνέμου πῦρ ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὰ σκάφη. τὰ δὲ τῷ τε ἀνέμῳ καὶ τῇ ῥοπῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐς τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἐωθεῖτο καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ ὀλίγου τὸν στόλον κατέφλεξεν. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ Κηνσωρῖνος μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ᾤχετο ἀρχαιρεσιάσων, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῷ Μανιλίῳ θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο· καὶ νυκτός, οἱ μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντες οἱ δὲ γυμνοί, σανίδας φέροντες ἐπετίθεσαν τῇ κατὰ σφᾶς τάφρῳ τοῦ Μανιλίου, καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα διέσπων. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ τῶν ἔνδον, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐξέδραμε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατὰ πύλας ἄλλας, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς πόλεμος, καὶ περιδραμὼν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους κατεφόβησεν. οἱ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ δεύτερον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐδόκει τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ περισῶσαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐν νυκτὶ θορυβουμένους.

back by the Carthaginians, who fell upon them from all sides, he gave them succour and saved them from destruction. And this action first brought him renown, as he had shown himself wiser than the general. CHAP. XIV

99. Now the dog star began to rise and sickness broke out in the army of Censorinus, whose camp was pitched on a lake of stagnant and impure water, under high walls shutting off the fresh air from the sea. For this reason he moved his station from the lake to the sea. The Carthaginians, whenever the wind blew toward the Romans, towed along small boats, filled with twigs and tow, under the walls, where they could not be seen by the enemy. When they were turning the corner, and were just about to be sighted, they poured brimstone and pitch over the contents, spread the sails, and, as the wind filled them, set fire to the boats. These, driven by the wind and the fury of the flames against the Roman ships, set fire to them and came a little short of destroying the whole fleet. Shortly afterwards Censorinus went to Rome to conduct the election. Then the Carthaginians began to press more boldly against Manilius. They made a sally by night, some with arms, others unarmed, carrying planks with which to bridge the ditch of the Roman camp, and began to tear down the palisades. While all was in confusion in the camp, as is usual in nocturnal assaults, Scipio passed out with his horse by the rear gates where there was no fighting, moved around to the front, and so frightened the Carthaginians that they betook themselves to the city. Thus a second time Scipio appeared to have been the salvation of the Romans by his conduct in this nocturnal panic. Fleet burned

CAP. XIV 100. Ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠχύρου, τεῖχός τε ἀντὶ χάρακος αὐτῷ περιτιθεὶς καὶ ἐπίνειον φρούριον ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης διὰ τὴν καταπλέουσαν ἀγοράν· τραπεὶς δ' ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια μυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, ξυλευόμενός τε καὶ χορτολογῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν συλλέγων. ἡγεῖτο δ' ἀεὶ τῶν προνομευόντων χιλίαρχος ἕτερος παρ' ἕτερον. καὶ Φαμέας ὁ ἵππαρχος ὁ τῶν Λιβύων, νέος τε ὢν ἔτι καὶ θρασύτερος ἐς μάχας, καὶ ἵπποις χρώμενος μικροῖς καὶ ταχέσι, καὶ ποηφαγοῦσιν ὅτε μηδὲν εἴη, καὶ φέρουσι δίψος, εἰ δεήσειε, καὶ λιμόν, ὑποκρυπτόμενος ἐν λόχμαις ἢ φάραγξιν, ὅπῃ τι ἀμελούμενον ἴδοι, ἐφίπτατο ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ὥς τις ἀετός, καὶ λυμηνάμενος ἀπεπήδα· ὅτε δὲ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι, οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπεφαίνετο. ὁ γάρ τοι Σκιπίων ἀεὶ συντεταγμένους ἦγε τοὺς πεζούς, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας τῶν ἵππων ἐπιβεβηκότας· ἔν τε ταῖς προνομαῖς οὐ πρὶν διέλυε τὴν σύνταξιν ἢ τὸ πεδίον, ὃ ἔμελλε θεριεῖν, ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὁπλίταις περιλάβοι· καὶ τότε κύκλῳ αὐτὸς ἑτέραις ἴλαις ἱππέων ἀεὶ περιήει, καὶ τῶν θεριζόντων τὸν ἀποσκιδνάμενον ἢ ἐξιόντα τοῦ κύκλου πικρῶς ἐκόλαζεν.

XV

CAP. XV 101. Ὅθεν οἱ Φαμέας οὐκ ἐπεχείρει μόνῳ. καὶ γιγνομένου τοῦδε συνεχῶς τὸ μὲν κλέος ἠΰξετο τῷ Σκιπίωνι, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι χιλίαρχοι κατὰ φθόνον

100. Manilius thereupon fortified his camp more carefully. He threw around it a wall in place of the palisade and built a fort on the sea-shore at the place where his supply-ships came in. Then, turning to the mainland, he ravaged the country with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse, collecting wood and forage and provisions. These foraging parties were in charge of the military tribunes by turns. Now Phameas, the commander of the African horse,—a young and daring soldier, who had small but swift horses that lived on grass when they could find nothing else, and could bear both hunger and thirst when necessary,—hiding in thickets and ravines, when he saw that the enemy were not on their guard swooped down upon them from his hiding-place like an eagle, inflicted as much damage on them as he could, and darted away again. But whenever Scipio was in command he never even made an appearance, because Scipio always kept his foot-soldiers in line and his horsemen on horseback, and in foraging never broke ranks until he had encircled the field where his harvesters were to work with cavalry and infantry. He then, in person, rode unceasingly round the circle with other squadrons of horse, and if any of the harvesters straggled away or passed outside of the circle he punished them severely.

CHAP. XIV

Exploits of Phameas

XV

101. For this reason he was the only one that Phameas did not attack. As this happened continually, the fame of Scipio was on the increase, so that the other tribunes, out of envy, spread a

CHAP. XV

A sally from the city

CAP. XV ἐλογοποίουν ξενίαν ἐκ πατερων εἶναι Φαμεᾳ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν τοῦδε πάππον. Λιβύων δὲ τοῖς ἐς πύργους καὶ φρούρια, ἃ πολλὰ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καταφυγοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χιλίαρχοι σπενδόμενοι καὶ μεθιέντες ἐπετίθεντο ἀπιοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐς τὰ οἴκοι παρέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐ πρὶν ἢ Σκιπίωνα ἀφικέσθαι συνετίθετο οὐδείς. τοσαύτη δόξα αὐτοῦ ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ πίστεως καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδίοις δι' ὀλίγου ἐγεγένητο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπανελθόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς προνομῆς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι νυκτὸς ἐπέθεντο τῷ ἐπινείῳ· καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ποικίλος, συνεπηχούντων ἐς ἔκπληξιν τῶν ἐν ἄστει Καρχηδονίων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μανίλιος τὸν στρατὸν ἔνδον συνεῖχεν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ κακοῦ· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἱππέων ἴλας δέκα λαβὼν ἐπῆγε μετὰ δᾴδων ἡμμένων, προειπὼν διὰ τὴν νύκτα μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι, περιτρέχειν δὲ σὺν τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφαίνειν καὶ φόβον ἐμπεσουμένων παρέχειν ἀεί, μέχρι ταρασσόμενοι διχόθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κατεπλάγησαν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσέφυγον. καὶ τόδε τοῖς Σκιπίωνος κατορθώμασι προσεγίγνετο. ἦν τε διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὡς μόνος ἄξιος Παύλου τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Μακεδόνας ἑλόντος καὶ τῶν Σκιπιώνων, ἐς οὓς κατὰ θέσιν ἀνείληπτο.

102. Μανιλίου δὲ ἐς Νέφεριν ὁδεύοντος ἐπὶ Ασδρούβαν, ἐδυσχεραινεν ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρῶν πάντα ἀπόκρημνα καὶ φάραγγας καὶ λόχμας, καὶ τὰ

report that there was an understanding between Phameas and Scipio, arising from the former friendship between the ancestors of Phameas and Scipio's grandfather Scipio. Certain Africans had taken refuge in towers and castles, with which the country abounded. The other tribunes, after granting them terms and letting them go free, used to set upon them as they departed; but Scipio always conducted them safely home, and after this none of them would make any agreement before Scipio arrived. So great had his reputation for courage and good faith become in a short time among both friends and enemies. After the Romans had returned from their foraging the Carthaginians made a night attack on their fort by the sea, causing tremendous confusion, in which the citizens joined by making noises to add to the alarm. While Manilius kept his forces inside, not knowing where the danger lay, Scipio, taking ten troops of horse, led them out with lighted torches, ordering them, as it was night, not to attack the enemy, but to course around them with the firebrands and make a show of numbers and to frighten them by making a feint of attacking here and there. This was done until the Carthaginians, thrown into confusion on both sides, became panic-stricken and took refuge in the city. This also was added to the successes of Scipio. After all he had done, men talked of him as the only worthy successor of his father, Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, and of the Scipios into whose family he had been received by adoption. CHAP. XV

102. Manilius undertook an expedition to Nepheris against Hasdrubal, of which Scipio disapproved, because the road was flanked by mountain crags, Manilius marches against Hasdrubal

CAP. XV

ὑψηλὰ προειλημμένα. ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐγεγένητο τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα, καὶ ἔς τι ῥεῦμα καταβάντας ἐχρῆν ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν, ἐνέκειτο δὴ τότε, καὶ συνεβούλευε στραφῆναι ὡς ἄλλου καιροῦ καὶ μηχανῆς ἄλλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν δεομένους. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ζῆλον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἑτέρων χιλιάρχων, καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ οὐκ εὐβουλίαν ἡγουμένων εἰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰδόντες ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καταφρονοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐπικείσονται, δεύτερα τούτων ἠξίου στρατόπεδον πρὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐγεῖραι, ἵν' εἰ βιασθεῖεν, ἔχοιεν ἀναχώρησιν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς νῦν οὐδ' ὅποι καταφεύγοιεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐγέλων, καὶ τὸ ξίφος τις ἠπείλησεν ἀπορρίψειν, εἰ μὴ Μανίλιος ἀλλὰ Σκιπίων ἄρχοι. διέβαινεν οὖν ὁ Μανίλιος, οὐδὲ τἆλλα ὢν ἐμπειροπόλεμος, καὶ αὐτῷ περάσαντι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπήντα, φόνος τε ἦν πολὺς ἐξ ἑκατέρων. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἀνδραμὼν ἐς τὸ φρούριον, ἔνθα μηδὲν παθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐφήδρευεν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σὺν μετανοίᾳ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπεχώρουν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐν τάξει· δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ διαβάσεων ὀλίγων τε καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἐς ἀταξίαν διῃροῦντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὁ Ἀσδρούβας καθορῶν ἐπέκειτο λαμπρῶς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ πλῆθος ἔκτεινεν οὐδ' ἀμυνομένων ἀλλὰ φευγόντων. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τρεῖς οἳ τὸν στρατηγὸν μάλιστα ἐπεπείκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην.

gorges, and thickets, and the heights were occupied by the enemy. When they had come within a third of a mile of Hasdrubal, and to the bed of a river where it was necessary to go down and up again, in order to reach the enemy, Scipio urged him earnestly to turn back, saying that another time and other means were needed for attacking Hasdrubal. The other tribunes, moved by jealousy, took the opposite view and held that it savoured of cowardice, rather than of prudence, to turn back after coming in sight of the enemy, and that it would embolden him to attack them in the rear. Then Scipio counselled, as second best, that they ought to fortify a camp on the further side of the stream, to which they could retreat if they were overpowered, there being now no place in which they could even seek refuge. The others laughed at this also, and one of them threatened to throw away his sword if Scipio, instead of Manilius, were to command the expedition. Thereupon Manilius, who had not had much experience in war, crossed the river and on the other side encountered Hasdrubal. There was great slaughter on both sides. Finally Hasdrubal withdrew into his stronghold, where he was safe and from which he could watch his chance of attacking the Romans as they moved off. The latter, who already repented of their undertaking, retired in good order till they came to the river. As the crossing was difficult on account of the scarcity and narrowness of the fords, it was necessary for them to break ranks. When Hasdrubal saw this he made a more brilliant attack than ever, and slew a great number of them who fled without resistance. Among the killed were three of the tribunes who had been chiefly instrumental in urging the consul to risk the engagement.

CHAP. XV

He is repulsed

His flight

CAP. XV

103. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας οὓς εἶχεν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους συναγαγεῖν ἔφθασε, διελὼν ἐς δύο τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπῆγε σὺν δρόμῳ πολλῷ, παρὰ μέρος ἀκοντίζοντάς τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποχωροῦντας, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπιόντας καὶ πάλιν εὐθὺς ἀποπηδῶντας. οὕτω γὰρ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀεὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀκοντίσαντας ἀπελαύνειν, ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλῳ περιιόντας. γιγνομένου δὲ τοῦδε πυκνοῦ, καὶ διαστήματος οὐδενὸς ὄντος, οἱ μὲν Λίβυες ἐβάλλοντο συνεχῶς, καὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἧσσον τοῖς περῶσιν ἐπέκειντο, οἱ δ' ἔφθασαν διελθεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα. καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀφίππευσε βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς. σπεῖραι δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πόνου τέσσαρες ἀποσχισθεῖσαι τοῦ ῥεύματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔς τινα λόφον ἀνέδραμον· καὶ αὐτὰς ὁ Ἀσδρούβας περιεκάθητο, ἀγνοούντων ἔτι Ῥωμαίων, ἕως ἐστάθμευσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθον, ἠπόρουν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει φεύγειν καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἅπασι δι' ὀλίγους, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐδίδασκεν ἀρχομένων μὲν ἔργων εὐβουλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, κινδυνεύοντων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε καὶ σημείων τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινας ἱππέων ἴλας, ἐπανοίσειν ἔφη ἐκείνους, ἢ χαίρων αὐτοῖς συναπολεῖσθαι. δύο τε ἡμερῶν σιτία φέρων εὐθὺς ὥδευε, δεδιότος πάνυ τοῦ στρατοῦ μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. ὡς δ' ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, τὸν μὲν ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ κατέλαβε, καὶ μία τοὺς δύο χαράδρα διεῖργεν, οἱ δὲ Λίβυες τότε

A detachment rescued

103. Scipio, taking 300 horsemen that he had with him and as many more as he could hastily collect, divided them into two bodies and led them, with many charges, against the enemy, by turns discharging darts at them and quickly retreating, then coming back at them and again quickly darting away, for he had given orders that one-half of them should advance by turns continually, discharge their javelins, and retire, as though they were attacking on all sides. This movement being constantly repeated without any intermission, the Africans, thus continuously assailed, turned against Scipio and pressed less heavily on those who were crossing. The latter thus had time to get across the stream, and then Scipio rode away after them under a shower of darts and with great difficulty. At the beginning of this fight four Roman cohorts were cut off from the stream by the enemy and took refuge on a hill. These Hasdrubal surrounded, and the Romans did not miss them till they came to a halt. When they learned the facts they were in great perplexity. Some thought they ought to continue their retreat and not endanger the whole army for the sake of a few, but Scipio maintained that while deliberation was proper when you were laying your plans, yet in an emergency, when so many men and their standards were in danger, nothing but reckless daring was of any use. Then he himself, selecting some companies of horse, said that he would either rescue them or gladly perish with them. Taking two days' rations, he set out at once, the army being in great fear lest he should never return himself. When he came to the hill where the men were besieged he took possession of another eminence hard by and separated

CAP. XV μάλιστα ἐπέκειντο τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνενεύκεσαν, ὡς οὔπω δυναμένου τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐπικουρεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας συντόνου. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὡς εἶδε τὰς πέζας τῶν δύο λόφων τὴν χαράδραν περιιούσας, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ περιέδραμε δι' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἤδη κυκλούμενοι διέφευγον ἀκόσμως, μεθιέντος αὐτοὺς ἀπιέναι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἀδεῶς, πολὺ πλείονας ὄντας.

104. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὁ Σκιπίων περιέσωσεν ἐν ἀπογνώσει γενομένους. καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ στρατιὰ μακρόθεν ἰδοῦσα ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένον τε καὶ περισώσαντα τοὺς ἑτέρους, μέγα ἠλάλαξαν ἡδόμενοι. καὶ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἐδόξαζον, ὃ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Σκιπίωνι προσημαίνειν ἐδόκει τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μανίλιος ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατόπεδον, πολλὴν τίσιν ὑποσχὼν τοῦ μὴ πεισθῆναι Σκιπίωνι τῆς στρατείας ἀποτρέποντι· ἀχθομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πεσόντων ἀταφίᾳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις, ὁ Σκιπίων τινὰ λύσας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν, καὶ παρῄνει θάψαι τοὺς χιλιάρχους. ὁ δ' ἐρευνησάμενος τὰ νεκρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς σφραγῖδος εὑρών (χρυσοφοροῦσι γὰρ τῶν στρατευομένων οἱ χιλίαρχοι, τῶν ἐλαττόνων σιδηροφορούντων), ἔθαψεν αὐτούς, εἴτε τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπειον καὶ κοινὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγούμενος, εἴτε τὴν Σκιπίωνος δόξαν ἤδη δεδιώς τε καὶ θεραπεύων. Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀναζευγνύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα ἐπέκειτο

from the former by a narrow ravine. The Africans thereupon pressed the siege vigorously, making signals to each other and thinking that Scipio would not be able to relieve his friends after his forced march. But Scipio, seeing that the bases of the two hills curved around the ravine, lost no time, but dashed around them and secured a position above the enemy. They, finding themselves surrounded, fled in disorder. Scipio did not pursue them, as they were much superior in numbers. CHAP. XV

104. Thus Scipio saved these men also, who had been given up for lost. When the army at a distance saw him returning safe himself, and having saved the others contrary to expectation, they shouted for joy and conceived the idea that he was aided by the same deity that was supposed to have enabled his grandfather Scipio to foresee the future. Manilius then returned to his camp in front of the city, having suffered severely from not following the advice of Scipio, who had tried to dissuade him from the expedition. When all were grieved that those who had fallen in battle, and especially the tribunes, remained unburied, Scipio released one of the captives and sent him to Hasdrubal, asking that he would give burial to the tribunes. The latter, searched among the corpses, and, recognizing them by their signet rings (for the military tribunes wore gold rings while the common soldiers had only iron ones), he buried them, thus thinking to do an act of humanity not uncommon in war, or perhaps because he was in awe of the reputation of Scipio and thought to do him a service. As the Romans were returning from the expedition against Hasdrubal Phameas made an attack upon them while demoral-

CAP. XV Φαμέας, διὰ τὸ πταῖσμα θορυβουμένοις· ἐσιοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντες ὑπήντων, καί τινα καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων διέφθειραν.

XVI

CAP. XVI 105. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπεμπε τοὺς εἰσομένους καὶ μεταδώσοντας αὐτῇ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα, ἐφ' ὧν ὅ τε Μανίλιος καὶ τὸ συνέδριον καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων, ἐσβεσμένου τοῦ φθόνου διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν, ἐμαρτύρουν τῷ Σκιπίωνι, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ὥστ' ἐπανελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διεθρόησαν ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρμήν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τούτοις μὲν ἔχαιρε, πολλῶν δὲ γεγενημένων πταισμάτων ἐς Μασσανάσσην ἔπεμπε, καὶ παρεκάλει συμμαχεῖν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα. ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πρέσβεων οὐ κατελήφθη, κάμνων δὲ γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων νόθους μὲν πλείονας, οἷς ἐδεδώρητο πολλά, γνησίους δὲ τρεῖς οὐδὲν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἔργα ἐοικότας, ἐκάλει τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πάππου σύμβουλόν οἱ περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσόμενον. ὁ δὲ ᾔει μὲν αὐτίκα, μικρὸν δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ὁ Μασσανάσσης ἀποψύχων ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς παισὶ πείθεσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς διαιρῇ τὰ ὄντα.

106. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἐς πάντα ἐπιτυχής, ᾧ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν

ised by that disaster, and when they were entering their camp the Carthaginians sallied out from the city to meet them and killed some of the camp followers. CHAP XV

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105. Meantime the Senate sent commissioners to the army to obtain and communicate to it accurate particulars, in whose presence Manilius and the council and the remaining tribunes bore testimony in favour of Scipio; for all jealousy had been stifled by his glorious actions. The whole army did the same, and his deeds spoke for themselves, so that the messengers, on their return, everywhere noised abroad the military skill and success of Scipio and the attachment of the soldiers to him. These things greatly pleased the Senate, but on account of the many mishaps that had taken place they sent to Masinissa to secure his utmost aid against Carthage. The envoys found that he was no longer living, having succumbed to old age and disease. Having several illegitimate sons, to whom he had made large gifts, and three legitimate ones, who differed from each other in their qualities, he had asked Scipio, on the ground of his friendship with him and with his grandfather, to come and consult with him concerning his children and the government. Scipio went immediately, but shortly before he arrived Masinissa breathed his last, having charged his sons to obey Scipio in the matter of the division of the estate. CHAP. XVI B.C. 148 Rising fame of Scipio Death of Masinissa

106. Having uttered these words he died. He had been a fortunate man in all respects. By divine

CAP. XVI θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἀφαιρεθέντι πρὸς Καρχηδονίων καὶ Σύφακος, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ προαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ Μαυρουσίων τῶν παρ' ὠκεανῷ μέχρι τῆς Κυρηναίων ἀρχῆς ἐς τὰ μεσόγεια, ἡμερῶσαι δὲ γῆν πολλήν, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν Νομάδων ποιφαγούντων διὰ τὸ ἀγεώργητον, θησαυρούς τε μεγάλους χρημάτων καταλιπεῖν καὶ στρατιὰν πολλὴν γεγυμνασμένην, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν Σύφακα μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἑλεῖν αὐτοχειρί, Καρχηδόνι δ' αἴτιον τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενέσθαι, πάμπαν ἀσθενῆ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπολιπόντα. ἔφυ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας τε καὶ εὔρωστος ἐς γῆρας πολύ, καὶ μάχης ἐπειρᾶτο μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου, ἵππου τε χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινεν. καὶ μεγίστῳ δὴ τῷδ' ἐτεκμηρίωσε μάλιστα τὴν εὐρωστίαν αὐτοῦ· πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ παίδων γιγνομένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων, οὔποτε μὲν ἦσαν αὐτῷ μείους τῶν δέκα, τετραετὲς δὲ παιδίον ἐνενηκοντούτης ὢν ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μασανάσσης ὧδε χρόνου τε καὶ σώματος ἔχων ἐτεθνήκει, Σκιπίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν νόθοις αὐτοῦ παισὶ προσέθηκεν ἑτέρας δωρεάς, τοῖς δὲ γνησίοις τοὺς μὲν θησαυροὺς καὶ φόρους καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς βασιλείας κοινὸν ἀπέφηνε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διέκρινεν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἁρμόσειν πρὸς ὃ ἐβούλετο ἕκαστος, Μικίψῃ μέν, ὃς πρεσβύτατος ὢν εἰρηνικώτατος ἦν, Κίρτην ἐξαίρετον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ, Γολόσσῃ δέ, στρατιωτικῷ τε ὄντι καὶ δευτέρῳ καθ' ἡλικίαν, πολέμου τε καὶ εἰρήνης εἶναι κυρίῳ, Μαστανάβᾳ δέ, ὃς νεώτατος ὢν ἤσκει δικαιοσύνην, δικάζειν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὰ ἀμφίλογα.

107. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ

favour he regained his ancestral kingdom, that had been snatched from him by Syphax and the Carthaginians, and extended it greatly from Mauritania on the ocean as far inland as the empire of Cyrene. He brought a good deal of land under cultivation where Numidian tribes had lived on herbs for want of agricultural knowledge. He left a great sum of money in his treasury and a large and well-disciplined army. Of his enemies he took Syphax prisoner with his own hand, and was a cause of the destruction of Carthage, having left it a prey to the Romans, completely deprived of strength. He was by nature tall, and very strong to extreme old age, and he participated in battles and could mount a horse without assistance to the day of his death. The strongest testimony to his robust health was, that while many children were born to him and died before him, he never had less than ten living at one time, and when he died, at the age of ninety, he left one only four years old. Such a lifetime and such strength of body had Masinissa. Scipio made gifts to the sons of his concubines in addition to those they had already received. To the legitimate sons he gave in common the treasures and the revenues and the title of king. The other things he divided as he judged fitting, according to the dispositions of each. To Micipsa, the oldest, a lover of peace, he assigned the city of Cirta and the royal palace there. Gulussa, a man of warlike parts and the next in age, he made arbiter of peace and war. Mastanabal, the youngest, who was a man of upright life, was appointed judge to decide causes between their subjects. CHAP. XVI

107. In this way Scipio divided the government

CAP. XVI περιουσίαν Μασσανάσσου διεῖλε τοῖς παισί, καὶ Γολόσσην εὐθὺς ἐς συμμαχίαν ἐπήγετο· ὁ δὲ τὰς Φαμέου μάλιστα ἐνέδρας, αἳ πολλὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν, ἐρευνώμενος ἀνέστελλεν. ἐν δέ τινι χειμασίᾳ Σκιπίων καὶ Φαμέας ἀντιπαρώδευον ἀλλήλοις, μέσην ἔχοντες ἄβατον χαράδραν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς ἀλλήλους δυνάμενοι. δεδιὼς δ' ὁ Σκιπίων μή τις ἐνέδρα κατὰ τὸ πρόσθεν εἴη, προϊὼν κατεσκέπτετο σὺν τρισὶ φίλοις. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Φαμέας ἰδὼν ἀντιπροήει μεθ' ἑνὸς φίλου. ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἰπεῖν τι θέλειν, ἐξίππευσε μεθ' ἑνὸς καὶ ὅδε φίλου. καὶ ὡς ἤδη κατακούειν ἐδύναντο ἀλλήλων, πρὸ Καρχηδονίων οἱ προελήλυθεν. "τί δὴ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐ προνοεῖς, εἰ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς δύνασαι;" ὁ δέ, "τίς ἐστιν," ἔφη, "μοι σωτηρία, Καρχηδονίων μὲν οὕτως ἐχόντων, Ῥωμαίων δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπονθότων;" καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, "ἐγγυῶμαί σοί," φησιν, "εἰ πιστὸς ἐγὼ καὶ ἀξιόχρεως, καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ συγγνώμην παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ χάριν ἔσεσθαι." ὁ δ' ἐπήνεσε μὲν ὡς ἀξιοπιστότατον ἐκ πάντων, "κρινῶ" δ', ἔφη· "κἂν δυνατὸν ἡγῶμαι, φανερὸν ἔσται σοι."

108. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις διεκρίθησαν, ὁ δὲ Μανίλιος αἰδούμενος τὴν δυσπραξίαν τὴν ἐς Ἀσδρούβαν αὐτῷ γενομένην, αὖθις ἐς Νέφεριν ἐστράτευε, πεντακαίδεκα ἡμερῶν τροφὰς ἐπαγόμενος. πλησιάσας δ' ἔθετο χάρακα καὶ ὠχύρου καὶ ἐτάφρευε, καθὰ Σκιπίων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ

and estate of Masinissa among his children, and he brought Gulussa straightway to the aid of the Romans. The latter in particular searched out the hiding-places from which Phameas had inflicted such distress upon the Romans, and put an end to his raids. One wintry day Scipio and Phameas found themselves on the opposite sides of an impassable water-course, where neither could do any harm to the other. Scipio, fearing lest there might be an ambuscade further on, advanced with three companions to reconnoitre. Phameas, observing this movement, advanced on the opposite side with one companion. Scipio, anticipating that Phameas wanted to say something to him, rode on also with a single companion. When they had come near enough to hear each other and were at a sufficient distance from the Carthaginians, Scipio said: "Why do you not look out for your own safety since you cannot do anything for your country's?" The other replied, "What chance is there for my safety when the affairs of Carthage are in such straits and the Romans have suffered so much at my hands?" "If you have any confidence in my word and influence," said Scipio, "I promise you both safety and pardon from the Romans and their favour besides." Phameas praised Scipio as the most trustworthy of men, and replied, "I will think of it, and if I find that it can be done I will let you know." Then they separated.

CHAP. XVI

A talk with Phameas

108. Manilius, being ashamed of the miscarriage of his attack upon Hasdrubal, again advanced to Nepheris, taking rations for fifteen days. When he neared the place he fortified a camp with palisade and ditch as Scipio had advised on the former

Treason of Phameas

CAP. XVI στρατείᾳ παρήγγειλεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων ἐν αἰδοῖ μείζονι ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόβῳ τοῦ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσι τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷδε ἦν ἀπορίας, ἐπιστολὴν δέ τις ἐκ τοῦ Γολόσσου στρατοῦ ἔφερε τῷ Σκιπίωνι. ὁ δ', ὡς εἶχε, σεσημασμένην ἐπέδειξε τῷ στρατηγῷ. καὶ λύσαντες ηὗρον· "ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγὼ μὲν τόδε τὸ χωρίον καταλήψομαι· σὺ δ' ἐλθὲ μεθ' ὅσων βούλει, καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξιν εἰπὲ δέχεσθαι τὸν νυκτὸς ἀφικνούμενον." ἡ μὲν ἐπιστολὴ χωρὶς ὀνομάτων τοιάδ' ἐδήλου, συνῆκε δ' ὁ Σκιπίων εἶναι παρὰ Φαμέου. καὶ ὁ Μανίλιος ἐδεδοίκει μὲν περὶ τῷ Σκιπίωνι, μή τις ἀπάτη παρ' ἀνδρὸς γένοιτο πιθανωτάτου πάντων ἐς ἐνέδρας· εὔελπιν δ' αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ἔπεμπεν, ἐπιτρέψας περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας δοῦναι πίστιν ἀσφαλῆ τῷ Φαμέᾳ, χάριν δὲ μὴ ὁρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι Ῥωμαίους τὰ πρέποντα ποιήσειν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησεν οὐδ' ἐπαγγελίας· ὁ γάρ τοι Φαμέας ὡς ἦκεν ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, περὶ μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔφη πιστεύειν δεξιουμένῳ Σκιπίωνι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέπειν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτασσε τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς μάχην, καὶ προπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἰλαρχῶν ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον ὡς ἐπί τινα σκέψιν ἑτέραν, εἶπεν· "εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἔτι τῇ πατρίδι βοηθεῖν, ἕτοιμός εἰμι μεθ' ὑμῶν· εἰ δ' ἔχει τὰ ἐκείνης ὡς ἔχει, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας προνοεῖν, καὶ πίστιν ἔλαβον ἐπί τε ἐμαυτῷ καὶ ὅσους πείσαιμι ὑμῶν, καιρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπιλέγεσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, τῶν δ' ἰλαρχῶν οἱ

occasion. But he accomplished nothing and was more ashamed than before, and was again in fear of being attacked by Hasdrubal on his retreat. While he was in this helpless state a messenger brought a letter from Gulussa's army to Scipio, which he showed to the consul under seal. Breaking the seal, they read as follows: "On such a day I will occupy such a place. Come there with as many men as you please and tell your outposts to receive one who is coming by night." Such was the content of the letter, which was without signature, but Scipio guessed that it was from Phameas. Manilius feared lest Scipio might be drawn into an ambuscade by this very persuasive plotter; nevertheless, when he saw how confident he was, he allowed him to go and authorized him to give Phameas the strongest assurances of safety, but not to say anything definite about reward, and only to promise him that the Romans would do what was fitting. There was no need of a promise however, for Phameas, when he came to the rendezvous, said that he trusted in the good faith of Scipio for his safety, and as for favours he would leave that to the Romans. Having said this he drew up his forces on the following day in battle order, and going forward with his officers into the space between the armies, as though to debate about some other matters, he said, "If there is any chance of rendering service to our country I am ready to stand by you for that purpose, but in the state of things that exists, I am going to look out for my own safety. I have made terms for myself and for as many of you as I can persuade to join me. It is time for you too to consider what is for your advantage." When he had said this, some

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μὲν σὺν τοῖς αὐτῶν ηὐτομόλησαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες ἐς διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἱππέας· τοὺς δ' Ἄννων κατεκώλυσεν, ᾧ Λεῦκος ἦν ἐπίκλησις.

109. Ἐπανιόντι δὲ τῷ Σκιπίωνι μετὰ τοῦ Φαμέου ὁ στρατὸς ἀπήντα, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ηὐφήμουν ὡς ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ. Μανίλιος δ' ὑπερηδόμενός τε, καὶ οὐκέτι τὴν ἐπάνοδον αἰσχρὰν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' Ἀσδρούβαν ἔψεσθαι προσδοκῶν καταπεπληγμένον, ἀνεζεύγνυεν αὐτίκα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἑπτακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἀντὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔχων. τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις ἐχρῆν κακοπαθοῦντα ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ οὖν Σκιπίων τόν τε Φαμέαν καὶ Γολόσσην καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑκατέρῳ λαβὼν ἱππέας, προσλαβὼν δέ τινας καὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν, ἐς πεδίον ἠπείχθη τὸ καλούμενον μέγα βάραθρον, καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λείαν τε καὶ ἀγορὰν ἦκε φέρων τῷ στρατῷ περὶ νύκτα. Μανίλιος δὲ πυθόμενός οἱ διάδοχον ἐπιέναι Καλπούρνιον Πίσωνα, προέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην Σκιπίωνα μετὰ Φαμέου· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν καταθέοντες ηὐφήμουν τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ ηὔχοντο ὕπατον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανελθεῖν ὡς μόνον αἱρήσοντα Καρχηδόνα. θεόληπτος γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἤδε ἡ δόξα ἐνέπιπτε, Σκιπίωνα μόνον αἱρήσειν Καρχηδόνα· καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέστελλον. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ Σκιπίωνα μὲν ἐπῄνει, Φαμέαν δ' ἐτίμησαν ἀλουργίδι καὶ ἐπιπορπήματι χρυσῷ καὶ ἵππῳ χρυσοφαλάρῳ καὶ πανοπλίᾳ καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμαῖς μυρίαις, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ μνᾶν ἑκατὸν ἀργύρωμα καὶ σκηνὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν ἐντελῆ. καὶ ἐπῄλπισαν περὶ πλειόνων, εἰ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου συνεκπονήσειεν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ' ὑποσχό-

of the officers went over to the enemy with their forces to the number of about 2200 horse. The remainder were prevented by Hanno, surnamed the White. CHAP XVI

109. When Scipio was returning with Phameas the army went out to meet him and saluted him with cheers as in a triumph. Manilius was overjoyed, and as he after this no longer considered his return disgraceful or thought that Hasdrubal would pursue him after such a stroke, he moved away from want of provisions on the seventeenth instead of the fifteenth day of the expedition. They were destined, however, to have three days more of suffering in their return. Scipio, taking Phameas and Gulussa and their horse, together with some of the Italian cavalry, hastened to the plain called the Great Pit and returned to the army by night laden with a great quantity of spoils and provisions. Manilius, learning that his successor, Calpurnius Piso, was coming, sent Scipio to Rome in advance with Phameas. The army conducted Scipio to the ship with acclamations and prayed that he might return to Africa as consul because they thought that he alone could take Carthage, for the opinion had sprung up among them, as by divine inspiration, that only Scipio would take Carthage, and many of them wrote to this effect to their relatives in Rome. The Senate lauded Scipio and bestowed on Phameas a purple robe with gold clasps, a horse with gold trappings, a complete suit of armour, and 10,000 drachmas of silver money. They also gave him 100 minas of silver plate and a tent completely furnished, and told him that he might expect more if he would co-operate with them to the end of the war. He

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μενος ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαιων στρατόπεδον.

110. Ἦκε δὲ Καλπούρνιος Πίσων ὁ ὕπατος ἅμα ἦρι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Μαγκῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν· οἳ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲ Ἀσδρούβᾳ, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπιόντες Ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀπετύγχανον, ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντες, ἑτέραν δ' ἐγγὺς εἷλεν ὁ Πίσων, καὶ διήρπαζεν αἰτιωμένην ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐς Ἱππάγρετα μετῆλθεν, ἣ μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ τείχεσι καὶ ἀκροπόλει καὶ λιμέσι καὶ νεωρίοις ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Σικελιωτῶν τυράννου κατεσκεύαστο καλῶς, μέση δ' οὖσα Καρχηδόνος καὶ Ἰτύκης τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήστευε τὴν Ῥωμαίοις διαπλέουσαν· ὅθεν καὶ πάνυ ἐπλούτουν. καὶ ὁ Καλπούρνιος ἀμύνασθαί τε αὐτοὺς ἐπενόει, καὶ τό γε κέρδος ἀφελέσθαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τὸ θέρος ὅλον ἐφεδρεύων οὐκ ἤννε, δὶς δ' ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Ἱππαγρέτιοι, Καρχηδονίων αὐτοῖς συμμαχούντων, τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτοῦ κατέπρησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄπρακτος ἐς Ἰτύκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐχείμαζεν.

111. Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ σφισι καὶ τὸ Ἀσδρούβα στρατόπεδον ἀπαθὲς ἦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ κρείττους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγεγένητο Πίσωνος ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἱππάγρετα, Βιθύας τε αὐτοῖς ὁ Νομὰς μετὰ ὀκτακοσίων ἱππέων ἀπὸ Γολόσσου προσεκεχωρήκει, καὶ Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας ἑώρων ὑπισχνουμένους μὲν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα, βραδύνοντας δὲ καὶ περιορωμένους ἄρα τὸ μέλλον, ἐπῄρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ Λιβύην ἀδεῶς ἐπῆεσαν,

promised to do so and set sail for the Roman camp in Africa. CHAP. XVI

110. In the early spring Calpurnius Piso, the new consul, arrived, and with him Lucius Mancinus as admiral of the fleet, but they did not attack either the Carthaginians or Hasdrubal. Marching against the neighbouring towns they made an attempt on Aspis by land and sea, and were repulsed. Piso took another town near by and destroyed it, the inhabitants accusing him of attacking them in violation of a treaty. He then moved against Hippagreta, a large city, with walls, citadel, harbour, and dockyards handsomely built by Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily. Being situated between Carthage and Utica it intercepted the Roman supply-ships and was growing rich thereby. Calpurnius thought to punish them and deprive them at least of their gains, but after besieging them the whole summer he accomplished nothing. Twice the inhabitants made sallies with the aid of the Carthaginians, and burned the Roman engines. The consul, being foiled, returned to Utica and went into winter quarters.

Arrival of the new consul Piso

Piso repulsed

111. The Carthaginians, finding themselves and the army of Hasdrubal unharmed, and having worsted Piso in the fighting around Hippagreta, and their forces being augmented by 800 horse, who had deserted from Gulussa, under Bithya, a Numidian chief, and seeing also that Micipsa and Mastanabal, the sons of Masinissa, were always promising arms and money to the Romans, but always delaying and waiting to see what would happen, plucked up their spirits and roamed through Africa without fear,

The Carthaginians in high spirits

CAP. XVI κρατυνόμενοί τε τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰ ὑβριστικὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιάζοντες. ἔς τε τὴν ἀνανδρίαν αὐτῶν προύφερον τὰ ἐς Νέφεριν αὐτοῖς δὶς γενόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ἔναγχος ἐς Ἱππάγρετα, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀνόπλου τε οὔσης καὶ ἀφράκτου μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι κατασχεῖν. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μικίψην καὶ Μαστανάβαν καὶ ἐς τοὺς αὐτονόμους Μαυρουσίων, παρακαλοῦντες ὁμοῦ, καὶ διδάσκοντες ὅτι καὶ σφίσι μεθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπιχειρήσουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἔστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν νομιζόμενον υἱὸν εἶναι Περσέως, πολεμοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἀνέπειθον ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καρτερῶς ὡς οὐκ ἐλλειψόντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος. ὅλως τε μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐφρόνουν ὁπλισάμενοι, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ κατὰ μικρὸν ηὔξοντο. ἐπῆρτο δ' ἐν μέρει καὶ Ἀσδρούβας ὁ κατὰ τὴν χώραν στρατηγὸς τῷ δὶς κρατῆσαι Μανιλίου· τήν τε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγίαν προσλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, Ἀσδρούβαν τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, ἀδελφιδοῦν ὄντα Γολόσσου, διέβαλλε τῇ βουλῇ τὰ Καρχηδονίων Γολόσσῃ προδιδόναι. καὶ τοῦ λόγου προτεθέντος ἐς μέσον, ὁ μὲν ἠπορεῖτο ὡς ἐπ' ἀδοκήτῳ, οἱ δὲ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποβάθροις κατέβαλον.

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CAP. XVII 112. Ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην ἐξαγγελλομενης τῆς τε Πίσωνος ἀπραξίας καὶ Καρχηδονίων παρασκευῆς, ὁ δῆμος ἤχθετο καὶ ἐδεδοίκει αὐξομένου πολέμου

fortifying the country and making abusive speeches in the town assemblies against the Romans. In proof of their cowardice they pointed out the two victories at Nepheris and the more recent one at Hippagreta, and to Carthage itself, which the enemy had not been able to take although it was unarmed and poorly defended. They also sent to Micipsa and Mastanabal and to the free Moors asking their aid, and showing them that after Carthage they too would be attacked by the Romans. They further sent messengers to Macedonia to the supposed son of Perseus, who was at war with the Romans, exhorting him to carry on the war with vigour and promising that Carthage would furnish him money and ships. Being now armed, their designs grew unbounded, and they gained in confidence, courage, and resources from day to day. Hasdrubal, who commanded in the country and had twice got the better of Manilius, was also in high spirits. Aspiring to the command in the city, which was held by another Hasdrubal, a nephew of Gulussa, he accused the latter of an intention to betray Carthage to Gulussa. This accusation being brought forward in the assembly, and the accused being at a loss to answer the unexpected charge, they fell upon him and beat him to death with the benches. CHAP. XVI

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112. When the ill-success of Piso and the preparations of the Carthaginians were reported at Rome, the people were chagrined and anxious about this great and implacable war, waged with a nation so CHAP XVII

CAP. XVII μεγάλου τε καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτου καὶ γείτονος· οὐ γάρ τινα διάλυσιν προσεδόκων, ἄπιστα πρότεροι κελεύσαντες. τῶν δ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἔργων, ἐν Λιβύῃ χιλιαρχοῦντος ἔτι, μεμνημένοι, καὶ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὰ τοῖς παροῦσι, τῶν τε ἐπεσταλμένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ στρατοπέδου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἀναφέροντες, ὥρμηντο ὕπατον ἐς Καρχηδόνα πέμπειν Σκιπίωνα. ἐνειστήκει δ' ἀρχαιρέσια, καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων (οὐ γάρ πω δι' ἡλικίαν αὐτῷ συνεχώρουν ὑπατεύειν οἱ νόμοι) ἀγορανομίαν μετῄει, καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ὕπατον ᾑρεῖτο. παρανόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν. τέλος δὲ τῶν δημάρχων τις ἔφη τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν, εἰ μὴ σύνθοιντο τῷ δήμῳ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐπείθετο λῦσαι τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ μετὰ ἔτος ἓν αὖθις ἀναγράψαι, οἷόν τι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, λύοντες ἐν χρείᾳ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τῶν ἁλόντων περὶ Πύλον, ἔφασαν· "κοιμάσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον." οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σκιπίων ἀγορανομίαν μετιὼν ᾑρητο ὕπατος, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ σύναρχος Δροῦσος περὶ Λιβύης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε διακληροῦσθαι, μέχρι τις τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγήσατο τῆσδε τῆς στρατηγίας τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ δήμου γενέσθαι· καὶ ὁ δῆμος εἵλετο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ἐδόθη δ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐκ μὲν καταλόγου, ὅσος ἦν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων,

near to them. There could be no expectation of peace since they had been the first to break faith. Remembering the recent exploits of Scipio, while still a military tribune, and comparing them with the present blunders and recalling the letters written to them by friends and relatives from the army on that subject, there was an intense desire that he should be sent to Carthage as consul. The elections were drawing near and Scipio was a candidate for the aedileship, for the laws did not permit him to hold the consulship as yet, on account of his youth; yet the people elected him consul. This was illegal, and when the consuls showed them the law they became importunate and were still more urgent, exclaiming that by the laws handed down from Tullius and Romulus the people were the judges of the elections, and that, of the laws pertaining thereto, they could set aside or confirm whichever they pleased. Finally one of the tribunes of the people declared that he would take from the consuls the power of holding an election unless they yielded to the people in this matter. Then the Senate allowed the tribunes to repeal this law and reenact it after one year. In like manner the Lacedemonians when they were obliged to relieve from disgrace those who had surrendered at Pylus said, "Let the laws sleep to-day." Thus Scipio, while seeking the aedileship, was chosen consul. When his colleague, Drusus, bade him cast lots to determine which should have Africa as his province, one of the tribunes proposed that the appointment to this command should be made by the people, and they chose Scipio. They allowed him to take as many soldiers by conscription as had been lost

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Scipio elected consul

CAP. XVII ἐθελοντὰς δ' ἄγειν ὅσους πείσειε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων, καὶ ἐς βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, ὅσας δοκιμάσειε, πέμπειν, τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιγράφοντα. καὶ ἔστιν οὓς ἔλαβεν οὕτω παρά τε πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων.

113. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε διοικησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐς Ἰτύκην ἔπλει· Καλπούρνιος δὲ Πίσων ἐπολιόρκει τὰ μεσόγεια, καὶ Μαγκῖνος ἐφορμῶν Καρχηδόνι, μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἀμελούμενον ἰδών, οὗ κρημνοὶ προύκειντο συνεχεῖς καὶ δύσβατοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦν καὶ ἀμελούμενον, ἤλπισε λαθὼν κλίμακας ἐποίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ προσέθηκε μέν, καί τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνῆλθον εὐτόλμως· οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δ' ὀλίγων ἔτι ὄντων καταφρονήσαντες, ἀνέῳξαν πύλην ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἐκφέρουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέδραμον. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεψάμενοί τε καὶ διώκοντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς πύλης συνεσέδραμον. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ γενομένης, ὅ τε Μαγκῖνος ἐκφερόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταχὺς ὢν καὶ κουφόνους, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἅμα τῷ Μαγκίνῳ, τὰς ναῦς ἀφέντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐβοηδρόμουν ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ γυμνοί. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ὄντος, ἐχυρόν τι πρὸς τῷ τείχει καταλαβόντες ἡσύχαζον, τροφῶν δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Μαγκῖνος ἐκάλει Πίσωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχοντας, ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι καὶ τροφὰς φέρειν κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν ἅμ' ἕῳ πρὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐξωθούμενος ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς συντριβήσεσθαι.

114. Σκιπίων δ' ἑσπέρας ἐς Ἰτύκην κατήγετο, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐντυχὼν οἷς ὁ Μαγκῖνος

in the war, and as many volunteers as he could persuade to enlist among the allies, and for this purpose to send to the allied kings and states letters written in the name of the Roman people, according to his own discretion, and in consequence he did obtain some assistance from them. CHAP. XVII

113. Having made these arrangements, Scipio sailed first to Sicily and thence to Utica. Piso, in the meantime, was laying siege to the towns of the interior. Mancinus, who was blockading Carthage, observing a neglected part of the wall, which was protected by continuous and almost impassable cliffs and had been neglected for that reason, hoped to scale the wall secretly by means of ladders. These being fixed, certain soldiers mounted boldly. The Carthaginians, despite their small numbers, opened a gate adjacent to these rocks and made a sally against the enemy. The Romans repulsed and pursued them, and rushed into the city through the open gate. They raised a shout of victory, and Mancinus, transported with joy (for he was rash and giddy by nature), and the whole crowd with him, rushed from the ships, unarmed or half-armed, to aid their companions. As it was now about sunset they occupied a strong position adjacent to the wall and spent the night there. Being without food, Mancinus called upon Piso and the magistrates of Utica to assist him in his perilous position and to send him provisions in all haste, for he was in danger of being thrust out by the Carthaginians at daylight and dashed to pieces on the rocks. B.C. 147

114. Scipio arrived at Utica that same evening, and happening, about midnight, to meet those to whom Mancinus had written, he ordered the trumpet He saves Mancinus from destruction

CAP. XVII ἔγραφε, τόν τε σαλπικτὴν ἐκέλευεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἠχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς κήρυκας συγκαλεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὅσοι συνεληλύθεσαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας Ἰτυκαίων· ὅσοι δ' ὑπερήλικες, ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰς τριήρεις καταφέρειν. αἰχμάλωτά τε Καρχηδονίων τινὰ λύσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεῖν Σκιπίωνα. ἔς τε τὸν Πίσωνα ἱππέας ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπε, καλῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσχάτης φυλακῆς ἀνήγετο, κελεύσας, ὅταν πλησιάζωσιν, ὀρθοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἑστάναι τοῦ πλέονα τὴν ὄψιν ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδ' ἔπρασσεν, ὁ δὲ Μαγκῖνος, ἅμ' ἕῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπιπιπτόντων, πεντακοσίους μέν, οὓς μόνους εἶχεν ἐνόπλους, περιέστησε τοῖς γυμνοῖς τρισχιλίοις οὖσι, τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ δι' ἐκείνων καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη κατεκρημνίζετο, καὶ αἱ νῆες ὤφθησαν αἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ῥοθίῳ τε φοβερῷ καταπλέουσαι καὶ μεσταὶ πανταχόθεν ὁπλιτῶν ἐφεστώτων, Καρχηδονίοις μὲν ᾐσθημένοις διὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οὐκ ἀνέλπιστοι, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀδόκητον σωτηρίαν φέρουσαι· μικρὸν γὰρ ὑποχωρησάντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὁ Σκιπίων τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας ἐς αὐτὰς ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ Μαγκῖνον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἔπεμψε (καὶ γὰρ ἦκεν αὐτῷ Σερρανὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν διάδοχος), αὐτὸς δ' οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστρατοπέδευεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν ἐς πέντε σταδίους προελθόντες ἀντήγειραν αὐτῷ χάρακα, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν χάρακα ἀφίκοντο Ἀσδρούβας τε ὁ τῆς χώρας στρατηγὸς καὶ Βιθύας ὁ ἵππαρχος ἑξακισχιλίους

to sound for battle immediately, and the heralds to call to the sea-shore those who had come with him from Italy, and also the young men of Utica, and he directed the older men to bring provisions to the galleys. At the same time, he released some Carthaginian captives so that they might go and tell their friends that Scipio was coming upon them with his fleet. To Piso he sent horseman after horseman, urging him to move with all speed. About the last watch he put to sea himself, giving orders to the soldiers that when they approached the city they should stand up on the decks in order to give an appearance of greater numbers to the enemy. At early dawn the Carthaginians attacked Mancinus from all sides, and he formed a circle with his 500 armed men, within which he placed the unarmed, 3000 in number. Suffering from wounds and being forced back to the wall, he was on the point of being pushed over the precipice when Scipio's fleet came in sight, amidst terrible clouds of spray, with soldiers crowding the decks everywhere. This was not a surprise to the Carthaginians, who had been advised of it by the returned prisoners, but to the Romans, who were ignorant of what had happened, Scipio brought unexpected relief, for when the Carthaginians drew back a little, he took those who had been in peril on board his ships. He then at once sent Mancinus to Rome (for his successor, Serranus, had come with Scipio to take command of the fleet), and himself pitched his camp not far from Carthage, while the Carthaginians advanced five stades from the walls and fortified a camp opposite him. Here they were joined by Hasdrubal, the commander of the forces in the country, and Bithya, the cavalry-general,

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CAP. XVII πεζοὺς ἄγοντες καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους, χρόνῳ καὶ μελέτῃ γεγυμνασμένους.

115. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων οὐδὲν εὔκοσμον ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁρῶν οὐδὲ τεταγμένον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀργίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἁρπαγὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πίσωνος ἐπιτετραμμένους, ἄλλο τε πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνόντας ἀγοραῖον, οἳ τῆς λείας χάριν ἑπόμενοι τοῖς θρασυτέροις συνεξέτρεχον ἐπὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἰοῦσι, τοῦ νόμου λιποστράτιον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἡγουμένου τὸν ἀποχωροῦντα πορρωτέρω σάλπιγγος ἀκοῆς, ὅσα τε παίσειαν οὗτοι, πάντα ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναφερόμενα, καὶ ὅσα διαρπάσειαν, ἑτέρας ἔριδος αὐτοῖς καὶ κακῶν γιγνόμενα ἀρχάς· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ συσκήνων κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἐς ἀνόμους πληγὰς καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀνδροφονίας ἐχώρουν. ὧν αἰσθόμενος ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ ἐλπίζων οὔποτε κρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων εἰ μὴ τῶν ἰδίων κρατήσειε, συνήγαγεν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν ἀναβὰς ἐπέπληξεν ὧδε.

116. "Ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑπὸ Μανιλίῳ στρατηγῷ ταττόμενος, τῆς εὐπειθείας ἐν ὑμῖν μάρτυσιν ἔδωκα πεῖραν, ἣν νῦν ὑμᾶς αἰτῶ στρατηγῶν, κολάσαι μὲν ἐς ἔσχατον ἔχων ἐξουσίαν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὠφέλιμον δ' ἡγούμενος προαγορεῦσαι. ἵστε δὲ ἃ πράττετε· καὶ τί με δεῖ λέγειν ἃ αἰσχύνομαι; ληστεύετε μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖτε, καὶ διαδιδράσκετε, οὐ στρατοπεδεύετε· καὶ πανηγυρίζουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν κερδῶν, οὐ πολιορκοῦσιν ἐοίκατε· καὶ τρυφᾶν ἐθέλετε πολεμοῦντες ἔτι, οὐ νενικηκότες. τοιγάρτοι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξ ἀέλπτου καὶ βραχέος, οὗ κατέλιπον, ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπῆρται

with 6000 foot-soldiers and about 1000 horse well trained and seasoned. CHAP. XVII

115. Scipio, finding no sort of discipline or order in the army, which Piso had habituated to idleness, avarice, and rapine, and a multitude of hucksters mingled with them, who followed the camp for the sake of booty, and accompanied the bolder ones when they made expeditions for plunder without permission (although in the eyes of the law everybody was a deserter who went out of hearing of the trumpet in time of war); seeing also that the commander was held to blame for all their mistakes and that the plunder they took was the cause of fresh quarrels and demoralization among them, since many of them fell out with their comrades on account of it and proceeded to blows, wounds, and even murder—in view of all these things and believing that he should never master the enemy unless he first mastered his own men, he called them together and mounting a high platform reprimanded them with these words:— Demoralization of the army

116. "Soldiers, when I served with you under the command of Manilius, I gave you an example of obedience, as you can testify. I ask the same from you, now that I am in command; for while I have power to punish the disobedient with the utmost severity, I think it best to give you warning beforehand. You know what you have been doing. Therefore why should I tell you what I am ashamed to speak of? You are more like robbers than soldiers. You are runaways instead of guardians of the camp. Avarice has made you more like a set of holiday-makers than a besieging army. You are in quest of luxuries in the midst of war and before the victory is Scipio's speech to his soldiers

CAP. XVII δυνάμεως, καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πόνος ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ῥᾳστώνης γέγονε χαλεπώτερος. τὰς δ' αἰτίας εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν οὔσας ἑώρων, εὐθὺς ἂν ἐκόλαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνατίθημι ἑτέρῳ, νῦν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀφίημι τῶν μέχρι νῦν γεγονότων. ἥκω δὲ οὐ λῃστεύσων ἔγωγε ἀλλὰ νικήσων, οὐδὲ χρηματιούμενος πρὸ τῆς νίκης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πρῶτον ἐξεργασόμενος. ἅπιτε πάντες ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τήμερον, ὅσοι μὴ στρατεύεσθε, χωρὶς τῶν ἐπιτραπησομένων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μένειν. τοῖς δ' ἐξιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπανελθεῖν δίδωμι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀγορὰν φέροι, καὶ ταύτην στρατιωτικήν τε καὶ ψιλήν. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ὡρισμένος ἐν ᾧ τὰ ὄντα διαθήσονται, καὶ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ ταμίας ἐπιμελησόμεθα. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἰρήσθω τοῖς περιττοῖς, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις ἓν ἔστω παράγγελμα κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις ὁ ἐμὸς τρόπος καὶ πόνος· πρὸς γὰρ τόδε κατευθύνοντες αὐτοὺς οὔτε προθυμίας ἁμαρτήσεσθε οὔτε χάριτος ἀτυχήσετε. χρὴ δὲ νῦν μὲν πονεῖν, ἐν ᾧ κινδυνεύομεν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν ἐς τὸν πρέποντα καιρὸν ἀναθέσθαι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ προστάσσω καὶ ὁ νόμος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθῶς ἔχουσιν οἵσει πολλὴν ἀναθῶν ἀμοιβήν, τοῖς δ' ἀπειθοῦσι μετάνοιαν."

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CAP. XVIII 117. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ταῦτ' εἶπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπήλαυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀχρείων, καὶ συν αὐτοῖς ὅσα περιττὰ καὶ μάταια καὶ τρυφερὰ ἦν. καθαροῦ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου καὶ περιδεοῦς

won. For this reason the enemy, from the hopeless weakness in which I left him, has risen to such strength, and your labour has been made harder by your laziness. If I considered you to blame for this I should punish you at once, but since I ascribe it to another, I shall overlook the past. I have come here not to rob, but to conquer, not to make money before victory, but to overcome the enemy first. Now, all of you who are not soldiers must leave the camp to-day, except those who have my permission to remain, and of those who go, I shall allow none to come back except such as bring food, and this must be plain soldiers' food. A definite time will be given to them to dispose of their goods, and I and my quaestor will superintend the sale. So much for the camp followers. For you, soldiers, I have one order adapted to all occasions, and that is, that you follow the example of my habits and my industry. If you observe this rule you will not be wanting in your duty and you will not fail of your reward. We must toil while the danger lasts; spoils and luxury must be posponed to their proper time. This I command and the law as well. Those who obey shall reap large rewards; those who do not will repent it."

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XVIII

117. HAVING spoken thus, Scipio forthwith expelled the crowd of useless persons and with them whatever was superfluous, useless, or luxurious. The army being thus purged, and full of awe for him, and keenly

CHAP. XVIII

Scipio restores discipline

CAP. XVIII καὶ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέος, ἀπεπείραζε τῶν καλουμένων Μεγάρων νυκτὸς μιᾶς διχῇ λανθάνων. χωρίον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρεζευγμένον· ἐς ὃ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρους περιέπεμπε, τῇ δ' αὐτὸς σὺν πελέκεσι καὶ κλίμαξι καὶ μοχλοῖς ἐβάδιζε σταδιους εἴκοσιν ἀψοφητί, μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. αἰσθήσεως δ' ἄνωθεν, ὅτε μάλιστ' ἐπλησίαζε, καὶ βοῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν γενομένης, ἀντεβόησεν αὐτός τε πρῶτος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀπεσταλμένοι μέγιστον, ὡς τῷδε πρώτῳ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καταπλαγῆναι, τοσούτων ἐχθρῶν ἐν πλευραῖς ἄφνω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος οὐδέν, καίπερ ἐπιχειρῶν, ἤνυεν, ἐς δέ τινος ἰδιώτου πύργον ἔρημον, ἐκτὸς ὄντα τοῦ τείχους καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον ὄντα τῷ τείχει, νεανίας ἀνεβίβασεν εὐτόλμους, οἳ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίοις ἀνέστελλον, ξύλα τε καὶ σανίδας ἐς τὸ διάστημα ἐπιθέντες καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τείχη διαδραμόντες καθήλαντο ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ πυλίδα κόψαντες ἐδέχοντο τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ ἐσῆλθε μὲν σὺν ἀνδράσι τετρακισχιλίοις, καὶ φυγη ταχεῖα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ἦν ὡς τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἁλούσης. βοή τε ἐγίγνετο ποικίλη καὶ τινῶν αἰχμαλωσία καὶ θόρυβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἔξω στρατοπεδεύοντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐς τὴν Βύρσαν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναδραμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων (τὸ γὰρ χωρίον, τὰ Μέγαρα, ἐλαχανεύετο καὶ φυτῶν ὡραίων ἔγεμεν, αἱμασιαῖς τε καὶ

intent for his commands, he made an attempt one night, in two different places, to surprise that part of Carthage called Megara. This was a very large suburb adjacent to the city wall. He sent a force round against the opposite side, while he himself advanced directly against it a distance of twenty stades with axes, ladders, and crowbars, without noise and in the deepest silence. When quite near, they were sighted from above, and a shout was raised from the walls. They shouted back—first Scipio and his force, then those who had gone around to the other side—as loudly as possible, so that the Carthaginians were now for the first time alarmed when they found themselves suddenly attacked in flank, in the night, by this large hostile force. In his attack on the wall, however, Scipio, in spite of his efforts, accomplished nothing; but he sent some of his bravest young men to a deserted tower outside the walls, belonging to a private citizen, of the same height as the walls themselves. These men with their javelins fought back the guards on the wall, threw planks across, and made a bridge by which they reached the walls, descended into the town, broke open a gate, and admitted Scipio. He entered with 4,000 men, and the Carthaginians made a hasty flight to Byrsa, thinking that the remainder of the city had already been taken. All kinds of noises were raised and there was great tumult. Many fell into the hands of the enemy, and the alarm was such that those encamped outside also left their fortification and rushed to Byrsa with the others. As Megara was planted with gardens and was full of fruit-bearing trees divided off by low walls and hedges of brambles and thorns, besides deep

CHAP. XVIII

He captures Megara

CAP. XVIII θριγκοῖς βάτου καὶ ἄλλης ἀκάνθης καὶ ὀχετοῖς βαθέος ὕδατος ποικίλοις τε καὶ σκολιοῖς κατάπλεων ἦν) ἔδεισε μὴ ἄβατον καὶ δυσχερὲς ᾖ στρατῷ διώκοντι ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ μάλιστα διόδων, καί τις ἐν νυκτὶ ἐνέδρα γένοιτο. ἀνεζευγνυε δή.

118. Καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ὁ Ἀσδρούβας, χαλεπῶς ἔχων τῆς ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὅσα Ῥωμαίων εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτα, ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀγαγών, ὅθεν εὐσύνοπτα Ῥωμαίοις ἔμελλε τὰ δρώμενα ἔσεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἢ γλώττας ἢ νεῦρα ἢ αἰδοῖα σιδηρίοις ἐξεῖλκε καμπύλοις, τῶν δ' ὑπέτεμνε τὰ πέλματα καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐξέκοπτεν, ἢ τὸ δέρμα τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἀπέσπα, καὶ πάντας ἔμπνους ἔτι κατεκρήμνιζεν, ἀδιάλλακτα τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τὰ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπινοῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἠρέθιζε τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχειν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ, περιέστη δ' αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν ἐπενόει. ὑπὸ γὰρ συνειδότος οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶνδε τῶν ἀθεμίστων ἔργων περιδεεῖς ἀντὶ προθύμων ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ὡς καὶ τὴν συγγνώμην σφῶν ἀφῃρημένον ἐμίσουν· καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ κατεβόα ὡς ὠμὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανα δεδρακότος ἐν συμφοραῖς οἰκείαις τοσαῖσδε. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰς ἔκτεινε συλλαμβάνων, καὶ ἐς πάντα ὢν ἤδη περιδεὴς ἐς τυραννίδα μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίαν περιῆλθεν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔξων, εἰ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς εἴη καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ δυσεπιχείρητος.

119. Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τὸν μὲν χάρακα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὃν τῇ προτέρᾳ κατελελοίπεσαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ φεύγοντες, ἐνέπρησεν, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ κρατῶν διετάφρευεν αὐτὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ θάλασσαν,

ditches full of water running in every direction, Scipio was fearful lest it should be impracticable and dangerous for the army to pursue the enemy through roads with which they were unacquainted, and lest they might fall into an ambush in the night. Accordingly he withdrew. CHAP. XVIII

118. When daylight came, Hasdrubal, enraged at the attack upon Megara, took the Roman prisoners whom he held, brought them upon the walls, in full sight of their comrades, and tore out their eyes, tongues, tendons, or private parts with iron hooks; of some he lacerated the soles of the feet, of others he cut off the fingers, and some he flayed alive, hurling them all, still living, from the top of the walls. He intended to make reconciliation between the Carthaginians and Romans impossible, and sought to fire them with the conviction that their only safety was in fighting: but the result was contrary to his intention. For the Carthaginians, conscience-stricken by these nefarious deeds, became timid instead of courageous, and hated Hasdrubal for depriving them even of all hope of pardon. Their senate especially denounced him for committing these savage and outrageous cruelties in the midst of such great domestic calamities. But he actually arrested some of the complaining senators and put them to death. Making himself feared in every way he came to be more like a tyrant than a general, for he considered himself secure only if he were an object of terror to them, and for this reason difficult to attack. Cruelties of Hasdrubal

119. Now Scipio set fire to the camp of the enemy, which they had abandoned the day before, when they took refuge in the city. Being in possession of the whole isthmus he began a trench across Scipio's intrenched camp

CAP. XVIII ἀπέχων τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον ὁρμὴν βέλους. οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἔργον ἐπὶ σταδίους τοῦ μετώπου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐργαζομένῳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μαχομένῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐξετετέλεστο, ἑτέραν ὤρυσσε τάφρον ἴσην, οὐ πολὺ τῆς προτέρας διασχών, ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀφορῶσαν. δύο τε ἐπικαρσίας αὐταῖς ἑτέρας περιθεὶς ὡς γενέσθαι τὸ ὅλον ὄρυγμα τετράγωνον, ἐσταύρωσε πάντα ξύλοις ὀξέσιν. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σταυροῖς τὰς μὲν ἄλλας τάφρους ἐχαράκωσε, τῇ δ' ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα ὁρώσῃ καὶ τεῖχος παρῳκοδόμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ὕψος μὲν δυώδεκα ποδῶν χωρὶς ἐπάλξεών τε καὶ πύργων, οἷ ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπέκειντο τῷ τείχει, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἥμισυ μάλιστα τοῦ ὕψους. ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πύργος ὑψηλότατός τε ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξύλινος ἐπέκειτο τετρώροφος, ὅθεν καθεώρα τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα δ' ἡμέραις εἴκοσι καὶ νυξὶν ἐργασάμενος ὅλῳ τῷ στρατῷ πονοῦντι, καὶ παραλλὰξ ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ πολεμοῦντι καὶ σῖτον ἢ ὕπνον αἱρουμένῳ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τόδε τὸ χαράκωμα.

120. Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο στρατόπεδόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπίμηκες, ὅθεν ὁρμώνενος τὴν ἀγοραὶν ἀφῃρεῖτο Καρχηδονίους, ὅση κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς ἐφέρετο· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ τῷδε τῷ αὐχένι μόνῳ, τὰ λοιπὰ ἡ Καρχηδὼν περίκλυστος ἦν. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς καὶ μάλιστα ἐγίγνετο λιμοῦ καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικισαμένου, οὔτε προϊόντες ποι διὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν, οὔτε ξένων ἐμπόρων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαμινὰ ἐπ-

it from sea to sea not more than a spear's cast from the enemy. They pressed him hard, and he was faced with the difficult task of working and fighting simultaneously along a front of twenty-five stades. When he had finished this trench he dug another of the same length, at no great distance from the first, looking towards the mainland. He then made two others at right angles to them, so that the whole ditch formed a quadrangle, and filled them all with sharp stakes. In addition to the stakes he also palisaded the ditches, and along the one looking toward Carthage he built a wall twenty-five stades in length and twelve feet high, not counting the parapets and towers which surmounted the wall at intervals. The width of the wall was about one-half of its height. The highest tower was in the middle, and upon this another of wood, four storeys high, was built, from which he observed what was going on in the city. Having completed this work in twenty days and nights, the whole army working and fighting and taking food and sleep by turns, he brought them all within this fortification. CHAP. XVIII

120. This was at the same time a camp for himself and a long fort commanding the enemy's country, while from this base he could intercept the supplies sent to the Carthaginians from the interior, since Carthage was everywhere washed by the sea except on this neck. Hence this fort was the first and principal cause of famine and other troubles to them. For as the whole multitude had removed themselves from the fields to the city, and none could go out on account of the siege, and foreign merchants ceased to frequent the place on account of the war, He cuts off the supplies of Carthage

CAP. XVIII ιόντων, μόνῃ τῇ τῆς Λιβύης ἀγορᾷ χρώμενοι, μικρὰ μέν ποτε καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ὅτε ὡραῖον εἴη, τὰ πλέονα δὲ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπεκομίζοντο, ἀφῃρημένοι δὲ τότε τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς κομιδήν, ἐπιπόνως ἤσθοντο τοῦ λιμοῦ. Βιθύας δέ, ὅσπερ ἵππαρχος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπέπεμπτο ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐκ πολλοῦ, προσελθεῖν μὲν ἢ βιάσασθαι τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Σκιπίωνος οὐκ ἐτόλμα, περιφέρων δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὰ πόρρω διὰ μακροῦ ναυσὶν ἐσέπεμπεν, ἐφορμουσῶν μὲν τῇ Καρχηδόνι νεῶν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· ἀλλ' οὔτε διηνεκῶς οὔτε πυκναὶ συνειστήκεσαν ὡς ἐν ἀλιμένῳ καὶ περικρήμνῳ θαλάσσῃ, παρά τε τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀνακωχεύειν, τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ κύματος ἐκεῖ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς πέτρας ταρασσομένου. ὅθεν αἱ φορτίδες αἱ Βιθύου, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἔμπορος ὑπὸ κέρδους ἐθελοκινδύνως ἠπείγετο, φυλάσσοντες ἄνεμον ἐκ πόντου πολὺν πεπετασμένοις τοῖς ἱστίοις διέθεον, ἀδυνάτων οὐσῶν ἔτι τῶν τριήρων ὁλκάδας φερομένας ἱστίῳ καὶ πνεύματι διώκειν. σπανίως μὲν οὖν ἐγίγνετο καὶ μόνον ὅτε βίαιον εἴη πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου· καὶ ταῦτα δ', ὅσα φέροιεν αἱ νῆες, Ἀσδρούβας τρισμυρίοις ἀνδράσι μόνοις διένεμεν, οὓς ἐς μάχην ἐπείλεκτο, καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους κατεφρόνει· ὅθεν ἐμόχθουν μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ.

121. Καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αἰσθανόμενος ἐπενόει τὸν ἔσπλουν αὐτοῖς τοῦ λιμένος, ἐς δύσιν τε ἀφορῶντα καὶ οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὄντα, ἀποκλεῖσαι. χῶμα οὖν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχου μακρόν, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ταινίας ἣ μεταξὺ τῆς λίμνης οὖσα καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης γλῶσσα ἐκαλεῖτο, προϊὼν

they had to rely on food brought from Africa alone, little coming in by sea and only when the weather was favourable, but the greater part being forwarded by the land route; so that being now deprived of this, they began to suffer severely from hunger. Bithya, their cavalry general, who had been sent out some time before to procure food, did not venture to make the attempt of attacking and breaking through Scipio's fortifications, but sent the supplies a long way round by water. Although Scipio's ships were blockading Carthage they did not keep their place all the time, nor did they stand thickly together, as the sea was harbourless and full of reefs. Nor could they ride near the city itself, with the Carthaginians standing on the walls and the sea pounding on the rocks there worst of all. Thus the ships of Bithya and an occasional merchant, whom the love of gain made reckless of danger, watching for a strong wind from the sea, spread their sails and ran the blockade, the Roman galleys not being able to pursue merchant ships sailing before the wind. But these chances occurred seldom, and only when a strong wind was blowing from the sea. And even these supplies brought by the ships Hasdrubal distributed exclusively to his 30,000 soldiers whom he had chosen to fight, neglecting the multitude; and for this reason they suffered greatly from hunger. CHAP XVIII

121. When Scipio perceived this he planned to close the entrance to the harbour, which looked towards the west and was not very far from the shore. For this purpose he carried a strong embankment into the sea, beginning from the strip of land which lay between the lake and sea, and was called the tongue, and advancing it seawards He attempts to close the harbour, but fails

CAP. XVIII δ' ἐς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ εὐθύνων ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν. ἔχου δὲ λίθοις μεγάλοις τε καὶ πυκνοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφέροιντο. καὶ πλάτος τοῦ χώματος τὸ μὲν ἄνω τεσσάρων καὶ εἴκοσι ποδῶν, τὸ δ' ἐς τὸν βυθὸν καὶ τετραπλάσιον ἦν. τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου καταφρόνησις ἦν ὡς χρονίου τε καὶ μακροῦ καὶ ἴσως ἀδυνάτου· προϊόντος δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει τοσοῦδε στρατοῦ, μήτε ἡμέραν ἐκλείποντος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις μήτε νύκτα, ἔδεισαν, καὶ στόμα ἕτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ λιμένος ὤρυσσον ἐς μέσον τὸ πέλαγος, οἳ μηδὲν χῶμα προελθεῖν ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ βάθους τε καὶ πνευμάτων ἀγριωτέρων. διώρυσσον δ' ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισίν, ἔνδοθεν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ πάνυ λανθάνοντες· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ναῦς ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς ἐναυπήγουν, πεντήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις, οὐδὲν ὑπολείποντες εὐψυχίας τε καὶ τόλμης. οὕτω δ' ἅπαντα ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἔχειν τι τῷ Σκιπίωνι σαφὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κτύπον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς εἶναι πολὺν ἀπαύστως, τὴν δὲ χρείαν οὐκ εἰδέναι, μέχρι γε δὴ πάντων ἑτοίμων γενομένων οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ στόμα ἀνέῳξαν περὶ ἕω, καὶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν τριηρετικαῖς, κερκούροις δὲ καὶ μυοπάρωσι καὶ ἄλλοις βραχυτέροις πολλοῖς ἐξέπλεον, ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκευασμένοι φοβερῶς.

122. Ῥωμαίους δὲ τό τε στόμα ἄφνω γενόμενον καὶ ὁ στόλος ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι ἐς τοσόνδε κατέπληξεν ὡς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, εἰ αὐτίκα ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέθεντο, ἠμελημέναις τε ὡς

straight toward the harbour's mouth. He made it of numerous heavy stones so that it might not be washed away by the waves. The embankment was twenty-four feet wide at the top and four times as wide at the bottom. The Carthaginians at first despised this work as likely to take a long time, and perhaps impossible of execution altogether. But when they saw all the great army proceeding eagerly with it, and not intermitting the work by day or by night, they became alarmed, and began to excavate another entrance on the other side of the harbour facing the open sea, where it was impossible to carry an embankment on account of the depth of the water and the fury of the wind. Even the women and children helped to dig. They began the work inside, and carefully concealed what they were doing. At the same time they built triremes and quinqueremes from old material, and left nothing to be desired in the way of courage and high spirit. Moreover, they concealed everything so perfectly that not even the prisoners could tell Scipio with certainty what was going on, but merely that there was a great noise in the harbours day and night without ceasing; what it was about they did not know. Finally, everything being finished, the Carthaginians opened the new entrance about dawn, and passed out with fifty triremes, besides pinnaces, brigantines, and smaller craft equipped in a way to cause terror. CHAP. XVIII

122. The Romans were so astounded by the sudden appearance of this new entrance, and the fleet issuing from it, that if the Carthaginians had at once fallen upon their ships, which had been neglected during the siege operations, neither sailors nor

CAP. XVIII ἐν τειχομαχίᾳ, καὶ οὐδενὸς ναύτου παρόντος οὐδ' ἐρέτου, ὅλου ἂν τοῦ ναυστάθμου κρατῆσαι. νῦν οὖν (ἁλῶναι γὰρ ἔδει Καρχηδόνα) τότε μὲν ἐς μόνην ἐπίδειξιν ἐπέπλευσαν, καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπιτωθάσαντες ἀνέστρεφον, τρίτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς ναυμαχίαν καθίσταντο· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τἆλλα εὐτρεπισάμενοι ἀντανήγοντο. βοῆς δὲ καὶ παρακελεύσεως ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένης καὶ προθυμίας ἐρετῶν τε καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὡς ἐν τῷδε λοιπῷ Καρχηδονίοις μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τῆς νίκης ἐντελοῦς, πληγαί τε πολλαὶ καὶ τραύματα ποικίλα ἐγίγνετο παρ' ἀμφοῖν μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τὰ σκάφη τῶν Λιβύων τὰ σμικρὰ ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ναυσὶ μεγάλαις οὔσαις ἐς τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποτρέχοντα διετίτρη πρύμνας καὶ ἐξέκοπτε πηδάλια καὶ κώπας, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα ἐλύπει, εὐμαρῶς τε ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἐπιπλέοντα. ἀκρίτου δ' ἔτι τῆς ναυμαχίας οὔσης, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς δείλην τρεπομένης, ἔδοξε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑποχωρεῖν, οὔ τι κατὰ ἧτταν ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερτιθεμένοις.

123. Καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σκάφη τὰ βραχύτερα προύφευγε, καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν προλαβόντα ἐς ἄλληλα ὠθεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὸ στόμα βύζην ἀπέκλειεν. ὅθεν αἱ μείζους ἐπανιοῦσαι τὸν ἔσπλουν ἀφῄρηντο, καὶ ἐς τὸ χῶμα κατέφυγον, ὃ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους εὐρύχωρον ἐμπόροις ἐς διάθεσιν φορτίων ἐγεγένητο ἐκ πολλοῦ· καὶ παρατείχισμα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βραχὺ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπεποίητο,

rowers being at hand, they might have possessed themselves of the whole fleet. But as it was (since it was fated that Carthage should fall) all they did now was to sail out and make a show, and, after flouting the enemy in a pompous way, to return inside the harbour; but three days later they set out for a naval engagement, and the Romans advanced to meet them with their ships and everything else in good order. Loud were the cheers on both sides as they came together, and rowers, steersmen, and marines exerted themselves to the utmost, this being the last hope of safety for the Carthaginians and of complete victory for the Romans. The fight raged till midday, many blows and wounds being given and received on both sides. During the battle the Carthaginian small boats, running against the oarage of the Roman ships, which were taller, stove holes in their sterns and broke off their oars and rudders, and damaged them considerably in various other ways, advancing and retreating nimbly. But when the battle was still undecided, and the day verged towards evening, the Carthaginians thought best to withdraw, not that they were beaten, but in order to renew the engagement on the morrow.

Indecisive naval engagement

123. Their small boats retired first, and arriving at the entrance, and becoming entangled on account of their number, blocked up the mouth so that when the larger ships arrived they were prevented from entering. So they took refuge at the wide quay, which had been built against the city wall for unloading merchant ships some time before, and on which a small parapet had been erected during this war lest the place might sometime be used as a

CAP. XVIII ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ στρατοπεδεύσειάν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐς μὲν δὴ τόδε τὸ χῶμα αἱ νῆες αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπορίᾳ λιμένος, καταφυγοῦσαι μετωπηδὸν ὡρμίσαντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιπλέοντας οἱ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο. Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐπίπλους ἦν ῥᾴδιος καὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι ναυσὶν ἑστώσαις εὐμαρές, αἱ δ' ἀναχωρήσεις δι' ἀναστροφὴν τῶν νεῶν, μακρῶν οὐσῶν, βραδεῖαί τε καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἐπεγίγνοντο· ὅθεν ἀντέπασχον ἐν τῷδε τὰ ὅμοια (ὅτε γὰρ ἐπιστρέφοιεν, ἐπλήσσοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιπλεόντων), μέχρι νῆες Σιδητῶν πέντε, αἳ φιλίᾳ Σκιπίωνος εἴποντο, τὰς μὲν ἀγκύρας καθῆκαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀψάμεναι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κάλους μακροὺς εἰρεσίᾳ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπέπλεον, καὶ ὅτε ἐγχρίμψειαν, ὑπεχώρουν τοὺς κάλους ἐπισπώμεναι κατὰ πρύμναν, αὖθις τε ῥοθίῳ καταπλέουσαι πάλιν ἀνήγοντο κατὰ πρύμναν. τότε γὰρ ὁ στόλος ἅπας, τὸν νοῦν τῶν Σιδητῶν ὁρῶντές τε καὶ μιμούμενοι, πολλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔβλαπτον. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελευτα, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφυγον αἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νῆες, ὅσαι γε ἔτι ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι.

124. Σκιπίων δὲ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἐπεχειρει τῷ χώματι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν εὔκαιρον ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος. κριοῖς οὖν το παρατείχισμα τύπτων, καὶ μηχανήματα πολλὰ ἐπάγων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι, καίπερ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ κακώσεως ποικίλης ἐνοχλούμενοι, νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μηχανήματα, οὐ κατὰ

camping place by the enemy on account of its spaciousness. So when the Carthaginian ships took refuge here for want of a harbour, they anchored with their bows outward, and as the enemy sailed up their attack was met partly by the men on the ships, partly by those on the quay and others on the parapet. To the Romans the onset was easy, for it is not hard to attack ships that are standing still, but when they attempted to turn around, in order to retire, the movement was slow and difficult on account of the length of the ships, for which reason they received as much damage as they had given; for whenever they turned they were exposed to the onset of the Carthaginians. Finally five ships of the city of the Sidetae, which followed out of friendship for Scipio, dropped their anchors in the sea at some distance, attaching long ropes to them, by which means they were enabled to dash against the Carthaginian ships by rowing, and having delivered their blow warp themselves back by the ropes stern foremost. Then they again ran on the tide, and again retreated stern foremost. After this the whole fleet, catching the idea from the Sidetae, followed their example and inflicted great damage upon the enemy. Night put an end to the battle, after which the Carthaginian ships withdrew to the city, as many of them as were still left. CHAP. XVIII

124. At daylight Scipio attacked this quay because it was well-situated to command the harbour. Assailing the parapet with rams and other engines he beat down a part of it. The Carthaginians, although oppressed by hunger and distress of various kinds, made a sally by night against the Roman engines, not by land, for there was no

Desperate fight for possession of a quay

CAP. XVIII γῆν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν δίοδος) οὐδὲ ναυσὶν (ἀλιτενὴς γὰρ ἦν ἡ θάλασσα), ἀλλὰ γυμνοὶ δᾷδας ἔφερον, οὐχ ἡμμένας ἵνα μὴ μακρόθεν εἶεν καταφανεῖς· ἐς δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμβάντες ᾗ μή τις ἂν προσεδόκησεν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι τῶν μαστῶν βρεχόμενοι διεβάδιζον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διένεον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα ἐλθόντες ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ κατάφωροι γενόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν ἔπαθον, ἅτε γυμνοὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι, πολλὰ δ' ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ τόλμης· οἳ καὶ τὰς ἀκίδας τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐν στέρνοις καὶ ὄψεσι φέροντες οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ὥσπερ θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐγκείμενοι, μέχρι τὰ μηχανήματα ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτρέψαντο θορυβουμένους. ἔκπληξίς τε καὶ τάραχος ἦν ἀνὰ ὅλον τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὐ πρίν, ὑπὸ μανίας γυμνῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε δείσας ὁ Σκιπίων μετὰ ἱππέων ἔξω περιέθει, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ μὴ λήξαιεν τῆς φυγῆς, ἐκέλευε βάλλειν. ἔστι δὲ οὓς ἔβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἕως οἱ πλείους συνεώσθησαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ διενυκτέρευσαν ἔνοπλοι, τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δεδιότες. οἱ δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐμπρήσαντες ἐξένεον αὖθις ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα.

125. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Καρχηδόνιοι μέν, οὐκ ἐνοχλουσῶν σφᾶς ἔτι μηχανῶν πολεμίων, τὸ διαπεπτωκὸς τοῦ διατειχίσματος ᾠκοδόμουν, καὶ πύργους ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς ἐποίουν ἐκ διαστήματος, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἑτέρας ἐργασάμενοι μηχανὰς χώματα ἤγειρον ἀντιμέτωπα τοῖς πύργοις, δᾷδά τε συγκεκομμένην καὶ θεῖον ἐν κώθωσι καὶ πίσσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐσφενδόνων, καὶ ἔστιν οὓς τῶν πύργων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδο-

passage-way, nor by ships, for the water was too shallow, but naked and bearing torches not lighted, so that they might not be seen at a distance. Thus, in a way that nobody would have expected, they plunged into the sea and crossed over, some of them wading in water up to their breasts, others swimming. When they reached the engines they lighted their torches, and becoming visible and being unarmed suffered greatly from wounds, which they courageously returned. Athough the barbed arrows and spear-points rained on their breasts and faces, they did not relax their efforts, but rushed forward like wild beasts against the blows until they had set the engines on fire and put the Romans to disorderly flight. Panic and confusion spread through the whole camp and such fear as they had never before known, caused by the frenzy of these naked enemies. Scipio, fearing the consequences, ran out with a squadron of horse and commanded his attendants to kill those who would not desist from flight. Some of them he killed himself. The rest were brought by force into the camp, where they passed the night under arms, fearing the desperation of the enemy. The latter, having burned the engines, swam back home. CHAP XVIII

125. When daylight returned the Carthaginians, no longer molested by the engines, rebuilt that part of the outwork which had been battered down and added to it a number of towers at intervals. The Romans constructed new engines and built mounds in front of these towers, from which they threw upon them lighted torches and vessels filled with burning brimstone and pitch, and burned some of them, and drove the Carthaginians in flight. The

CAP. XVIII

νίους φεύγοντας ἐδίωκον. ὀλισθηρὸς δ' ἦν ὁ δρόμος ὑφ' αἵματος πεπηγότος ὑπογύου τε καὶ πολλοῦ, ὥστε τῶν φευγόντων ἀπελίποντο ἄκοντες. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων τοῦ χώματος ὅλου κατασχὼν ἀπετάφρευεν αὐτό, καὶ τεῖχος ἤγειρεν ἐκ πλίνθων, οὔτε κολοβώτερον τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος, τετρακισχιλίους ἐς αὐτὸ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπαφίεναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς βέλη τε καὶ ἀκόντια σὺν καταφρονήσει. οἱ δὲ ἰσομέτωποι γενόμενοι ἔβαλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτυχῶς. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

126. Χειμῶνος δ' ἀρχομένου τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμίν τε καὶ συμμάχους ὁ Σκιπίων ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰ διεπέμπετο. περιπέμψας οὖν ἑτέρωσε ἕτερους, αὐτὸς ἐς Νέφεριν ἐπὶ Διογένη τὸν μετ' Ἀσδρούβαν φρουροῦντα τὴν Νέφεριν ἠπείγετο διὰ τῆς λίμνης, καὶ Γάιον Λαίλιον κατὰ γῆν περιέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Διογένους ἐστρατοπέδευε, καὶ Γολόσσην καταλιπὼν ἐγχειρεῖν ἀπαύστως τῷ Διογένει αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος ἠπείγετο· ὅθεν ἐς Νέφερίν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα διετρόχαζεν, ἀεὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. δύο δὲ τοῦ Διογένους μεσοπυργίων καταπεσόντων ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ χιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ὄπισθεν τοῦ Διογένους ἐνεδρεύσας, ἑτέροις ἐκ μετώπου τρισχιλίοις, ἀριστίνδην καὶ τοῖσδε ἐπιλεγομένοις, ἐπέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὰ πεπτωκότα τῶν μεσοπυργίων, οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀναβιβάζων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μέρη πυκνοὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα μηδὲ βιασθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι φυγεῖν δύναιντο διὰ τοὺς ἑπομένους. πολλῆς δὲ

footway, however, was so slippery with all the clotted blood lately shed, that the Romans were compelled, unwillingly, to abandon the pursuit. But Scipio, having possessed himself of the entire quay, fortified it and built a brick wall of the same height as that of Carthage, and at no great distance from it. When it was finished, he put 4000 men on it to discharge missiles and javelins at the enemy, which they could do with impunity. As the walls were of equal height the missiles were thrown with great effect. And now the summer came to an end.

Scipio captures Nepheris

126. At the beginning of winter, Scipio resolved to sweep away the Carthaginian power in the country, and the allies from whom supplies were sent to them. Sending his captains this way and that he moved in person to Nepheris against Diogenes, who held that town as Hasdrubal's successor, going by the lake, while sending Gaius Laelius by land. When he arrived he encamped at a distance of two stades from Diogenes. Leaving Gulussa to attack Diogenes unceasingly, he hastened back to Carthage, after which he kept passing to and fro between the two places overseeing all that was done. When two of the spaces between Diogenes' towers were demolished, Scipio came and stationed 1000 picked soldiers in ambush in the enemy's rear, and making a frontal attack with 3000 more, also carefully selected for bravery, advanced against the demolished ramparts, not bringing up his men *en masse*, but in detachments one after the other, so that even if those in front were repulsed they could not retreat on account of the weight of those coming behind. The attack was

CAP. XVIII βοῆς οὔσης καὶ πόνου, καὶ τῶν Λιβύων ἐς ταῦτα ἐπεστραμμένων, οἱ χίλιοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς προείρητο, οὐδενὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέποντος οὐδ' ὑπονοοῦντος ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα εὐτόλμως, καὶ διέσπων αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερέβαινον. καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἔνδον γενομένων αἴσθησις ἐγίγνετο ταχεῖα, καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ Λίβυες, οὐχ ὅσους ἑώρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέονας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐσελθόντας εἶναι. Γολόσσης δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχων σὺν Νομάσι πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασι πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἐς ἑπτακισμυρίους σὺν τοῖς ἀχρείοις, ἁλῶναι δ' ἐς μυρίους, διαφυγεῖν δ' ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ἑάλω δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Νέφεris ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἄλλαις πολιορκηθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ Σκιπίωνος πάνυ κακοπαθῶς ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ψυχρῷ χωρίῳ. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τόδε μάλιστα συνήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἅλωσιν. ἤδε γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτοῖς διεπόρθμευε, καὶ ἐς τόδε τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Λίβυες ἀφορῶντες ἐθάρρουν. τότε δ' αὐτοῦ ληφθέντος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Λιβύης χωρία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Σκιπίωνος προσεχώρει ἢ οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐλαμβάνετο. ἥ τε ἀγορὰ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπέλιπε, καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἀλλοτρίας ἤδη γενομένης οὔτ' ἀλλαχόθεν αὐτοῖς καταπλεῖν ἐδύνατο, διά τε τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὥραν χειμέριον οὖσαν.

XIX

CAP. XIX 127. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Σκιπίων ἐπεχείρει τῇ τε Βύρσῃ καὶ τῶν λιμένων τῷ καλουμένῳ

made vigorously with loud shouts, and when the attention of the Africans was turned in that direction, the 1000 in ambush, unperceived and unsuspected, fell boldly upon the rear of the camp, as they had been ordered, and tore down and scaled the palisade. When the first few had entered they were quickly detected, and the Africans fled, thinking that many more than they saw had entered. Gulussa pursued them with his Numidian cavalry and elephants and made a great slaughter, as many as 70,000, including non-combatants, being killed. Ten thousand were captured and about 4000 escaped. In addition to the camp the city of Nepheris was taken also, after a further siege of twenty-two days, prosecuted by Scipio with great labour and suffering owing to the wintry weather and the coldness of the locality. This success contributed much to the taking of Carthage, for provisions were conveyed to it by this army, and the people of Africa were in good courage as long as they saw this force in the field. As soon as it was captured the remainder of Africa surrendered to Scipio's lieutenants or was taken without much difficulty. The supplies of Carthage now fell short, since none came from Africa, which was now hostile, or from foreign parts, navigation being cut off in every direction by the war and the storms of winter. CHAP. XVIII

XIX

127. At the beginning of spring Scipio laid siege to Byrsa and to the harbour called Cothon. Hasdrubal CHAP. XIX

CAP. XIX Κώθωνι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας νυκτὸς ἐνεπίμπρη τὸ μέρος τοῦ Κώθωνος τὸ τετράγωνον. ἐλπίσας δ' ἔτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τόδε τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπεστραμμένων, ἔλαθε Λαίλιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Κώθωνος ἐς τὸ περιφερὲς αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀνελθών. βοῆς δ' ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ γενομένης οἱ μὲν ἔδεισαν, οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἤδη καταφρονοῦντες ἐβιάζοντο τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ξύλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ σανίδας ἐπὶ τὰ διαστήματα διατιθέντες, ἀσθενῶν τὰ σώματα τῶν φυλάκων ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἀπαγορευόντων. ληφθέντος δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Κώθωνα τείχους, τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν ὁ Σκιπίων κατέλαβεν. οὐδέν τε ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ πλέον ἔτι δυνάμενος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διενυκτέρευσε μεθ' ἁπάντων. ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἑτέρους ἀκμῆτας ἐκάλει τετρακισχιλίους, οἳ ἐσιόντες ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗ τό τε ἄγαλμα κατάχρυσον ἦν καὶ δῶμα αὐτῷ χρυσήλατον ἀπὸ χιλίων ταλάντων σταθμοῦ περιέκειτο, ἐσύλων καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἔκοπτον, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἐφεστώτων, ἕως ἐμερίσαντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐτράποντο.

128. Σκιπίωνι δ' ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἡ σπουδή· τὸ γὰρ ὀχυρώτατον τῆς πόλεως ἦν, καὶ οἱ πλέονες ἐς αὐτὴν συνεπεφεύγεσαν. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνόδων ἐς αὐτήν, οἰκίαι πυκναὶ καὶ ἐξώροφοι πανταχόθεν ἦσαν, ὅθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαλλόμενοι τὰς πρώτας τῶν οἰκιῶν κατέλαβον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίον. ὅτε δ' αὐτῶν κρατήσειαν, ξύλα καὶ σανίδας τοῖς διαστήμασι τῶν στενωπῶν ἐπιτιθέντες διέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ γεφυρῶν. καὶ ὅδε μὲν ὁ

one night set fire to that part of Cothon which is in the form of a quadrangle. But Laelius, expecting Scipio still to make the attack, and while the Carthaginians were turned to that quarter, without being observed, mounted the other part of Cothon, which was in the form of a circle. A shout went up as though a victory had been gained, and the Carthaginians became alarmed, while the Romans recklessly forced their way up on all sides, and filled up the vacant spaces with timbers, engines, and scaffolding, the guards making only a feeble resistance because they were weak from hunger and downcast in spirit. The wall around Cothon being taken, Scipio seized the neighbouring forum, and being unable to do more, as it was now evening, he and his whole force passed the night there under arms. At daylight he brought in 4000 fresh troops. They entered the temple of Apollo, whose statue was there, covered with gold, in a shrine of beaten gold, weighing 1000 talents, which they plundered, chopping it with their swords and disregarding the commands of their officers until they had divided it among themselves, after which they returned to their duty.

Scipio takes the inner harbour

128. Now Scipio's main object of attack was Byrsa, the strongest part of the city, where the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge. There were three streets ascending from the Forum to this fortress, along which, on either side, were houses built closely together and six storeys high, from which the Romans were assailed with missiles. But they captured the first few houses, and from them attacked the occupants of the next. When they had become masters of these, they put timbers across over the narrow passage-ways, and crossed as on

Fighting in the streets

CAP. XIX πόλεμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἄνω, ἕτερος δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. στόνου δὲ καὶ οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς πάντα καὶ ποικίλων παθῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο, κτεινομένων τε ἐν χερσί, καὶ ζώντων ἔτι ῥιπτουμένων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ φερομένων ἐνίων ἐπὶ δόρατα ὀρθὰ ἢ αἰχμὰς ἄλλας ἢ ξίφη. ἐνεπίμπρη δ' οὐδὲν οὐδείς πω διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Βύρσαν ἦκεν ὁ Σκιπίων· καὶ τότε τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμοῦ στενωποὺς ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τὸ ἀεὶ πιμπράμενον ἑτέροις ὁδοποιεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἵν' εὐμαρῶς ὁ στρατὸς ἀλλασσόμενος διαθέοι.

129. Ἄλλη δ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦδε ὄψις ἑτέρων κακῶν, τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἐπιφλέγοντος πάντα καὶ καταφέροντος, τῶν δε ἀνδρῶν τὰ οἰκοδομήματα οὐ διαιρούντων ἐς ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα βιαζομένων ἀνατρέπειν. ὅ τε γὰρ κτύπος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺ πλείων ἐγίγνετο, καὶ μετὰ τῶν λίθων ἐξέπιπτον ἐς τὸ μέσον ἀθρόοι νεκροί. ζῶντές τε ἕτεροι, πρεσβῦται μάλιστα καὶ παιδία καὶ γύναια, ὅσα τοῖς μυχοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐκέκρυπτο, οἱ μὲν καὶ τραύματα φέροντες οἱ δ' ἡμίφλεκτοι, φωνὰς ἀηδεῖς ἀφιέντες. ἕτεροι δ', ὡς ἀπὸ τοσοῦδε ὕψους μετὰ λίθων καὶ ξύλων καὶ πυρὸς ὠθούμενοι καὶ καταπίπτοντες, ἐς πολλὰ σχήματα κακῶν διεσπῶντο ῥηγνύμενοί τε καὶ κατασπασσόμενοι. καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τέλος αὐτοῖς ταῦτα ἀπέχρη· λιθολόγοι γὰρ ὅσοι πελέκεσι καὶ ἀξίναις καὶ κοντοῖς τὰ πίπτοντα μετέβαλλόν τε καὶ ὠδοποίουν τοῖς διαθέουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοῖς πελέκεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀξίναις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν κοντῶν, τούς τε νεκροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐς τὰ τῆς γῆς κοῖλα μετέβαλλον ὡς ξύλα καὶ λίθους

bridges. While one war was raging in this way on the roofs, another was going on among those who met each other in the streets below. All places were filled with groans, shrieks, shouts, and every kind of agony. Some were stabbed, others were hurled alive from the roofs to the pavement, some of them falling on the heads of spears or other pointed weapons, or swords. No one dared to set fire to the houses on account of those who were still on the roofs, until Scipio reached Byrsa. Then he set fire to the three streets all together, and gave orders to keep the passage-ways clear of burning material so that the charging detachments of the army might move back and forth freely.

Scenes of horror

129. Then came new scenes of horror. The fire spread and carried everything down, and the soldiers did not wait to destroy the buildings little by little, but pulled them all down together. So the crashing grew louder, and many fell with the stones into the midst dead. Others were seen still living, especially old men, women, and young children who had hidden in the inmost nooks of the houses, some of them wounded, some more or less burned, and uttering horrible cries. Still others, thrust out and falling from such a height with the stones, timbers, and fire, were torn asunder into all kinds of horrible shapes, crushed and mangled. Nor was this the end of their miseries, for the street cleaners, who were removing the rubbish with axes, mattocks, and boat-hooks, and making the roads passable, tossed with these instruments the dead and the living together into holes in the ground, sweeping them along like

CAP. XIX ἐπισύροντες ἢ ἀνατρέποντες τῷ σιδήρῳ, ἦν τε ἄνθρωπος ἀναπλήρωμα βόθρου. μεταβαλλόμενοι δ' οἱ μὲν ἐς κεφαλὰς ἐφέροντο, καὶ τὰ σκέλη σφῶν ὑπερίσχοντα τῆς γῆς ἤσπαιρον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον· οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν τοὺς πόδας ἔπιπτον κάτω, καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὑπερεῖχον ὑπὲρ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἵπποι δ' αὐτοὺς διαθέοντες ἐς τὰς ὄψεις ἢ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐκόλαπτον, οὐχ ἑκόντων τῶν ἐποχουμένων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' οἱ λιθολόγοι ταῦτ' ἔδρων ἑκόντες· ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πολέμου πόνος καὶ ἡ δόξα τῆς νίκης ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ τοῦ στρατοῦ σπουδή, καὶ κήρυκες ὁμοῦ καὶ σαλπικταὶ πάντα θορυβοῦντες, χιλίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ μετὰ τῶν τάξεων ἐναλλασσόμενοι καὶ διαθέοντες, ἔνθους ἅπαντας ἐποίουν καὶ ἀμελεῖς τῶν ὁρωμένων ὑπὸ σπουδῆς.

130. Καὶ ταῦτα πονουμένων ἐδαπανήθησαν ἓξ ἡμέραι τε καὶ νύκτες, τῆς μὲν στρατιᾶς ἐναλλασσομένης, ἵνα μὴ κάμοιεν ὑπ' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ φόνου καὶ ὄψεως ἀηδοῦς, Σκιπίωνος δ' ἀπαύστως ἐφεστῶτος ἢ διαθέοντος ἀύπνου, καὶ σῖτον οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων αἱρουμένου, μέχρι κάμνων καὶ παρειμένος ἐκαθέζετο ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ, τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶν. πολλῶν δ' ἔτι πορθουμένων, καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ μακροτάτου δοκοῦντος ἔσεσθαι, προσέφυγον ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας αὐτῷ τινες ἐστεμμένοι στέμματα Ἀσκληπίεια· τόδε γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πλούσιον, ὅθεν οἵδε τὰς ἱκετηρίας λαβόντες ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ μόνης συνθέσθαι σωτηρίας τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπὶ τῷδε τῆς Βύρσης ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, χωρὶς αὐτομόλων. καὶ

sticks and stones or turning them over with their iron tools, and man was used for filling up a ditch. Some were thrown in head foremost, while their legs, sticking out of the ground, writhed a long time. Others fell with their feet downward and their heads above ground. Horses ran over them, crushing their faces and skulls, not purposely on the part of the riders, but in their headlong haste. Nor did the street cleaners either do these things on purpose; but the press of war, the glory of approaching victory, the rush of the soldiery, the confused noise of heralds and trumpeters all round, the tribunes and centurions changing guard and marching the cohorts hither and thither—all together made everybody frantic and heedless of the spectacle before their eyes. CHAP. XIX

130. Six days and nights were consumed in this kind of turmoil, the soldiers being changed so that they might not be worn out with toil, slaughter, want of sleep, and these horrid sights. Scipio alone toiled without rest, standing over them or hurrying here and there, without sleep, taking food anyhow while he was at work, until, utterly fatigued and relaxed, he sat down on a high place where he could overlook the work. Much remained to be ravaged, and it seemed likely that the carnage would be of very long duration, but on the seventh day some suppliants presented themselves to Scipio bearing the sacred garlands of Aesculapius, whose temple was much the richest and most renowned of all in the citadel. These, taking olive branches from the temple, besought Scipio that he would spare merely the lives of all who were willing to depart on this condition from Byrsa. This he granted to all except Fighting in Byrsa

CAP. XIX ἐξῄεσαν αὐτικα μυριάδες πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἅμα καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀνοιχθέντος αὐτοῖς στενοῦ διατειχίσματος. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐφυλάσσοντο, ὅσοι δ' αὐτόμολοι Ῥωμαίων ἦσαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐνακοσίους μάλιστα, ἀπογνόντες αὑτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἀνέδραμον μετ' Ἀσδρούβα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀσδρούβα καὶ δύο παίδων ἀρρένων. ὅθεν εὐμαρῶς ἀεὶ ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ ὄντες ὀλίγοι, διὰ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τὸ ἀπόκρημνον, ἐς ὃ καὶ παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ βαθρῶν ἑξήκοντα ἀνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ ὅ τε λιμὸς αὐτοὺς καθῄρει καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ πόνος, τοῦ κακοῦ προσπελάζοντος, τὸ μὲν τέμενος ἐξέλιπον, ἐς δὲ τὸν νεὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τέγος ἀνέτρεχον.

131. Κἀν τούτῳ λαθὼν ὁ Ἀσδρούβας ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα μετὰ θαλλῶν· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκάθισε πρὸ ποδῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτομόλοις ἐπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δ' ὡς εἶδον, ᾔτησαν ἡσυχίαν σφίσι γενέσθαι, καὶ γενομένης Ἀσδρούβα μὲν ἐλοιδορήσαντο πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, τὸν δὲ νεὼν ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ κατεκαύθησαν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα λέγουσιν, ἀπτομένου τοῦ πυρὸς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος γενομένην, κατακοσμήσασθαί τε ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐδύνατο, καὶ παραστησαμένην τὰ τέκνα εἰπεῖν ἐς ἐπήκοον τοῦ Σκιπίωνος· "σοὶ μὲν οὐ νέμεσις ἐκ θεῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖε· ἐπὶ γὰρ πολεμίαν ἐστράτευσας· Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τόνδε πατρίδος τε καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τέκνων προδότην γενόμενον οἵ τε Καρχηδόνος δαίμονες ἀμύναιντο, καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων." εἶτ' ἐς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν ἐπιστρέψασα εἶπεν· "ὦ μιαρὲ καὶ ἄπιστε καὶ μαλακώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἐμὲ μὲν καὶ

the deserters. Forthwith there came out 50,000 men and women together, a narrow gate in the wall being opened, and a guard furnished for them. The Roman deserters, about 900 in number, despairing of their lives, betook themselves to the temple of Aesculapius with Hasdrubal and his wife and their two boys. Here they defended themselves a long time with ease although they were few in number, on account of the height and precipitous nature of the place, which in time of peace was reached by an ascent of sixty steps. But, finally, overcome by hunger, want of sleep, fear, weariness, and the approach of destruction, they abandoned the enclosures of the temple and fled to the shrine and roof.

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Hasdrubal and his wife

131. Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly fled to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arraying herself as best she could amid such disaster, and setting her children by her side, said, so as to be heard by Scipio, "For you, Romans, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. But upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument." Then turning to Hasdrubal, "Wretch," she exclaimed, "traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children.

CAP. XIX τοὺς ἐμοὺς παῖδας τόδε τὸ πῦρ θάψει· σὺ δὲ τίνα κοσμήσεις θρίαμβον ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Καρχηδόνος ἡγεμών; τίνα δ' οὐ δώσεις δίκην τῷδε ᾧ παρακαθέζῃ;" τοσαῦτ' ὀνειδίσασα κατέσφαξε τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐς τὸ πῦρ αὐτούς τε καὶ ἑαυτὴν ἐπέρριψεν.

132. Ὧδε μέν φασι τὴν Ἀσδρούβα γυναῖκα, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν Ἀσδρούβαν, εἰποῦσαν ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὁρῶν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἀνθήσασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ, καὶ γῆς τοσῆσδε καὶ νήσων καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπάρξασαν, ὅπλων τε καὶ νεῶν καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορήσασαν ἴσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολὺ διασχοῦσαν, ἥ γε καὶ ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα πάντα περιῳρημένη τρισὶν ὅμως ἔτεσιν ἀντέσχε πολέμῳ τοσῷδε καὶ λιμῷ, τότε ἄρδην τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται μὲν δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ πολεμίων, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἔννους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε, καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχής ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη, καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους,

"ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο."

Πολυβίου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ (καὶ

But as for you, what Roman triumph will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting." Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. With these words, it is said, did the wife of Hasdrubal die, as Hasdrubal should have died himself.

Destruction of Carthage

132. Scipio, beholding this city, which had flourished 700 years from its foundation and had ruled over so many lands, islands, and seas, as rich in arms and fleets, elephants, and money as the mightiest empires, but far surpassing them in hardihood and high spirit (since, when stripped of all its ships and arms, it had sustained famine and a mighty war for three years), now come to its end in total destruction—Scipio, beholding this spectacle, is said to have shed tears and publicly lamented the fortune of the enemy. After meditating by himself a long time and reflecting on the inevitable fall of cities, nations, and empires, as well as of individuals, upon the fate of Troy, that once proud city, upon the fate of the Assyrian, the Median, and afterwards of the great Persian empire, and, most recently of all, of the splendid empire of Macedon, either voluntarily or otherwise the words of the poet escaped his lips:—

Scipio sheds tears

> "The day shall come in which our sacred Troy
> And Priam, and the people over whom
> Spear-bearing Priam rules, shall perish all."[1]

Being asked by Polybius in familiar conversation (for

[1] *Iliad* vi. 448, 449; Bryant's translation.

CAP. XIX γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος) ὅ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα, ἐς τἀνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν, ἐδεδίει.

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CAP. XX 133. Καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει· Σκιπίων δ', ἐπεὶ κατέσκαπτο Καρχηδών, ἐπὶ μέν τινα ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάζειν ὅσα μὴ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀναθήματα ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ διαδοὺς ἅπασι, χωρὶς τῶν ἐς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἁμαρτόντων, ναῦν ὀξυτάτην κοσμήσας λαφύροις ἄγγελον τῆς νίκης ἔστειλεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν περιέπεμπεν, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι σφῶν ἀναθήματα κοινὰ πολεμοῦντες ἔλαβον, ἐλθόντας ἐπιγιγνώσκειν καὶ κομίζεσθαι· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐδημαγώγησεν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὴν λείαν τὴν περισσήν, ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ ναῦς ἀχρήστους Ἄρει καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ διαζωσάμενος αὐτὸς ἔκαιε κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.

134. Οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει ὡσαύτως τὴν ναῦν ἰδόντες καὶ τῆς νίκης περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν πυθόμενοι ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐξεπήδων καὶ διενυκτέρευον μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἡδόμενοι καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι ὡς ἄρτι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι φόβων γεγονότες, ἄρτι δ' ἄρχοντες ἑτέρων ἀσφαλῶς, ἄρτι δὲ βέβαιον τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες, καὶ νενικηκότες οἵαν οὔτινα πρότερον

Polybius had been his tutor) what he meant by using these words, Polybius says that he did not hesitate frankly to name his own country, for whose fate he feared when he considered the mutability of human affairs. And Polybius wrote this down just as he heard it. CHAP. XIX

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133. Carthage being destroyed, Scipio gave the soldiers a certain number of days for plunder, reserving the gold, silver, and temple gifts. He also gave numerous prizes to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery, except those who had violated the shrine of Apollo. He sent a swift ship, embellished with spoils, to Rome to announce the victory. He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. The rest of the spoils he sold, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom. CHAP. XX

134. When the people of Rome saw the ship and heard of the victory early in the evening, they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as they had never won before. They Rejoicings in Rome

CAP. XX ἄλλην νίκην. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνήδεσαν ἔργα λαμπρά, πολλὰ δε τοῖς πατρασιν ἔς τε Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἰβηρας καὶ ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν ἔναγχος καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν· πόλεμον δ' οὐδένα ἄλλον οὕτως ἐπὶ θύραις ἐπίφοβον αὐτοῖς ἤδεσαν, διά τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνημα καὶ τόλμαν ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἐν σφίσιν ἐπικίνδυνον γενόμενον. ἀνέφερον δὲ καὶ ὧν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔν τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν, Ἀννίβου τετρακόσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος, ἐπί τε τὴν Ῥώμην πολλάκις ἐλάσαντος καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον κινδύνου συναγαγόντος. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα ἐξίσταντο περὶ τῆς νίκης ἐς ἀπιστίαν αὐτῆς, καὶ αὖθις ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ἀλλήλων εἰ τῷ ὄντι Καρχηδὼν κατέσκαπται· ἐλεσχήνευόν τε δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ὅπως μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα περιῃρέθη καὶ ὅπως αὐτίκα παρὰ δόξαν ἐτεκτήναντο ἕτερα, ὅπως δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφῃρέθησαν καὶ στόλον ἐπήξαντο πάλιν ἐξ ὕλης παλαιᾶς, τό τε στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ὡς ἀπεκλείσθη, καὶ στόμα ὡς ὠρύξαντο ἕτερον ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις. καὶ τὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὕψος αὐτοῖς διὰ στόματος ἦν, καὶ τὰ τῶν λίθων μεγέθη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὃ πολλάκις ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐπήνεγκαν. ὅλως τε τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὁρῶντες ἄρτι γιγνόμενον ἀλλήλοις διετύπουν, καὶ ἐς τὰς φαντασίας τῶν λεγομένων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος συνεφέροντο. καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὁρᾶν ἐδόκουν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων, ἐπὶ νεῶν, ἐν πύλαις, ἐν μάχαις,

remembered many brilliant deeds of their own, CHAP. XX
many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself; but they knew of no other war which had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, high spirit, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril. Remembering these things, they were so excited over this victory that they could hardly believe it, and they asked each other over and over again whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. And so they conversed the whole night, telling how the arms of the Carthaginians had been taken away from them, and how at once, contrary to expectation, they supplied themselves with others: how they lost their ships and built a great fleet out of old material; how the mouth of their harbour was closed, yet they managed to open another in a few days. They talked about the height of the walls, and the size of the stones, and the fires that so often destroyed the engines. In fact they pictured to each other the whole war, as though it were just taking place under their own eyes, suiting the action to the word; they seemed to see Scipio on the ladders, on shipboard, at the

CAP. XX

πανταχοῦ διαθεοντα. οὕτω μὲν οι Ῥωμαῖοι διενυκτέρευσαν, 135. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ θυσίαι τε καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ φυλήν, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θέαι ποικίλαι.

Δέκα δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀριστους ἔπεμπε διαθησομένους Λιβύην μέτα Σκιπίωνος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων συμφέρον· οἳ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν, ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα, καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον ἅπασι, καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα· ἐπιβαίνειν δ' οὐκ ἀπεῖπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συνεμεμαχήκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἁπάσας· καὶ ὅσαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, χώραν ἔδωκαν ἑκάστῃ τῆς δορικτήτου, καὶ πρῶτον μάλιστα Ἰτυκαίοις τὴν μέχρι Καρχηδόνος αὐτῆς καὶ Ἱππῶνος ἐπὶ θάτερα. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς φόρον ὥρισαν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως. καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐτήσιον αὐτοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπιπέμπειν ἔκριναν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προστάξαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ῥώμην, ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ἐποίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ θυσίας ἐτέλει καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἐξετετέλεστο, διαπλεύσας ἐπιφανέστατα δὴ πάντων διεθριάμβευε πολύχρυσον θρίαμβον, ἀγαλμάτων τε γέμοντα καὶ ἀναθημάτων, ὅσα Καρχηδόνιοι χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ συνεχέσι νίκαις ἐκ πάσης γῆς συνενηνόχεσαν ἐς

gates, in the battles, and darting hither and thither. CHAP. XX
Thus did the Romans pass the night. 135. The next day there were sacrifices and solemn processions to the gods by tribes, also games and spectacles of various kinds.

The Senate sent ten of the noblest of their own number as deputies to arrange the affairs of Africa in conjunction with Scipio, to the advantage of Rome. These men decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should raze it to the ground, and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Imprecations were levelled against any who should settle there, or at Megara, but the ground was not declared accursed. The towns that had allied themselves consistently with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one. To those who had aided the Romans there was an allotment of lands won by the sword, and first of all the territory extending from Carthage on one side to Hippo on the other was given to the Uticans. Upon all the rest a tribute was imposed, both a land tax and a personal tax, upon men and women alike, and it was decreed that a praetor should be sent from Rome yearly to govern the country. After these directions had been given by the deputies, they returned to Rome. Scipio did all that they directed, and instituted sacrifices and games to the gods for the victory. When all was finished, he sailed for home and was awarded the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and crowned with all the statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of

Scipio's triumph

CAP. XX Λιβύην. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ Μακεδόνων, ἀλόντος Ἀνδρισκου τοῦ ψευδοφιλίππου, τρίτος ἤγετο θρίαμβος, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρῶτος ὑπὸ Μομμίου. καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας.

136. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, Γαΐου Γράκχου δημαρχοῦντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ στάσεων οὐσῶν ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἔδοξε κληρούχους ἐς Λιβύην πέμπειν ἑξακισχιλίους, διαγραφομένων δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τῶν θεμελίων λύκοι τὰ θεμέλια ἀθρόα διέσπασαν καὶ συνέχεαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνέσχεν ἡ βουλὴ τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ· χρόνῳ δὲ αὖθις, ὁπότε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ καὶ δικτάτωρ ὕστερον αὐτοῖς διηνεκὴς γενόμενος Πομπήιον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐδίωκε καὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἐς Λιβύην ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, λέγεται, τῇ Καρχηδόνι παραστρατοπεδεύων, ὑπ' ἐννυπνίου στρατὸν πολὺν ἰδὼν κλαίοντα ἐνοχληθῆναι, καὶ αὐτίκα ἑαυτῷ ἐς μνήμην ὑπογράψασθαι Καρχηδόνα συνοικίζειν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀπόρων αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντα περὶ γῆς παρακαλούντων, συνέτασσεν ὡς πέμψων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν Καρχηδόνα τοὺς δ' ἐς Κόρινθον. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν θᾶσσον ἀνῃρέθη πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτηρίῳ, ὁ δ' ἐκείνου παῖς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἐπίκλησιν, ἐντυχὼν ἄρα ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς τοῦ πατρὸς συνῴκισε τὴν νῦν Καρχηδόνα, ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα ἐκείνης, φυλαξάμενος τῆς πάλαι τὸ ἐπάρατον. οἰκήτοράς τε Ῥωμαίους μὲν

the world during their long period of continuous victories. It was at this time also that the third Macedonian triumph occurred for the capture of Andriscus, surnamed Pseudophilippus, and the first Grecian one, for Mummius. This was about the 160th Olympiad. CHAP. XX

136. Some time later, in the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus, uprisings occurred in Rome on account of scarcity, and it was decided to send 6000 colonists into Africa. When they were laying out the land for this purpose in the vicinity of Carthage, all the boundary lines were torn down and obliterated by wolves. Then the Senate abandoned the settlement. But at a still later time it is said that Caesar, who afterwards became dictator for life, when he had pursued Pompey to Egypt, and Pompey's friends from thence into Africa, and was encamped near the site of Carthage, was troubled by a dream in which he saw a whole army weeping, and that he immediately made a memorandum in writing that Carthage should be colonized. Returning to Rome not long after, and the poor asking him for land, he arranged to send some of them to Carthage and some to Corinth. But he was assassinated shortly afterward by his enemies in the Roman Senate, and his son Julius Caesar, surnamed Augustus, finding this memorandum, built the present Carthage, not on the site of the old one, but very near it, in order to avoid the ancient curse. I have ascertained that he sent some 3000 B.C. 123 B.C. 46 Carthage rebuilt by Augustus

CAP. XX αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν. ὧδε μὲν Λιβύης τῆς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψάν τε καὶ συνῴκισαν αὖθις μετὰ ἔτη τῆς κατασκαφῆς ἑκατὸν καὶ δύο.

colonists from Rome and collected the rest from the neighbouring country. And thus the Romans won the Carthaginian part of Africa, destroyed Carthage, and repeopled it again 102[1] years after its destruction. CHAP. XX

[1] The date proves that it was Julius Caesar, not Augustus, who repeopled Carthage.

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

II

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

II

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APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK VIII—PART II

NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

FRAGMENTS

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

Θ΄

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΝΟΜΑΔΙΚΗΣ

I

"Οτι Βομίλχας κατηγορούμενος ἔφυγε πρὸ δίκης, καὶ Ἰογόρθας σὺν αὐτῷ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ περιφερόμενον ἐς τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας εἰπών, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ὠνία πᾶσα, εἴ τις ὠνητὴς αὐτῆς εὑρεθείη. Mai script. vet. n. coll. t. II p. 367.

II

"Οτι Μέτελλος ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς Λιβύην τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις αἰτίαν ἔχων παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ βραδυτῆτος ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ὠμότητος· σφόδρα γὰρ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἐκόλαζεν. Val. p. 561.

III

"Οτι Μέτελλος Βαγαίων ἀνῄρει τὴν βουλὴν ὅλην ὡς τὴν φρουρὰν προδόντας Ἰογόρθᾳ, καὶ τὸν φρούραρχον Τουρπίλιον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον οὐκ ἀνυπόπτως ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις,

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK VIII—PART II

NUMIDIAN AFFAIRS

I. From the Vatican MSS. of Cardinal Mai

Bomilcar being under accusation fled before his trial, and with him Jugurtha, who uttered that famous saying about bribetakers, that "the whole city of Rome could be bought if a purchaser could be found for it." B.C 110

II. From "Virtues and Vices"

Metellus went back to the African province, where he was accused by the soldiers of dilatoriness in attacking the enemy and of cruelty towards his own men, because he punished offenders severely. 109

III. From the Same

Metellus put the whole senate of Vacca to death because they had betrayed the Roman garrison to Jugurtha, and with them Turpilius, the commander of the garrison, a Roman citizen, who had surrendered himself to the enemy under suspicious 108

ἐπαπκέτεινε τῇ βουλῇ. Θρᾷκας δὲ καὶ Λίγυας αὐτομόλους λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰογόρθα, τῶν μὲν τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέτεμνε, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν μέχρι γαστρὸς κατώρυσσε, καὶ περιτοξεύων ἢ ἐσακοντίζων ἔτι ἐμπνέουσι πῦρ ὑπετίθει. id. ib.

IV

Ὅτι τοῦ Μαρίου ἐς Κίρταν ἀφικομένου πρέσβεις Βόκχου παρῆσαν, οἳ πεμφθῆναί τινας ἐς λόγους Βόκχῳ παρεκάλουν. καὶ ἐπέμφθησαν Αὖλός τε Μάλλιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ὁ ταμίας, οἷς ὁ Βόκχος ἔφη Ῥωμαίοις πολεμῆσαι διὰ Μάριον· γῆν γὰρ ἣν αὐτὸς Ἰογόρθαν ἀφείλετο, πρὸς Μαρίου νῦν ἀφῃρῆσθαι. Βόκχος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνεκάλει, Μάλλιος δ' ἔφη τὴν γῆν τήνδε Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι Σύφακα πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ δοῦναι Μασσανάσσῃ δωρεάν, διδόναι δὲ Ῥωμαίους τὰς δωρεὰς ἔχειν τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἕως ἂν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ. οὐ μὴν ἀλόγως μεταγνῶναι· Μασσανάσσην τε γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Μασσανάσσου παῖδας Ἰογόρθαν κατακαίνοντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον γενέσθαι. οὐκ οὖν ἔτι εἶναι δίκαιον οὔτε τὸν πολέμιον ἔχειν δωρεὰν ἣν ἔδομεν φίλῳ, οὔτε σὲ δοκεῖν Ἰογόρθαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μάλλιος μὲν τάδε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἔλεξεν. Urs. p. 370.

circumstances. After Jugurtha had delivered up to Metellus certain Thracian and Ligurian deserters, the latter cut off the hands of some, and others he buried in the earth up to their stomachs, and after transfixing them with arrows and darts set fire to them while they were still alive. B.C. 108

IV. From "The Embassies"

When Marius arrived at Cirta messengers came to him from Bocchus asking that he would send somebody to hold a conference with him. He accordingly sent Aulus Manlius, his lieutenant, and Cornelius Sulla, his quaestor. To them Bocchus said that he fought against the Romans on account of the acts of Marius, who had taken from him the territory which he himself had taken from Jugurtha. To this complaint of Bocchus, Manlius replied that the Romans had taken this territory from Syphax by right of arms, and had made a present of it to Masinissa, and that such gifts were made by the Romans to be kept by those who received them during the pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome. He added that they had not changed their minds without reason, for that Masinissa was dead and that Jugurtha, by murdering his grandchildren, had become an enemy of the Romans. "It is not therefore right," he said, "that an enemy should keep the gift that we made to a friend, nor should you think that you can take from Jugurtha property that belongs to the Romans." These were the words of Manlius concerning the territory in question. 107

V

Ὅτι ὁ Βόκχος ἑτέρους ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις, οἳ Μαρίου μὲν ἔμελλον περὶ εἰρήνης δεήσεσθαι, Σύλλα δὲ ἵνα συμπράξειεν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις. λησταῖς δ' ἐν ὁδῷ τοὺς πρέσβεις τούσδε ὁ Σύλλας ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ξενίζει μέχρι Μάριον ἀπὸ Γαιτούλων ἐπανελθεῖν. παρήνει δὲ Βόκχον διδάσκειν ὅτι χρὴ Σύλλᾳ πείθεσθαι περὶ ἁπάντων. ἐνδιδοὺς οὖν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰογόρθα προδοσίαν ὁ Βόκχος, ἐς μὲν ὑπόκρισιν ἐπ' ἄλλον στρατὸν περιέπεμπεν ἐς Αἰθίοπας τοὺς γείτονας, οἳ ἐπὶ ἑσπέραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑῴων Αἰθιόπων διήκουσιν ἐς τὸ Μαυρούσιον ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσιν Ἄτλαντα, Μάριον δ' ᾐξίου Σύλλαν οἱ πέμψαι συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. καὶ Μάριος μὲν ἔπεμπε τὸν Σύλλαν, Ἄψαρα δὲ Ἰογόρθα φίλον, ἐν Βόκχου καταλελειμμένον ἐφορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα, αὐτός τε Βόκχος καὶ Μαγδάλσης φίλος Βόκχου, καί τις ἐξελεύθερος ἀνδρὸς Καρχηδονίου, Κορνήλιος, ἐνήδρευσαν ὧδε. id. ib.

V. From the Same

Bocchus sent another embassy to solicit peace from Marius and urge Sulla to assist them in the negotiation. These ambassadors were despoiled by robbers on the road, but Sulla received them kindly and entertained them until Marius returned from Gaetulia. Marius advised them to urge Bocchus to obey Sulla in everything. Accordingly Bocchus, who was by now inclined to betray Jugurtha, sent messengers around to the neighbouring Ethiopians (who extend from eastern Ethiopia westward to the Mauretanian Mount Atlas) under pretence of raising a new army, and then asked Marius to send Sulla to him for a conference, which Marius did. Bocchus himself, and his friend Magdalses, and a certain freedman of Carthage, named Cornelius, deceived Apsar, the friend of Jugurtha, who had been left in Bocchus' camp to keep watch on his doings, in the following way. B.C. 107

BOOK IX

MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

FRAGMENTS

Γ'

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΗΣ

I

"Οτι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τοῦ πολεμήσαντος αὐτοῖς πέρι πάμπαν ἐπολυπραγμόνουν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ σφίσιν ἐνθύμιος ἦν ὅλως πονουμένης ἔτι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑπὸ Ἀννίβου τοῦ Καρχηδονίων στρατηγοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Λιβύην καὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν περικαθήμενοι, καὶ καθιστάμενοι Σικελίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ Φίλιππος ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ μείζονος, οὐδέν τι προπαθών, ἔπεμπε πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πρέσβεις, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ξενοφάνης, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ σύνθοιτο κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. συμβάντος δ' ἐς ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀννίβου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ συνθήκῃ ὀμόσαντος, πρέσβεις τε ἀντιπέμψαντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῦ Φιλίππου, Ῥωμαίων τριήρης ἔλαβε τοὺς ἑκατέρων πρέσβεις ἀναπλέοντας, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐκόμισεν. ἐφ' ᾧ Φίλιππος ἀγανακτῶν Κερκύρᾳ προσέβαλεν, ἣ Ῥωμαίοις συνεμάχει. U. p. 357.

BOOK IX

MACEDONIAN AFFAIRS

I. From "The Embassies"

The Romans paid no attention to Philip, the Macedonian, when he began war against them. They were so busy about other things that they did not even think of him, for Italy was still scourged by Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, and they had large armies in Africa, Carthage, and Spain, and were restoring order in Sicily. Philip himself, B.C. 215 moved by a desire of enlarging his dominions, although he had suffered nothing whatever at the hands of the Romans, sent an embassy, the chief of which was Xenophanes, to Hannibal in Italy, promising to aid him in Italy if he would consent to assist him in the subjugation of Greece. Hannibal agreed to this arrangement and took an oath to support it, and sent an embassy in return to receive the oath of Philip. A Roman trireme intercepted the ambassadors of both on their return and carried them to Rome. Thereupon Philip in his anger attacked Corcyra, which was in alliance with Rome.

II

Ὅτι ἐνῆγε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ Σιβύλλεια εἰς τὸν Φιλίππου πόλεμον. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα·

αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακηδόνες Ἀργεάδῃσιν,
ὑμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος.
ἤτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσί τ' ἄνακτας
θήσει, ὁ δ' ὁπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ὀλέσσει,
δμηθεὶς δ' ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἐνθάδ' ὀλεῖται.

Mai p. 368.

III

1. Ὅτι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου πρέσβεις, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἕτεροι παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλέως, δίς, ἔνθα περ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπισκεψομένας ἐκάλουν, συνῆλθον ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Φιλίππου. Σουλπικίου δ' εἰπόντος οὐκ εἶναι κυρίου περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τι κρῖναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν κρύφα ἐπιστέλλοντος ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρει πολεμεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς Φιλίππῳ, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὰς συνθήκας ἐκώλυσε, καὶ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ἔπεμπε συμμαχίαν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους, μεθ' ὧν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ κατέλαβον Ἀμβρακίαν, ἣν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον αὐτῶν Φίλιππος ἀποπλευσάντων ἀνέλαβεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις αὖθις συνῆλθον, καὶ πολλὰ φανερῶς ἔλεγον, ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ διαφερόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς δουλείαν Ῥωμαίοις ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἐθίζοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος

II. From the Vatican MSS. of Cardinal Mai

The Sibylline books induced the Romans to make war against Philip by these lines: "The Macedonians boast their descent from Argive kings. Philip will be the arbiter of weal or woe to you. The elder of that name shall give rulers to cities and peoples, but the younger shall lose every honour, and shall die here, conquered by men of the west." B.C. 215

III. From "The Embassies"

1. Ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and with them others from Chios and Mitylene, and from Amynander, king of the Athamanes, assembled at two different times at the place where the Aetolians were accustomed to call their cities together for consultation, to compose the differences between the Romans, the Aetolians, and Philip. But as Sulpicius said that it was not in his power to conclude peace, and wrote privately to the Senate that it was for the advantage of the Romans that the Aetolians should continue the war against Philip, the Senate forbade the treaty and sent 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to assist the Aetolians. With their help the Aetolians took Ambracia, which Philip recovered, not long afterward, on their departure. Again the ambassadors assembled and said openly and repeatedly that Philip and the Aetolians, by their differences, were subjecting the Greeks to servitude to the Romans, because they were accustoming the latter to make 203

θαμινὰ πειρᾶσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ μὲν Σουλπίκιος ἀντιλέξων ἀνίστατο, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ἤκουσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεκράγεσαν τοὺς πρέσβεις εὖ λέγειν.

2. Καὶ τέλος Αἰτωλοί τε πρῶτοι κατὰ σφᾶς, ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων, Φιλίππῳ συνέβησαν, καὶ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥώμην. καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μηδετέρους ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν φίλους. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτ' ἔληξεν ἡ Φιλίππου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς ἀλλήλους πεῖρα πρώτη, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὐδέτεροι βεβαίους, οὐδ' ἀπ' εἰνοίας, ἐδόκουν πεποιῆσθαι. U. p. 357.

IV

Ὅτι μετ' οὐ πολὺ Φίλιππος μὲν τῶν ὑπηκόων τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στόλον ἐπαγγείλας, Σάμον καὶ Χίον εἶλε, καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀττάλου γῆς ἐπόρθησε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἀπεπείρασε Περγάμου, μὴ φειδόμενος ἱερῶν ἢ τάφων, τήν τε Ῥοδίων περαίαν ἐδῄου διαλλακτήρων οἱ γεγονότων, καὶ ἑτέρῳ μέρει στρατοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλυμαίνετο καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπολιόρκει, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις προσηκόντων. λόγος τε ἦν ὅτι Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σύρων βασιλεὺς ὑπόσχοιντο ἀλλήλοις, Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν ὁ Φίλιππος συστρατεύσειν ἐπί τε Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ Κύπρον, ὧν τότε ἦρχεν ἔτι παῖς ὢν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τέταρτος, ᾧ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπώνυμον ἦν, Φιλίππῳ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ Κυρήνην καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους καὶ Ἰωνίαν.

frequent attempts upon Greece. When Sulpicius rose to reply to them the crowd would not hear him, but shouted that the ambassadors had spoken well. B.C. 208

2. Finally the Aetolians took the initiative and made peace with Philip by themselves without the Romans, and ambassadors were sent to Rome by Philip himself and by the commander of the Roman forces in order to come to an agreement. Peace was made between them on the condition that neither party should do any injury to the friends of the other. This was the result of the first trial of strength between them, and neither of them believed that the treaty was a secure one, or based on goodwill. 205

IV. From the Same

Not long afterward Philip, having ordered a fleet to be prepared by his maritime subjects, took Samos and Chios and devastated a part of the territory of King Attalus. He even assailed Pergamus itself, not sparing temples or sepulchres. He also ravaged the Mainland of the Rhodians, who had been promoters of the treaty of peace. With another part of his army he ravaged Attica and laid siege to Athens, on the ground that none of these countries concerned the Romans. It was reported also that a league had been made between Philip and Antiochus, king of Syria, to the effect that Philip should help Antiochus to conquer Egypt and Cyprus, of which Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator,[1] who was still a boy, was the ruler; and that Antiochus should help Philip to gain Cyrene, the Cyclades islands, and Ionia. 200

[1] This should be Ptolemy V., surnamed Epiphanes, the son of Ptolemy Philopator. The latter died in B.C. 203.

Καὶ τήνδε τὴν δόξαν, ἐκταράσσουσαν ἅπαντας Ῥόδιοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐμήνυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίων Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ᾐτιῶντο Φίλιππον τῆς πολιορκίας. καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μεταγιγνώσκοντες κατηγόρουν ὡς καὶ περὶ σφᾶς ἀπίστου γεγονότος, ἠξίουν τε αὖθις ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἐγγραφῆναι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' Αἰτωλοῖς ἐμέμψαντο τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ μεταβολῆς, πρέσβεις δ' ἐς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔπεμπον, οἳ προηγόρευον αὐτοῖς Ἀντίοχον μὲν Αἰγύπτῳ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν, Φίλιππον δὲ μηδὲν ἐς Ῥοδίους ἢ Ἀθηναίους ἢ Ἄτταλον ἢ ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ Ῥωμαίων φίλον ἁμαρτάνειν. τούτοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίοις ἔξειν καλῶς, ἂν ἐμμένωσιν ᾗ συνέθεντο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνῃ. οὕτω μὲν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαὶ ἐλέλυντο, καὶ στρατιὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἠπείγετο, στρατηγοῦντος Ποπλίου καὶ ναυαρχοῦντος Λευκίου. U. p. 358.

V

Ὅτι ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τῷ Φλαμινίνῳ . . . σητει, συναγόντων αὐτοὺς Ἠπειρωτῶν πρέσβεων. ὡς δὲ ὁ Φλαμινῖνος Φίλιππον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, καὶ τὰς βλάβας ταῖς προειρημέναις ἀποδοθῆναι, ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος τὰ μὲν . . . Mai p. 368.

VI

Ποιμὴν ὑπέσχετο στρατὸν εὔζωνον ἄξειν ὁδὸν ἀτριβῆ τρισὶν ἡμέραις. Suid. v. εὔζωνοι.

This rumour, which caused universal dismay, the Rhodians communicated to Rome. After the Rhodians, ambassadors of Athens came complaining of the siege instituted by Philip. The Aetolians also had repented of their treaty, and they complained of Philip's bad faith toward them and asked to be inscribed again as allies. The Romans reproached the Aetolians for their recent defection, but they sent ambassadors to the kings ordering Antiochus not to invade Egypt, and Philip not to molest the Rhodians, or the Athenians, or Attalus, or any other ally of theirs. To them Philip made answer that it would be well if the Romans would abide by the treaty of peace they had entered into with him. Thus was the treaty dissolved and a Roman army hastened to Greece, Publius commanding the land forces and Lucius the fleet. B.C. 200

V. From the Vatican MSS. of Cardinal Mai

Philip, king of Macedon, had a conference with Flamininus, which had been brought about by the ambassadors of the Epirots. When Flamininus ordered Philip to evacuate Greece, in favour, not of the Romans, but of the Greek cities themselves, and to make good the damage he had done to these cities, Philip partly. . . 198

VI. From Suidas

A shepherd promised to guide a lightly equipped army by a little used path in three days.

VII

Ὅτι Λεύκιος Κοΐντιος ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογον ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις, οἳ μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥοδίων ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς μεταθέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου, διεπρεσβεύετο δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος αἰτῶν βοήθειαν ὡς συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ ἐνοχλούμενοι μὲν οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι πολέμῳ Νάβιδος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων τυράννου, διεστῶτες δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις ἠπόρουν, καὶ οἱ πλείονες ᾑροῦντο τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο Ῥωμαίους διά τινα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Σουλπικίου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομήματα. ἐγκειμένων δὲ βιαίως τῶν ῥωμαϊζόντων, οἱ πολλοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπεχώρουν δυσχεραίνοντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα ἐκβιασθέντες συνέθεντο τῷ Λευκίῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκολούθουν ἐπὶ Κόρινθον μηχανήματα φέροντες. U. p. 359.

VIII

Ὅτι Φλαμινῖνος αὖθις συνῆλθεν ἐς λόγους Φιλίππῳ κατὰ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον, ἔνθα κατηγορούντων τοῦ Φιλίππου Ῥοδίων καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ Ἀθαμᾶνος ἐκέλευσε Φίλιππον ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ Φωκίδος, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἀμφοτέρους ἀποστεῖλαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ᾐξίουν τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς τρεῖς φρουρὰς ἃς αὐτὸς πέδας ἐκάλει τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὴν μὲν ἐν Χαλκίδι Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ Λοκροῖς ἐπικειμένην, τὴν δὲ ἐν

VII. From "The Embassies"

Lucius Quintius [Flamininus] sent envoys to the B.C. 198
Achaean League to persuade them, together with the Athenians and Rhodians, to abandon Philip and join the Romans. Philip also sent ambassadors, asking assistance from them as allies. But they, being troubled by a war on their own borders with Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedaemon, were divided in mind and hesitated. The greater part of them preferred the alliance of Philip and sided against the Romans on account of certain outrages against Greece committed by Sulpicius, the former commander. When the Roman faction urged their views with vehemence, most of their opponents left the assembly in disgust, and the remainder, being forced to yield by the smallness of their number, entered into an alliance with Lucius and followed him at once to the siege of Corinth, bringing engines of war with them.

VIII. From the Same

Flamininus came into conference with Philip a 197
second time at the Malian gulf. When the Rhodians, the Aetolians, and Amynander the Athamanian made their complaints against Philip, Flamininus ordered him to remove his garrisons from Phocis, and required both parties to send ambassadors to Rome. When this was done the Greeks asked the Roman Senate to require Philip to remove from their country the three garrisons which he called "the fetters of Greece"; the one at Chalcis, which threatened the Boeotians, the Euboeans, and the Locrians;

Κορίνθῳ καθάπερ πύλαις τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀποκλείουσαν, καὶ τρίτην ἐν Δημητριάδι τὴν Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Μάγνησιν ἐφεδρεύουσαν· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις ἤρετο τί φρονοίη περὶ τῶνδε τῶν φρουρῶν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀποκριναμένων δὲ ἀγνοεῖν, Φλαμινῖνον ἔφη κρινεῖν, καὶ πράξειν ὅ τι ἂν δίκαιον ἡγῆται. οὕτω μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐπανῆεσαν, Φλαμινῖνος δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐς οὐδὲν συμβαίνοντες ἀλλήλοις αὖθις ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. U. p. 360.

IX

1. Ὅτι ἡττηθεὶς πάλιν ὁ Φίλιππος περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο πρὸς Φλαμινῖνον, ὁ δ' αὖθις αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους συνεχώρει, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δυσχεραινόντων, καὶ διαβαλλόντων αὐτὸν ἐς δωροδοκίαν, καὶ καταγιγνωσκόντων τῆς ἐς ἅπαντα εὐχεροῦς μεταβολῆς, ἡγούμενος δ' οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρειν οὔτε τοῖς Ἕλλησι Φιλίππου καθαιρεθέντος ἐπιπολάσαι τὴν Αἰτωλῶν βίαν. τάχα δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς νίκης ἀγαπᾶν ἐποίει. συνθέμενος δὲ χωρίον οἱ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπελθεῖν ἔδει τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε γνώμην προαποφήνασθαι κατὰ πόλεις. τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλάνθρωπα ἦν, τό τε τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφορωμένων, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα τοῦτο οὐ κατ' ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ πλέον ἐκ συντυχίας αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἡγουμένων· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν πρόεδρος ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὸν Φλαμινῖνον ὅτι μηδὲν ἄλλο μήτε

the one at Corinth, which closed the door of the Peloponnesus; and the third at Demetrias, which, as it were, kept guard over the Aetolians and the Magnesians. The Senate asked Philip's ambassadors what the king's views were respecting these garrisons. When they answered they did not know, the Senate said that Flamininus should decide the question and do what he considered just. So the ambassadors took their departure from Rome, but Flamininus and Philip, being unable to come to any agreement, resumed hostilities. B.C. 197

IX. From the Same

1. Philip, after being defeated again, sent a herald to Flamininus to sue for peace, and again Flamininus granted him a conference, whereat the Aetolians were greatly displeased and accused him of being bribed by the king, and complained of his facile change of mind as to all these matters. But he thought that it would not be to the advantage of the Romans, or of the Greeks, that Philip should be deposed and the Aetolian power made supreme. Perhaps, also, the unexpected victory made him satisfied. Having agreed upon a place where Philip should come, he directed the allies to deliver their opinions first city by city. The others were disposed to be moderate, viewing suspiciously the uncertainties of fortune as evinced in the calamities of Philip, and considering this disaster that had befallen him due not so much to weakness as to bad luck. But Alexander, the presiding officer of the Aetolians, said, "Flamininus is ignorant of the fact that nothing else

Ῥωμαίοις μήθ' Ἕλλησι συνοίσει πλὴν ἐξαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Φιλίππου.

2. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη τὴν Ῥωμαίων φύσιν, οἳ οὐδένα πω τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνέτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἁμαρτόντων, καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἔναγχος, ἐφείσαντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτοῖς ἀποδόντες καὶ φίλους ποιησάμενοι τοὺς ἠδικηκότας. "ἀγνοεῖς δ'," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῦθ', ὅτι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα βάρβαρα τὴν Μακεδονίαν περικάθηται, εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλέας, ἐπιδραμεῖται ῥᾳδίως. ὅθεν ἐγὼ δοκιμάζω τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐᾶν τῶν Μακεδόνων προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, Φίλιππον δὲ ἐκστῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὧν πρότερον ἀντέλεγε χωρίων, καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην ἐσενεγκεῖν τάλαντα δ ἀκόσια, ὅμηρά τε δοῦναι τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Δημήτριον, μέχρι δὲ ταῦθ' ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπικυρώσει, τετραμήνους ἀνοχὰς γενέσθαι."

3. Δεξαμένου δὲ πάντα τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐπεκύρωσε, τὰς δὲ προτάσεις τὰς Φλαμινίνου σμικρύνασα καὶ φαυλίσασα, ἐκέλευσε τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ἦσαν Ἑλληνίδες ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ, πάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν Φίλιππον ἐξαγαγεῖν πρὸ τῶν ἐπιόντων Ἰσθμίων, ναῦς τε ὅσας ἔχει, χωρὶς ἑξήρους μιᾶς καὶ σκαφῶν πέντε κατα-φράκτων, παραδοῦναι τῷ Φλαμινίνῳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐσενεγκεῖν πεντακόσια μὲν αὐτίκα πεντακόσια δὲ ἔτεσι δέκα, ἑκάστου τὸ μέρος ἔτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἀναφέροντα, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα αὐτῶν

but the destruction of Philip's empire will benefit either the Romans or the Greeks." B.C. 197

2. Flamininus replied that Alexander was ignorant of the character of the Romans, who had never yet destroyed an enemy at once, but had spared many offenders, as recently the Carthaginians, restoring their property to them and making allies of those who had done them wrong. "You also," he said, "are ignorant of the fact that there are many barbarous tribes on the border of Macedonia, who would make easy incursions into Greece if the Macedonian kings were taken away. Wherefore, I think that the Macedonian government should be left to protect you against the barbarians, but Philip must retire from those Greek places that he has hitherto refused to give up, and must pay the Romans 200 talents for the expenses of the war, and give hostages of the most noble families, including his own son, Demetrius. Until the Senate ratifies these conditions there shall be an armistice of four months."

3. Philip accepted all these conditions, and the Senate, when it learned of the peace, ratified it, but considering that the terms demanded by Flamininus were poor and inadequate it decreed that all the Greek cities that had been under Philip's rule should be free, and that he should withdraw his garrisons from them before the next celebration of the Isthmian games; that he should deliver to Flamininus all his ships, except one with six benches of oars and five small vessels with decks; that he should pay the Romans 500 talents of silver down, and remit to Rome 500 more in ten years, in annual instalments; and that he should surrender all prisoners and de- 196

ὅσα ἔχοι. τάδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ προσέθηκε, καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδέξατο ἅπαντα· ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα ἡ σμικρολογία Φλαμινίνου καταφανὴς ἐγένετο. συμβούλους δ' ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, καθάπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς λήγουσι πολέμοις, δέκα ἄνδρας, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἔδει τὰ εἰλημμένα καθίστασθαι.

4. Καὶ τάδε μὲν διετίθετο σὺν ἐκείνοις, αὐτὸς δ' ἐς τὸν τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἀγῶνα ἐπελθών, πληθύοντος τοῦ σταδίου, σιωπήν τε ἐσήμηνεν ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι, καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν· "ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ Φλαμινῖνος ὁ στρατηγός, Μακεδόνας καὶ βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐκπολεμήσαντες, ἀφιᾶσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφρούρητον ἀφορολόγητον ἰδίοις ἤθεσι καὶ νόμοις χρῆσθαι." πολλῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ βοῆς καὶ χαρᾶς γενομένης θόρυβος ἦδιστος ἦν, ἑτέρων μεθ' ἑτέρους τὸν κήρυκα καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ἀνειπεῖν μετακαλούντων. στεφάνους τε καὶ ταινίας ἐπέβαλλον τῷ στρατηγῷ, καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἐψηφίζοντο κατὰ πόλεις. πρέσβεις τε μετὰ χρυσῶν στεφάνων ἔπεμπον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἳ χάριν ὡμολόγουν, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ἀνεγράφοντο. καὶ δεύτερος ὅδε πόλεμος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Φιλίππῳ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

5. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ συνεμάχησε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατ' Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως, περῶντάς τε ἐπὶ Ἀντίοχον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν διὰ Θρᾴκης καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁδὸν οὐκ εὐμαρῆ παρέπεμπεν οἰκείοις τέλεσι καὶ τροφαῖς, ὁδοποιῶν καὶ ποταμοὺς δυσπόρους ζευγνὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους Θρᾷκας

serters in his hands. These conditions were added by the Senate and Philip accepted them all, which proved more strongly than anything how inadequate Flamininus' terms were. They sent to the latter as counsellors ten men (as was customary at the end of a war), with whose aid he should regulate the new acquisitions. B.C. 196

4. When he had arranged these things with them he himself went to the Isthmian games, and, the stadium being full of people, he commanded silence by trumpet and directed the herald to make this proclamation: "The Roman people and Senate, and Flamininus, their general, having vanquished the Macedonians and Philip, their king, leave Greece free from foreign garrisons and not subject to tribute, to live under her own customs and laws." Thereupon there was great shouting and rejoicing and a scene of rapturous tumult; and groups here and there called the herald back in order that he might repeat his words for them. They threw wreaths and fillets upon the general and voted statues for him in their cities. They sent ambassadors with golden crowns to the Capitol at Rome to express their gratitude, and inscribed themselves as allies of the Roman people. Such was the end of the second war between the Romans and Philip.

5. Not long afterwards Philip even lent aid in Greece to the Romans in their war against King Antiochus, and as they were moving against Antiochus in Asia, passing through Thrace and Macedonia by a difficult road, he escorted them with his own troops, supplied them with food and money, repaired the roads, bridged the unfordable streams, and dispersed the hostile Thracians, until he had conducted them 190

διακόπτων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἤγαγεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον παρὰ σφίσιν ὁμηρεύοντα ἀπέλυσε, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφῆκεν ὧν ἔτι ὤφειλεν· οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες οἵδε Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ νίκης, ἐπανιόντας, οὐκέτι Φιλίππου παρόντος, τήν τε λείαν ἀφείλοντο καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειραν, ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπεδείχθη ὅσον αὐτοὺς ἀνιόντας ὤνησεν ὁ Φίλιππος.

6. Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχου πολέμου πολλοὶ κατηγόρουν τοῦ Φιλίππου, τὰ μὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ οὐ ποιεῖν ὧν ὥρισε Φλαμινῖνος, ὅτε διετίθετο τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ Δημήτριος ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἐπρέσβευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κεχαρισμένος μὲν ἔκπαλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμηρείας, Φλαμινίνου δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ βουλῇ γνωρίζοντος ἰσχυρῶς. νεώτερον δ' ὄντα καὶ θορυβούμενον ἐκέλευσαν τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπομνήματα ἀναγνῶναι, ἐν οἷς ἦν ἐφ' ἑκάστου, τὰ μὲν ἤδη γεγονέναι, τὰ δὲ γενήσεσθαι, καίπερ ἀδίκως ὡρισμένα· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προσέκειτο πολλοῖς. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τὴν ὑπόγυον αὐτοῦ ἐς Ἀντίοχον προθυμίαν αἰδουμένη, συγγιγνώσκειν τε ἔφη, καὶ προσεπεῖπε διὰ Δημήτριον. ὁ δ' ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Ἀντιόχου πόλεμον χρησιμώτατός τε γεγονώς, καὶ βλαβερώτατος ἂν φανεὶς εἰ Ἀντιόχῳ παρακαλοῦντι συνέπραξε, πολλὰ ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπιστούμενον καὶ κατηγορούμενον καὶ συγγνώμης ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἀξιούμενον,

to the Hellespont. In return for these favours the Senate released his son Demetrius, who had been held by them as a hostage, and remitted the payments of money still due from him. But these Thracians fell upon the Romans when they were returning from their victory over Antiochus, when Philip was no longer with them, carried off their booty and killed many—by which it was plainly shown how great a service Philip had rendered them when they were advancing. B.C. 190

6. The war with Antiochus being ended, many of the Greeks charged Philip with doing or omitting various things in disregard of the orders given by Flamininus when he settled the affairs of Greece. To answer these charges Demetrius went as an envoy to Rome in his father's behalf, the Romans being well pleased with him aforetime, when he had been a hostage, and Flamininus strongly recommending him to the Senate. As he was rather young and somewhat flustered, they directed him to read his father's memorandum in which it was severally entered that certain things had already been done, and that others should be done, although decided upon contrary to justice; for this observation was appended to many of the clauses. Nevertheless, the Senate, having regard to his late zeal in the matter of Antiochus, said that it would pardon him, and added that it did so on account of Demetrius. But Philip, having been confessedly most useful to them in the war with Antiochus, when he might have done them the greatest damage if he had co-operated with Antiochus, as the latter asked him to, expecting much on this account and now seeing himself discredited and accused, and considered worthy of pardon rather than of gratitude, 188

καὶ τῆσδε διὰ Δημήτριον, ἤχθετο καὶ ἠγανάκτει, καὶ ἐπέκρυπτεν ἄμφω. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὰ τῶν Φιλίππου πρὸς Εὐμένη μετέφερον, ἀσθενοποιοῦντες ἀεὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἐς πόλεμον ἤδη λανθάνων ἡτοιμάζετο. id. ib.

X

Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας διέφθειρεν, ἵνα μὴ Ῥωμαίοις λέγοιεν τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐκτετρῦσθαι. Suid. v. τετρῦσθαι.

XI

1. Ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ταχέως αὐξανόμενον τὸν Περσέα ὑφεωρῶντο· καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἠρέθιζεν ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φιλία καὶ γειτνίασις, οἷς ἔχθος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ ἐς Βαστέρνας ἀπεσταλμένοι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἔφασκον ἰδεῖν ἀσφαλῶς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν καὶ νεότητα γεγυμνασμένην, Ῥωμαίους καὶ τάδε διετάρασσεν. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Περσεὺς ἑτέρους ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθρας δεδιὼς Περσέα ἦκεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ κατηγόρει φανερῶς αὐτοῦ, παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις δυσμενὴς γένοιτο ἀεί, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰκείως ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντα

and even this merely on account of Demetrius, was indignant and angry, but concealed his feelings. When afterwards, in a certain arbitration before the Romans, they transferred much of his territory to Eumenes, seeking all the time to weaken him, he at last began secretly preparing for war B.C. 183

X. From Suidas

Philip utterly destroyed all forces that sailed against him, lest the Romans should say that the Macedonian power had been crushed.

XI. From "The Embassies"

1. The Romans were suspicious of Perseus (the son of Philip) on account of his rapidly growing power, and they were especially disturbed by his nearness to the Greeks and his friendship for men whom the Roman generals had filled with hatred of the Roman people. Afterward the ambassadors, who were sent to the Bastarnae, reported that they had observed that Macedonia was strongly fortified and had abundant war material, and that its young men were well drilled; and these things also disturbed the Romans. When Perseus perceived this he sent other ambassadors to allay the suspicion. At this time also Eumenes, king of that part of Asia lying about Pergamus, fearing Perseus on account of his own former enmity to Philip, came to Rome and accused him publicly before the Senate, saying that he had always been hostile to the Romans; that he had killed his brother for being friendly to them; 172

ἀνέλοι, καὶ Φιλίππῳ τε παρασκευὴν τοσήνδε κατ' αὐτῶν συναγαγόντι συμπράξειε, καὶ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος οὐδὲν ἐκλύσειεν αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεξεργάσαιτο ἕτερα, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀμέτρως θεραπεύοι, Βυζαντίοις τε καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς συμμαχήσας, καὶ Θρᾴκην κατακτῷτο, μέγα ὁρμητήριον, καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Περραιβοὺς διαστασιάσειε βουλομένους τι πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

2. "Καὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων," ἔφη, "φίλων καὶ συμμάχων Ἀβρούπολιν μὲν ἀφῄρηται τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἀρθέταυρον δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δυνάστην καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐπιβουλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς ἐργασαμένους ὑποδέδεκται." διέβαλλε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας βασιλικὰς ἄμφω γενομένας, καὶ τὰς νυμφαγωγίας ὅλῳ τῷ Ῥοδίων στόλῳ παραπεμφθείσας. ἔγκλημα δ' ἐποίει καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ νηφάλιον τῆς διαίτης, ὄντος οὔτω νέου, καὶ ὅτι πρὸς πολλῶν ὀξέως ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀγαπῷτο καὶ ἐπαινοῖτο. ζήλου τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκλημάτων οὐδὲν ὁ Εὐμένης ἀπολιπών, ἐκέλευε τὴν σύγκλητον ὑφορᾶσθαι νέον ἐχθρὸν εὐδοκιμοῦντα καὶ γειτονεύοντα.

3. Ἡ δ' ἔργῳ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσα βασιλέα σώφρονα καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ἐς πολλοὺς φιλάνθρωπον, ἀθρόως οὕτως ἐπαιρόμενον καὶ πατρικὸν ὄντα σφίσιν ἐχθρόν, ἐν πλευραῖς ἔχειν, λόγῳ δ' ἃ προύτεινεν ὁ Εὐμένης αἰτιωμένη, πολεμεῖν ἔκρινε τῷ Περσεῖ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπόρρητον ἔτι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιούμενοι, Ἄρπαλόν τε πεμφθέντα παρὰ

that he had aided Philip in collecting his great armament against them, an armament which, when he became king, he actually increased instead of diminishing; that he was conciliating the Greeks in every possible way and furnishing military aid to the Byzantines, the Aetolians, and the Boeotians; that he had possessed himself of the great stronghold of Thrace and had stirred up dissensions among the Thessalians and the Perrhaebi when they wanted to send an embassy to Rome. B.C. 172

2. "And of your two friends and allies," he said, "he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom and conspired to kill Arthetaurus, the Illyrian chief, and gave shelter to his murderers." Eumenes also slandered him on account of his foreign marriages, both of which were with royal families, and for his bridal processions escorted by the whole fleet of Rhodes. He even made into an accusation the industry and sobriety of life which he shewed at such an early age, and the widespread popularity and praise which he had quickly attained. Of the things that could excite their jealousy, envy, and fear even more strongly than direct accusations, Eumenes omitted nothing, and he urged the Senate to beware of a youthful enemy so highly esteemed and so near to them.

3. The Senate, in reality because they did not choose to have on their flank a sober-minded, laborious, and benevolent king, an hereditary enemy to themselves, attaining eminence so suddenly, but ostensibly on the ground of Eumenes' allegations, decided to make war against Perseus. This intention they at present kept secret among themselves, and when Harpalus, who had been sent by Perseus

Περσέως ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Εὐμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων τινὰ πρεσβευτήν, βουλομένους ἐς ὄψιν τὸν Εὐμένη διελέγχειν, παρόντος μὲν ἔτι τοῦ Εὐμένους οὐ προσήκαντο, μεταστάντος δὲ ἐδέξαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε πρῶτον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενοι πλέον πολεμεῖν βουλομένους ἤδη Ῥωμαίους Περσεῖ καὶ Ῥοδίοις μᾶλλον ἐξηγρίωσαν· τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ τὸν Εὐμένη δι' αἰτίας εἶχον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δέους αἴτιον τοσοῖδε πολέμου γενόμενον. καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν θεωρίαν αὐτοῦ, μόνου βασιλέων, ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἡλίου πεμπομένην οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.

4. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπανιὼν ἐκ Κίρρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέβαινε θύσων, καὶ αὐτῷ τέσσαρες ἄνδρες ὑπὸ τὸ τειχίον ὑποστάντες ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ ἄλλας δέ τινας αἰτίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὸν Περσέως πόλεμον ὡς οὔπω κεκριμένον προσελάμβανον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τοὺς φίλους βασιλέας, Εὐμένη καὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Ἀριαράθην καὶ Μασσανάσσην καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτου, περιέπεμπον, ἑτέρους δ' ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Ἤπειρον καὶ Ἀκαρνανίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους, ὅσας δύναιντο προσαγαγέσθαι· ὃ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐτάραττεν, ἡδομένους μὲν τῷ Περσεῖ φιλέλληνι ὄντι, ἀναγκαζομένους δ' ἐνίους Ῥωμαίοις ἐς συμβάσεις χωρεῖν.

5. Ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἀπορῶν τε καὶ πυνθανόμενος τί παθόντες ἐκλήθονται τῶν συγκειμένων καὶ πρέσβεις κατ' αὐτοῦ περιπέμπουσιν ὄντος φίλου, δέον, εἰ καί τι μέμφονται, λόγῳ διακριθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐνεκάλουν

to answer the charge of Eumenes, and a certain B.C.
ambassador of the Rhodians, desired to refute 172
Eumenes face to face, they were not admitted while he was still there, but after his departure they were received. They now, for the first time, lost patience, and using too much freedom of speech, still more exasperated the Romans, who were already meditating war against Perseus and the Rhodians. Many senators, however, blamed Eumenes for causing so great a war on account of his own private grudges and fears, and the Rhodians refused to receive his representatives, alone among all those sent by the kings to their festival of the Sun.

4. When Eumenes was returning to Asia he went up from Cirrha to Delphi to sacrifice, and there four men, hiding behind a wall, made an attempt upon his life. Other causes besides this were advanced by the Romans for a war against Perseus, as though it had not yet been decreed, and ambassadors were sent to the allied kings, Eumenes, Antiochus, Ariarathes, Masinissa, and Ptolemy of Egypt, also to Greece, Thessaly, Epirus, Acarnania, and to such of the islands as they could draw to their side. This specially troubled the Greeks, some because they were fond of Perseus as a Philhellene, and some because they were compelled to enter into agreement with the Romans.

5. When Perseus learned these facts he sent other 171
ambassadors to Rome, who said that the king was surprised and wished to know for what reason they had forgotten the agreement and sent around legates against himself, their ally. If they were offended at anything, they ought to discuss the matter first. The Senate then accused him of the things that

ὅσα Εὐμένης εἶποι καὶ πάθοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Θρᾴκην κατακτῷτο, καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοι καὶ παρασκευὴν οὐκ ἠρεμήσοντος ἀνδρός. ὁ δ' αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους, οἳ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀπαχθέντες ἔλεγον ὧδε· "τοῖς μὲν προφάσεως ἐς πόλεμον, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, δεομένοις ἱκανὰ πάντα ἐς τὴν πρόφασιν ἐστίν. εἰ δ' αἰδεῖσθε συνθήκας οἱ πολὺν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτῶν λόγον ἔχειν, τί παθόντες ὑπὸ Περσέως αἱρεσθε πόλεμον; οὐ γὰρ ὅτι στρατιὰν ἔχει καὶ παρασκευήν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει ταῦτα καθ' ὑμῶν. οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κεκτῆσθαι βασιλέας κωλύετε· οὐδ' ἄδικον ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τὰ περίοικα, καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύοι. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευσε καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἔναγχος ἀνεκαίνισεν.

6. Ἀλλ' Ἀβρούπολιν ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐπιδραμόντα γε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀμυνόμενος. καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσε Περσεύς, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας αὐτῷ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀνενεώσασθε, οὕπω διαβάλλοντος Εὐμένους. τὸ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἀβρούπολιν καὶ πρεσβύτερόν ἐστι τῶν συνθηκῶν, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτε συνετίθεσθε, δίκαιον ἐφάνη. Δόλοψι γὰρ ἐπεστράτευσεν οὖσι τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς, καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμὸν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσει. δίδωσι δ' ὅμως, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ὑμᾶς τε καὶ δόξαν ἀγαθήν. ἔκτειναν δ' οἱ Δόλοπες οἵδε τὸν ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν αἰκισάμενοι, καὶ ζητεῖ Περσεὺς τί ἂν ὑμεῖς ἐδράσατε τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοιαῦτα πράξαντας. ἀλλ'

Eumenes had told them, and also of what Eumenes had suffered, and especially of taking possession of Thrace and collecting an army and war material, in a manner which did not shew a desire for peace. Again he sent ambassadors who were brought into the senate-chamber, and spoke as follows: "To those who are seeking an excuse for war, O Romans, anything will serve for a pretext, but if you have respect for treaties—you who profess so much regard for them—what have you suffered at the hands of Perseus that you should bring war against him? It cannot be because he has an army and war material. He does not hold them against you, nor do you prohibit other kings from having them, nor is it wrong that he should take precautions against those under his rule, and against his neighbours, and foreigners who might have designs against him. But to you, Romans, he sent ambassadors to confirm the peace and only recently renewed the treaty. B.C. 171

6. "But, you say, he drove Abrupolis out of his kingdom. Yes, in self-defence, for he had invaded our territory. This fact Perseus himself explained to you, and afterward you renewed the treaty with him, as Eumenes had not yet slandered him. The affair of Abrupolis antedates the treaty and seemed to you just, when you ratified it. You say that he made war on the Dolopians, but they were his own subjects. It is hard if he is to be obliged to give an account to you of what he does with his own. He gives it nevertheless, being moved by his high regard for you and for his own reputation. These Dolopians put their governor to death with torture, and Perseus asks what you would have done to any of your subjects who had been guilty of such a crime. But

Ἀρθέταυρόν τινες ἀνελοντες ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διέτριβον. κοινῷ γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμῳ, καθὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ἑτέρωθεν φεύγοντας ὑποδέχεσθε. μαθὼν δὲ καὶ τοῦθ' ὅτι ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθε, ἐξεκήρυξεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης.

7. Βυζαντίοις δὲ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Βοιωτοῖς οὐ καθ' ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑτέρων συνεμάχησεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάλαι ὑμῖν ἡμέτεροι πρέσβεις ἐμήνυον, καὶ οὐκ ἐμέμφεσθε μέχρι τῆς Εὐμένους διαβολῆς, ἣν οὐκ εἰάσατε τοὺς ἡμετέρους πρέσβεις ἐς ὄψιν αὐτὸν ἐλέγξαι. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ γενομένην προσγράφετε Περσεῖ, πόσων Ἑλλήνων, πόσων δὲ βαρβάρων κατ' Εὐμένους πρεσβευσάντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἷς πᾶσιν ἐχθρός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὤν. Ἐρέννιον δὲ τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν ὅτι Περσεύς, Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ὑμέτερον καὶ πρύξενον, εἴληφεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς βουλῆς φαρμακείαν, ὡς ἀναλῶσαι τὴν σύγκλητον δι' αὐτοῦ δυνάμενος, ἢ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους εὐμενεστέρους ἔξων διὰ τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους; ἀλλ' Ἐρέννιος μὲν ἐψεύσατο τοῖς ἐπιτρίβουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα διδούς, Εὐμένης δ' ὑπ' ἔχθρας τε καὶ φθόνου καὶ δέους οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ὤκνησεν ἐγκαλέσαι Περσεῖ, ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔθνεσι κεχαρισμένος καὶ φιλέλλην, καὶ σωφρόνως ἀντὶ μέθης καὶ τρυφῆς ἄρχει. καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὑπέστητε ἀκροάσασθαι.

8. Τοιγάρτοι τὴν ἐκείνου διαβολὴν αὔξετε καθ' ὑμῶν ὡς οὐ φέροντες σώφρονας καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλοπόνους γείτονας. Περσεὺς δ' Ἐρέννιον μὲν

the slayers of Arthetaurus lived on in Macedonia! B.C. 171
Yes, by the common law of mankind, the same under which you yourselves give asylum to fugitives from other countries. But when Perseus learned that you considered this a crime he forbade them his kingdom entirely.

7. "He gave aid to the Byzantines, the Aetolians, and the Boeotians, not against you, but against others. Of these things our ambassadors advised you long ago, and you did not object until Eumenes uttered his slander against us, which you did not allow our ambassadors to answer in his presence. But you accuse Perseus of the plot against him at Delphi. How many Greeks, how many barbarians, have sent ambassadors to you to complain against Eumenes, to all of whom he is an enemy because so base a man! As for Erennius of Brundusium, who would believe that Perseus would choose a Roman citizen, your hospitable friend, to administer poison to the Senate, as though he could destroy the Senate by means of him, or by destroying some of them render the others more favourable to himself? Erennius has lied to those who are inciting you to war, furnishing them with a plausible pretext. Eumenes, moved by hatred, envy, and fear, does not even scruple to make it a crime on the part of Perseus that he is liked by so many nations, that he is a Philhellene, and that he leads the life of a temperate ruler, instead of being a drunkard and a profligate. And you endure to listen to such stuff from his lips!

8. "Therefore the reproaches which you level against him will recoil in an even greater measure on your own heads, since you will be seen not to

καὶ Εὐμένη, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐθέλοι, προκαλεῖται παρ' ὑμῖν ἐς ἐξέτασιν καὶ κρίσιν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἀναμιμνήσκει μὲν τῆς ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ προθυμίας καὶ βοηθείας, ἧς ἐπιγιγνομένης καλῶς ἠσθάνεσθε, αἰσχρὸν δὲ παρελθούσης ἐπιλαθέσθαι, προφέρει δὲ συνθήκας πατρῴας τε καὶ ἰδίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑμῖν γενομένας. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὐκ ὀκνεῖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς οὓς ὠμόσατε αἰδεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ πολέμου κατάρχειν ἀδίκως ἐς φίλους, μηδ' ἔγκλημα ποιεῖσθαι γειτνίασιν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ὡς Εὐμένους, καὶ ὑμῶν ἅπτεσθαι φθόνον ἢ φόβον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον ἐστὶ σῶφρον, φείδεσθαι γειτόνων ἐπιμελῶν, καὶ ὡς Εὐμένης φησίν, εὖ παρεσκευασμένων."

9. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις τοιαῦτα εἶπον, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐκύρουν. καὶ ὁ ὕπατος ἐκέλευε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας τριάκοντα ἄλλαις ἐξιέναι. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσι Μακεδόνων ἐκήρυττεν. καὶ θόρυβος αὐτίκα μετὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπίφθονος ἦν, ἐν ὀλίγαις ὥραις ἐλαυνομένων τοσῶνδε ὁμοῦ, καὶ οὐδὲ ὑποζύγια εὑρεῖν ἐν οὕτω βραχεῖ διαστήματι, οὐδὲ πάντα φέρειν δυναμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ σπουδῆς οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔφθανον ἐπὶ τοὺς σταθμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀνεπαύοντο ταῖς ὁδοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ παίδων ἑαυτοὺς ἐρρίπτουν καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν. πάντα τε ἐγίγνετο ὅσα εἰκὸς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ τοιῷδε κηρύγματι· αἰφνίδιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο διὰ τὰς ἔτι πρεσβείας. U. p. 361.

tolerate temperate, honest, and industrious neighbours. Perseus challenges Erennius and Eumenes and anybody else to scrutiny and trial before you. He reminds you of his father's zeal and assistance to you against Antiochus the Great. You realized it very well at the time; it would be base to forget it now that it is past. Further, he invokes the treaties that you made with his father and with himself, does not hesitate to exhort you also to fear the gods by whom you swore, and not to bring an unjust war against your allies and not to make nearness, sobriety, and preparation causes of complaint. It is not worthy of you to be stirred by envy or fear like Eumenes. On the contrary, it will be the part of wisdom for you to spare neighbours who are diligent and, as Eumenes says, well prepared." B.C. 171

9. When the ambassadors had thus spoken the Senate gave them no answer, but made a public declaration of war, and the consul ordered the ambassadors to depart from Rome the same day and from Italy within thirty days. The same orders were proclaimed to all Macedonian residents. Consternation mingled with anger followed this action of the Senate, because, on a few hours' notice, so many people were compelled to depart together, who were not even able to find animals in so short a time, nor yet to carry all their goods themselves. Some, in their haste, could not reach a lodging-place, but passed the night in the middle of the roads. Others threw themselves on the ground at the city gates with their wives and children. Everything happened that was likely to follow such an unexpected decree, for it was unexpected to them on account of the pending negotiation.

XII

Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν νίκην ὁ Περσεύς, εἴτ' ἐπιγελῶν Κράσσῳ καὶ τωθάζων αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἀποπειρώμενος ὅπως ἔτι φρονήματος ἔχοι, εἴτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμίν τε καὶ παρασκευὴν ὑφορώμενος, εἴθ' ἑτέρῳ τῳ λογισμῷ, προσέπεμπεν αὐτῷ περὶ διαλλαγῶν, καὶ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο ὧν ὁ πατὴρ Φίλιππος οὐ συνεχώρει· ᾧ καὶ μᾶλλον ὕποπτος ἦν ἐπιγελῶν καὶ πειρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Περσεῖ μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο Ῥωμαίων ἀξίας οὐκ εἶναι διαλύσεις αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειε Ῥωμαίοις· αἰδούμενος δ' ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἥττης κατῆρξαν, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν ἐμαρτύρησεν ὡς ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὴν συμφορὰν γενομένοις, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων Ἑλλήνων κατεψεύσατο ὡς πρώτων τραπέντων. καὶ τούτους ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν. id. p. 369.

XIII

Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἀμφότεροι περὶ σιτολογίαν ἐγίγνοντο, Περσεὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἁλωνευόμενος, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. Suid. v. ἁλωνευόμενος.

XIV

Ὃς δὲ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε τοῦ πόνου, ἑξηκοντούτης ὢν καὶ βαρὺς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πιμελής. id. v. πιμελής.

XII. From the Same

After his victory Perseus, either to make sport of Crassus, and by way of joke, or to test his present state of mind, or fearing the power and resources of the Romans, or for some other reason, sent messengers to him to treat for peace, and promised to make many concessions which his father, Philip, had refused. In this promise he seemed to be rather joking with him and testing him. But Crassus replied that it would not be worthy of the dignity of the Roman people to come to terms with him unless he should surrender Macedonia and himself to them. Being ashamed that the Romans were the first to retreat, Crassus called an assembly, in which he praised the Thessalians for their brave conduct in the catastrophe, and falsely accused the Aetolians and the other Greeks of being the first to fly ; and these men he sent to Rome. B.C. 171

XIII. From Suidas

Both armies employed the rest of the summer in collecting corn, Perseus threshing in the fields and the Romans in their camp.

XIV. From the Same

He (Q. Marcius) was foremost in labour, although sixty years of age and heavy and corpulent.

XV

Τότε δὲ ἔθει τις δρόμῳ διλώσων τῷ Περσεῖ λουομένῳ καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἀναλαμβάνοντι. ὁ δὲ ἐξήλατο τοῦ ὕδατος βοῶν ὅτι ἁλώκοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. id. v. ἀναλαμβάνειν b.

XVI

Ὅτι Περσεὺς ἀναθαρρῶν ἤδη κατ' ὀλίγον μετὰ τὴν φυγήν, Νικίαν καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον, οὓς ἐπὶ τὸν καταποντισμὸν τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῶν νεῶν ἐπεπόμφει, περιποιήσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ χρήματα, συνίστορας ἡγούμενος αἰσχροῦ φόβου καὶ ἑτέροις ἐξαγγελεῖν, ἀπέκτεινεν ἀθεμίστως, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε εὐθὺς ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὠμὸς καὶ εὐχερὴς ἐς ἅπαντας ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' εὔβουλόν οἱ ἔτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ πιθανώτατος ἐς εὐβουλίαν καὶ λογίσασθαι δεξιὸς καὶ εὐτολμότατος ἐς μάχας, ὅσα γε μὴ σφάλλοιτο δι' ἀπειρίαν, ἀθρόως τότε καὶ παραλόγως ἐς δειλίαν καὶ ἀλογιστίαν ἐτράπετο, καὶ ταχὺς καὶ εὐμετάθετος ἄφνω καὶ σκαιὸς ἐς πάντα ἐγένετο, ἀρχομένης αὐτὸν ἐπιλείπειν τῆς τύχης. ὅπερ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἰδεῖν, μεταβολῆς προσιούσης ἀλογωτέρους γιγνομένους ἑαυτῶν. Val. p. 561 (hinc Suid. v. Περσεὺς Μακεδών).

XVII

Ὅτι Ῥόδιοι πρέσβεις ἐς Μάρκιον ἔπεμψαν, συνηδόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων [Περσεῖ]. ὁ δὲ Μάρκιος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐδίδασκε Ῥοδίους πεῖσαι

XV. From the Same

THEN somebody ran to Perseus, while he was refreshing himself with a bath, and told him [that the enemy was approaching]. He sprang out of the water, exclaiming that he had been captured before the battle. B.C. 171

XVI. From "Virtues and Vices"

PERSEUS, who was now gradually plucking up courage after his flight, wickedly put to death Nicias and Andronicus, whom he had sent with orders to throw his money into the sea and to burn his ships; because after the ships and money had been saved he knew that they were witnesses of his disgraceful panic and might tell others of it. And from that time, by a sudden change, he became cruel and reckless toward everybody. Nor did he show any soundness or wisdom of judgment thereafter, but he, who had before been most persuasive in counsel and shrewd in calculation and courageous in battle, except when he failed owing to inexperience, when fortune began to desert him became suddenly and unaccountably cowardly and imprudent, as well as unsteady, changeable and maladroit in all things. Thus we see many who lose their usual discretion when reverses come. 69

XVII. From "The Embassies"

THE Rhodians sent ambassadors to Marcius to congratulate him on the state of affairs in his war with Perseus. Marcius advised the ambassadors to

πέμψαντας ἐς Ῥώμην διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Περσεῖ. καὶ Ῥόδιοι πυθόμενοι μετέπιπτον ὡς οὐ φαύλως ἔχοντος τοῦ Περσέως· οὐ γὰρ εἴκαζον ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων ταῦτα Μάρκιον ἐπισκήπτειν. ὁ δ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τάδε καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ δι' ἀτολμίαν ἔπραττεν. Ῥόδιοι μὲν οὖν καὶ ὡς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἑτέρους πρὸς Μάρκιον. U. p. 369.

XVIII

1. Ὅτι Γένθιος βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν ἑνὸς ἔθνους προσοίκου Μακεδόσι, Περσεῖ συμμαχῶν ἐπὶ τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, ὧν τι καὶ προειλήφει, ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίδα, καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας Περπένναν καὶ Πετίλιον ἔδησεν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς αἰσθόμενος οὐκέτι τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἔπεμπεν ὡς ἤδη καὶ δι' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμωμένον. ἐς δὲ Γέτας ἔπεμπε τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον, καὶ Εὐμένους ἀπεπείρασεν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἢ μεταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, εὖ μὲν εἰδὼς οὐ λησόμενα ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους, ἐλπίζων δ' ἢ πράξειν τι αὐτῶν ἢ τῇ πείρᾳ διαβαλεῖν τὸν Εὐμένη. ὁ δὲ μεταθήσεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἔφη, τάλαντα δ' ᾔτει τῆς μὲν διαλύσεως χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια, τῆς δὲ ἡσυχίας χίλια. καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς ἤδη Γετῶν αὐτῷ προσιέναι μισθοφόρους μυρίους ἱππέας καὶ μυρίους πεζοὺς πυθόμενος,

persuade the Rhodians to send legates to Rome to bring about peace between the Romans and Perseus. When the Rhodians heard these things they changed their minds, thinking that the affairs of Perseus were not in such a bad state, for they did not think that Marcius would have enjoined this without the concurrence of the Romans. But he did this and many other things on his own motion, by reason of cowardice. The Rhodians nevertheless sent ambassadors to Rome and others to Marcius. B.C. 169

XVIII. From Virtues and Vices

1. Genthius, king of a tribe of Illyrians bordering on Macedonia, having formed an alliance with Perseus in consideration of 300 talents, of which he had received a part down, made an attack upon Roman Illyria, and when the Romans sent Perpenna and Petilius as ambassadors to enquire about it, he put them in chains. When Perseus learned this he decided not to pay the rest of the money, thinking that Genthius had already, by his own action, made himself an enemy of the Romans. He also sent legates to the Getae on the other side of the Danube, and he offered money to Eumenes if he would come over to his side, or negotiate for him a peace with Rome, or help neither party in the contest. He knew well that the Romans would hear of this and hoped either to achieve one of these things, or to cast suspicion on Eumenes by the very attempt. Eumenes refused to come over to his side, and he demanded 1500 talents for negotiating a peace, or 1000 for remaining neutral. But now Perseus, learning that 10,000 foot and as many horse were coming to him as mercenaries from the Getae, began forthwith to despise 168

αὐτίκα τοῦ Εὐμένους κατεφρόνει, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν οὐδέν (αἰσχύνην γὰρ φέρειν ἀμφοῖν), τὰ δὲ τῆς διαλύσεως οὐ προδώσειν. ἀλλ' ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ καταθήσειν μέχρι γένοιτο ἡ διάλυσις, εὐμετάβολος ἤδη καὶ μικρολόγος ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ἐς πάντα γενόμενος. ἑνὸς δὲ ὧν ἤλπισεν ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέτυχε, Ῥωμαίοις Εὐμένους ὑπόπτου γενομένου.

2. Γετῶν δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον περασάντων, ἐδόκει Κλοιλίῳ μὲν τῷ ἡγεμόνι δοθῆναι χιλίους χρυσοῦς στατῆρας, ἱππεῖ δ' ἑκάστῳ δέκα, καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεα πεζῷ· καὶ τοῦτο σύμπαν ἦν ὀλίγῳ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων χρυσίου. ὁ δὲ χλαμύδας μέν τινας ἐπήγετο καὶ ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἵππους ἐς δωρεὰν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, καὶ στατῆρας φερομένους μυρίους, καὶ πλησιάσας μετεπέμπετο Κλοίλιον. ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐλθόντας, εἰ φέρουσι τὸ χρυσίον, ἤρετο, καὶ μαθὼν οὐκ ἔχοντας ἀναστρέφειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς πυθόμενος, πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐλαύνοντος θεοῦ, κατηγόρει τῶν Γετῶν ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὡς φύσεως ἀπίστου, καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μὴ θαρρεῖν δισμυρίους αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποδέξασθαι, μόλις δ' ἔφη μυρίους, ὧν καὶ νεωτεριζόντων κρατῆσαι δύνασθαι.

3. Ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις εἰπὼν ἕτερα τοῖς Γέταις ἐπλάττετο, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦτει, τὸ χρυσίον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὑπισχνούμενος δώσειν. τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας ἔγεμε, φροντίζων χρημάτων τῶν πρὸ βραχέος ἐς θάλασσαν μεθειμένων. ὁ δὲ Κλοίλιος τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἰδὼν ἤρετο μετὰ βοῆς

Eumenes, and said that he would pay nothing for his B.C.
neutrality, for that would be a disgrace to both of 168
them, but for negotiating a peace he would not fail to pay, and would deposit the money in Samothrace until the treaty was concluded, so fickle and mean in all matters had he become in his infatuation. Nevertheless, one of the things that he hoped for took place; Eumenes fell under suspicion at Rome.

2. When the Getae had crossed the Danube, they claimed that there should be given to Cloelius, their leader, 1000 gold staters and also ten to each horseman and five to each foot soldier, the whole amounting to a little over 150,000 pieces of gold. Perseus sent messengers to them bearing military cloaks, gold necklaces, and horses for the officers, and 10,000 staters. When he was not far from their camp he sent for Cloelius. The latter asked the messengers whether they had brought the gold, and when he learned that they had not, he ordered them to go back to Perseus. When Perseus learned this, he was again persecuted by Heaven, and capriciously complained among his friends of the faithless nature of the Getae, and pretended to be afraid to receive 20,000 of them in his camp. He said that he could with difficulty receive 10,000 of them, whom he could subdue if they should rebel.

3. While saying these things to his friends, he told other lies to the Getae and asked for half of their force, promising to give them gold that was coming in to him—so inconsistent was he, and so anxious about the money that he had ordered to be thrown into the sea a little while before. Cloelius, seeing the messengers returning, asked in a loud

εἰ τὸ χρυσίον κεκομίκασι, καὶ βουλομένους τι λέγειν ἐκέλευε πρῶτον εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ χρυσίου. ὡς δ' ἔμαθεν οὐκ ἔχοντας, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπῆγεν ὀπίσω. καὶ Περσεὺς ἀφῄρητο καὶ τῆσδε συμμαχίας, πολλῆς τε καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐλθούσης. ὑπὸ δ' ἀφροσύνης, ἐν Φίλᾳ χειμάζων καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων πολὺν Θεσσαλίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεχεν, ἣ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχορήγει τροφάς, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔπεμπε κωλύειν τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοῖς φερομένην. Val. p. 562.

XIX

Ὅτι Παύλῳ ἐπ' εὐτυχίας τοσῆσδε γενομένῳ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐφθόνησε τῆς εὐτυχίας. καί οἱ τεσσάρων παίδων ὄντων τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους αὐτῶν ἐς θέσιν ἄλλοις ἐδεδώκει, Μάξιμόν τε καὶ Σκιπίωνα, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἄμφω συνέβη, τὸν μὲν πρὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ θριάμβου τὸν δὲ μετὰ πέντε, ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐδενὸς ἧττον ὁ Παῦλος κατελογίσατο τῷ δήμῳ. ἔθους γὰρ ὄντος τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καταλέγειν τὰ πεπραγμένα, παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἶπεν ἐς μὲν Κέρκυραν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλεῦσαι μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἐκ δὲ Κερκύρας πέντε μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὁδεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, πέντε δὲ ἄλλαις ἐς Θεσσαλίαν παραγενέσθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸν στρατόν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης πεντεκαίδεκα ἄλλαις ἐλεῖν Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας παραλαβεῖν. οὕτω δὲ ὀξέως ἁπάντων ἐπιτυχὼν δεῖσαι μή τι τῷ στρατῷ συμπέσοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπανιόντι. "διασωθέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ περὶ

voice whether they had brought the gold, and when they wanted to talk about something else he ordered them to speak of the gold first. When he learned that they had not got it, he led his army home without waiting to hear another word from them. Thus Perseus deprived himself of these allies also, who were numerous and had arrived at an opportune moment. He was so foolish, also, that while wintering with a large army at Phila he made no incursion into Thessaly, which furnished supplies to the Romans, but sent a force to Ionia to prevent the bringing of supplies to them from that quarter. B.C. 168

XIX. From the Same

Heaven was jealous of the prosperity of Paulus when he had reached such a pinnacle of fortune. Of his four sons, while he gave the two elder, Maximus and Scipio, for adoption into other families, the two younger ones died, one of them three days before his triumph and the other five days after it. Paulus alluded to this as much as anything in his address to the people. When he came to the forum to give an account of his doings, according to the custom of generals, he said, "I sailed from Brundusium to Corcyra in one day. Five days I was on the road from Corcyra to Delphi, where I sacrificed to the god. In five days more I arrived in Thessaly and took command of the army. Fifteen days later I overthrew Perseus and conquered Macedonia. All these strokes of good fortune coming so rapidly led me to fear the approach of some calamity to the army on my return. When the army was made safe,

ὑμῶν ἐδεδοίκειν," ἔφη· "φθονερὸς γὰρ ὁ δαίμων. ἐς ἐμὲ δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ ἀθρόως μοι τῶν δύο παίδων ἀποθανόντων, ἐπ' ἐμαυτῷ μέν εἰμι βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀμέριμνος." ταῦτ' εἰπών, καὶ καταθαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἰκτιζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν. id. p. 565.

I feared for you on account of the enviousness of fate. Now that the calamity falls upon me, in the sudden loss of my two sons, I am the most unfortunate of men for myself, but free from anxiety as to you." Having spoken thus, Paulus became the object of universal admiration on account of all his exploits, and of commiseration on account of his children; and he died not long after. B.C. 168

BOOK X

THE ILLYRIAN WARS

Κ′

ΙΛΛΥΡΙΚΗ

I

CAP. I 1. Ἰλλυριοὺς Ἕλληνες ἡγοῦνται τοὺς ὑπέρ τε Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην ἀπὸ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτῶν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας τὸ μῆκος, εὖρος δ' ἐκ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Θρᾳκῶν τῶν ὀρείων ἐπὶ Παιονας καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὰ πρόποδα τῶν Ἄλπεων. καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἡμερῶν πέντε, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τριάκοντα, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἴρηται. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὴν χώραν μετρησαμένων ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους.

2. Φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐπώνυμον Ἰλλυριοῦ τοῦ Πολυφήμου γενέσθαι· Πολυφήμῳ γὰρ τῷ Κύκλωπι καὶ Γαλατείᾳ Κελτὸν καὶ Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ Γάλαν παῖδας ὄντας ἐξορμῆσαι Σικελίας, καὶ ἄρξαι τῶν δι' αὐτοὺς Κελτῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν λεγομένων. καὶ τόδε μοι μάλιστα, πολλὰ μυθευόντων ἕτερα πολλῶν, ἀρέσκει. Ἰλλυριῷ δὲ παῖδας Ἐγχέλεα καὶ Αὐταριέα καὶ Δάρδανον καὶ Μαῖδον καὶ Ταύλαντα καὶ Περραιβὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ θυγατέρας Παρθὼ καὶ

BOOK X

THE ILLYRIAN WARS

I

CHAP. I Origin of the Illyrians

1. The Greeks call those people Illyrians who occupy the region beyond Macedonia and Thrace from Chaonia and Thesprotia to the river Danube. This is the length of the country, while its breadth is from Macedonia and the mountains of Thrace to Pannonia and the Adriatic and the foot-hills of the Alps. Its breadth is five days' journey and its length thirty—so the Greek writers say. The Romans measured the country and found its length to be upwards of 6000 stades and its width about 1200.

2. They say that the country received its name from Illyrius, the son of Polyphemus; for the Cyclops Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celtus, Illyrius, and Galas, all of whom migrated from Sicily, and ruled over the peoples called after them Celts, Illyrians and Galatians. Among the many myths prevailing among many peoples this seems to me the most plausible. Illyrius had six sons, Encheleus, Autarieus, Dardanus, Maedus, Taulas, and Perrhaebus, also daughters.

CAP. I Δαορθὼ καὶ Δασσαρὼ καὶ ἑτέρας, ὅθεν εἰσὶ Ταυλάντιοί τε καὶ Περραιβοὶ καὶ Ἐγχέλεες καὶ Αὐταριεῖς καὶ Δάρδανοι καὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Δασσαρήτιοι καὶ Δάρσιοι. Αὐταριεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ Παννόνιον ἡγοῦνται παῖδα ἢ Παίονα γενέσθαι, καὶ Σκορδίσκον Παίονι καὶ Τριβαλλόν, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη παρώνυμα εἶναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀρχαιολογοῦσι μεθείσθω, 3. γένη δ' ἔστιν Ἰλλυριῶν, ὡς ἐν τοσῇδε χώρᾳ, πολλά. καὶ περιώνυμα ἔτι νῦν, χώραν νεμόμενα πολλὴν, Σκορδίσκων καὶ Τριβαλλῶν, οἳ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλους πολέμῳ διέφθειραν ὡς Τριβαλλῶν εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐς Γέτας ὑπὲρ Ἴστρον φυγεῖν, καὶ γένος ἀκμάσαν μέχρι Φιλίππου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου νῦν ἔρημον καὶ ἀνώνυμον τοῖς τῇδε εἶναι, Σκορδίσκους δὲ ἀσθενεστάτους ἀπὸ τοῦδε γενομένους ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὕστερον ὅμοια παθεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ φυγεῖν, σὺν χρόνῳ δέ τινας ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ Παιόνων ἐσχατιαῖς παροικῆσαι· ὅθεν ἔστι καὶ νῦν Σκορδίσκων γένος ἐν Παίοσιν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Ἀρδιαῖοι τὰ θαλάσσια ὄντες ἄριστοι πρὸς Αὐταριέων ἀρίστων ὄντων τὰ κατὰ γῆν, πολλὰ βλάψαντες αὐτούς, ὅμως ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ ναυτικοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρδιαίοις ἐγένοντο Λιβυρνοί, γένος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, οἳ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐλῄστευον ναυσὶν ὠκείαις τε καὶ κούφαις, ὅθεν ἔτι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα δίκροτα Λιβυρνίδας προσαγορεύουσιν.

Partho, Daortho, Dassaro, and others, from whom sprang the Taulantii, the Perrhaebi, the Enchelees, the Autarienses, the Dardani, the Partheni, the Dassaretii, and the Darsii. Autarieus had a son Pannonius, or Paeon, and the latter had sons, Scordiscus and Triballus, from whom also nations bearing similar names were derived. But I will leave these matters to the archaeologists. CHAP. I

3. The Illyrian tribes are many, as is natural in so extensive a country; and celebrated even now are the names of the Scordisci and the Triballi, who inhabited a wide region and destroyed each other by wars to such a degree that the remnant of the Triballi took refuge with the Getae on the other side of the Danube, and, though flourishing until the time of Philip and Alexander, is now extinct and its name scarcely known in the regions once inhabited by it. The Scordisci, having been reduced to extreme weakness in the same way, and having suffered much at a later period in war with the Romans, took refuge in the islands of the same river. In the course of time some of them returned and settled on the confines of Pannonia, and thus it happens that a tribe of the Scordisci still remains in Pannonia. In like manner the Ardiaei, who were distinguished for their maritime power, were finally destroyed by the Autarienses, whose land forces were stronger, but whom they had often defeated. The Liburni, another Illyrian tribe, were next to the Ardiaei as a nautical people. These practised piracy in the Adriatic Sea and islands, with their light, fast-sailing pinnaces, from which circumstance the Romans to this day call their own light, swift biremes "Liburnians."

CAP. 1 4. Αὐταριέας δὲ φασὶν ἐκ θεοβλαβείας Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ περιελθεῖν. Μολιστόμῳ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κελτοῖς τοῖς Κίμβροις λεγομένοις ἐπὶ Δελφοὺς συστρατεῦσαι, καὶ φθαρῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τοὺς πλέονας αὐτῶν πρὸ ἐπιχειρήσεως, ὑετῶν σφίσι καὶ θυέλλης καὶ πρηστήρων ἐμπεσόντων, ἐπιγενέσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑποστρέψασιν ἄπειρον βατράχων πλῆθος, οἳ διασαπέντες τὰ νάματα διέφθειραν. καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀτμῶν ἀτόπων γενομένων λοιμὸς ἦν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ φθόρος Αὐταριέων μάλιστα, μέχρι φεύγοντες τὰ οἰκεῖα, καὶ τὸν λοιμὸν σφίσι περιφέροντες, οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς δεχομένου διὰ τοῦτο τὸ δέος ὑπερῆλθον ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τριῶν, καὶ τὴν Γετῶν ἐλώδη καὶ ἀοίκητον, παρὰ τὸ Βαστερνῶν ἔθνος, ᾤκησαν. Κελτοῖς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τὴν γῆν ἔσεισε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατήνεγκε· καὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἔληγε, μέχρι καὶ οἵδε τὰ οἰκεῖα φεύγοντες ἐνέβαλον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς συναμαρτόντας σφίσιν, ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ γενομένους, καὶ ἐδήωσάν τε τὰ ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦ λοιμοῦ μετασχόντες ἔφυγον καὶ μέχρι Πυρήνης ἐλεηλάτουν. ἐπιστρέφουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἕω, Ῥωμαῖοι, δεδιότες ὑπὸ μνήμης τῶν προπεπολεμηκότων σφίσι Κελτῶν, μὴ καὶ οἵδε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπήντων ἅμα τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ πανστρατιᾷ διώλλυντο. καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων μέγα δέος Κελτῶν ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐνέβαλε, μέχρι Γάιον Μάριον ἑλόμενοι σφῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγεῖν, ἄρτι Λιβύων τοῖς Νομάσι καὶ Μαυρουσίοις ἐγκρατῶς πεπολεμηκότα, τοὺς Κίμβρους ἐνίκων καὶ πολὺν φόνον αὐτῶν εἰργάσαντο πολλάκις, ὥς μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι

4. The Autarienses are said to have been overtaken with destruction by the vengeance of Apollo. Having joined Molistomus and the Celtic people called Cimbri in an expedition against the temple of Delphi, the greater part of them were destroyed at once by storm, hurricane, and lightning before the sacrilege was attempted. Upon those who returned home there came a countless number of frogs, whose bodies decayed and polluted the streams, and noxious vapours rising from the ground caused a plague among the Illyrians which was especially fatal to the Autarienses. At last they fled from their homes, and still carrying the plague with them (and for fear of it nobody would receive them), they came, after a journey of twenty-three days, to a marshy and uninhabited district of the Getae, where they settled near the Bastarnae. The Celts the god visited with an earthquake and overthrew their cities, and did not abate the calamity until these also fled from their abodes and made an incursion into Illyria among their fellow-culprits, who had been weakened by the plague. While robbing the Illyrians they caught the plague and again took to flight and reached the Pyrenees, plundering as they went. But when they were returning to the east the Romans, mindful of their former encounters with the Celts, and fearful lest these too should cross the Alps and invade Italy, sent against them both consuls, who were annihilated with the whole army. This calamity to the Romans brought great dread of the Celts upon all Italy until Gaius Marius, who had lately triumphed over the Numidians and Mauretanians, was chosen commander and defeated the Cimbri repeatedly with great slaughter, as I have related in my Celtic history.

CHAP. 1

Vengeance of Apollo

B.C. 105

First contact with the Romans

CAP. I εἴρηται. οἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς τε ἤδη γενόμενοι καὶ πάσης γῆς ἀποκλειόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανῆλθον πολλὰ καὶ δράσαντες καὶ παθόντες.

5. Τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπέθηκεν Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Κελτοῖς· οὐ μὴν ἀπέσχοντο τῆς ἱεροσυλίας, ἀλλ' αὖθις, ἅμα τοῖς Κελτοῖς, Ἰλλυριῶν οἱ Σκορδίσκοι μάλιστα καὶ Μαῖδοι καὶ Δάρδανοι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπέδραμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν ἐσύλησαν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ὅμως καὶ τότε. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἔχοντες ἤδη δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐς Κελτοὺς πείρας, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πολεμοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐπιστρατεύουσι τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἱεροσυλίᾳ ἡγουμένου Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, ἤδη τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Μακεδόνων προστατοῦντες. καί φασι τοὺς μὲν περιχώρους οὐ συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις, ἀλλ' ἑκόντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀβοηθήτους, μνήμῃ τῶν δι' Αὐταριέας ἐς πάντας Ἰλλυριοὺς συμπεσόντων· Σκιπίωνα δὲ Σκορδίσκους μὲν διαφθεῖραι, καὶ εἴ τι λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον καὶ τὰς νήσους τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετοικῆσαι φυγόντας, Μαίδοις δὲ καὶ Δαρδανεῦσι συνθέσθαι δωροδοκήσαντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ χρυσίου. καί τις ἔφη τῶν Ἰταλικῶν συγγραφέων ὡς διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις πλέονως μετὰ Λεύκιον τὰ ἐμφύλια ἤκμασε μέχρι μοναρχίας· καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν νομιζομένων εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἰλλυριῶν τοσαῦτά μοι προλελέχθω.

Being reduced to extreme weakness, and for that reason excluded from every land, they returned home, having inflicted and suffered many injuries. CHAP. I

5. Such was the punishment which the god visited upon the Illyrians and the Celts for their impiety. But they did not desist from temple-robbing, for again, in conjunction with the Celts, certain Illyrian tribes, especially the Scordisci, the Maedi, and the Dardani, again invaded Macedonia and Greece simultaneously, and plundered many temples, including that of Delphi, but with loss of many men this time also. The Romans, thirty-two years after their first encounter with the Celts, having fought with them at intervals since that time, now, under the leadership of Lucius Scipio, made war against the Illyrians, on account of this temple-robbery, being now in possession of Greece and Macedon. It is said that the neighbouring tribes, remembering the calamity that befell all the Illyrians on account of the crime of the Autarienses, would not give aid to the temple-robbers, but deliberately abandoned them to Scipio, who destroyed the greater part of the Scordisci, the remainder fleeing to the Danube and settling in the islands of that river. He made peace with the Maedi and Dardani, accepting from them as a bribe part of the gold belonging to the temple. One of the Roman writers says that this was the chief cause of the numerous civil wars of the Romans after Lucius Scipio's time till the establishment of the empire. So much by way of preface concerning the peoples whom the Greeks called Illyrians.

CAP. I 6. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε καὶ Παίονας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοὺς καὶ Νωρικοὺς καὶ Μυσοὺς τοὺς ἐν Εὐρώπῃ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα τούτοις ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἴστρου καταπλέοντι ᾤκηται, διαιροῦσι μὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἑκάστους ὀνόμασι, κοινῇ δὲ πάντας Ἰλλυρίδα ἡγοῦνται, ὅθεν μὲν ἀρξάμενοι τῆσδε τῆς δόξης, οὐκ ἔσχον εὑρεῖν, χρώμενοι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ νῦν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἴστρου μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὑφ' ἓν ἐκμισθοῦσι καὶ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος προσαγορεύουσιν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, ὡμολόγησα μὲν καὶ περὶ Κρήτης λέγων οὐχ εὑρεῖν τὰς ἀκριβεῖς τῶν πολέμων ἀρχάς τε καὶ προφάσεις, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοὺς δυναμένους τι πλέον εἰπεῖν παρεκάλουν· ὅσα δ' αὐτὸς ἔγνων, ἀναγράψω.

II

CAP. II 7. Ἄγρων ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέρους ἀμφὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης τὸν Ἰόνιον, ὃν δὴ καὶ Πύρρος ὁ τῆς Ἠπείρου βασιλεὺς κατεῖχε καὶ οἱ τὰ Πύρρου διαδεξάμενοι. Ἄγρων δ' ἔμπαλιν τῆς τε Ἠπείρου τινὰ καὶ Κόρκυραν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Φάρον καταλαβὼν ἔμφρουρα εἶχεν. ἐπιπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον Ἰόνιον, νῆσος, ᾗ ὄνομα Ἴσσα, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τοῖς Ἰσσίοις συνέπεμψαν, εἰσομένους τὰ Ἄγρωνος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλήματα. τοῖς δὲ πρέσβεσιν ἔτι προσπλέουσιν ἐπαναχθέντες Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι τῶν μὲν Ἰσσίων πρεσβευτὴν Κλεέμπορον, τῶν δὲ

6. These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the Rhaetians, the Noricans, the Mysians of Europe, and the other neighbouring tribes who inhabited the right bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguish from one another just as the various Greek peoples are distinguished from each other, and they call each by its own name, but they consider the whole of Illyria as embraced under a common designation. Whence this idea took its start I have not been able to find out, but it continues to this day, for they farm the tax of all the nations from the source of the Danube to the Euxine Sea under one head, and call it the Illyrian tax. How the Romans subjugated them, and what exactly were the causes and pretext of the wars, I acknowledged, when writing of Crete, that I had not discovered, and I exhorted those who were able to tell more, to do so. I shall write down only what I myself learnt. CHAP. I

II

7. AGRON was king of that part of Illyria which borders the Adriatic Sea, over which sea Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and his successors held sway. Agron in turn captured a part of Epirus and also Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Pharus in succession, and established garrisons in them. When he threatened the rest of the Adriatic with his fleet, the isle of Issa implored the aid of the Romans. The latter sent ambassadors to accompany the Issii and to ascertain what offences Agron imputed to them. The Illyrian light vessels attacked the ambassadors as they sailed up, and slew Cleemporus, the envoy of Issa, and the CHAP. II B.C. 230 First Illyrian War

CAP. II Ῥωμαίων Κορογκάνιον ἀναιροῦσιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ διέδρασαν αὐτούς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ναυσὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ πεζῷ στρατευόντων, Ἄγρων μὲν ἐπὶ παιδίῳ σμικρῷ, Πίννῃ ὄνομα, ἀποθνήσκει, τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, καίπερ οὐκ οὔσῃ μητρὶ τοῦ παιδίου, Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φάρου ἡγούμενος Ἄγρωνι (Φάρου τε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦρχε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε Κορκύρας) παρέδωκεν ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπλέουσιν ἐκ προδοσίας. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταύταις Ἐπίδαμνον ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγοντο, καὶ τοῖς Ἰσσίοις καὶ Ἐπιδαμνίοις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἔπλεον. Ἰλλυριοὶ μὲν δὴ τὰς πολιορκίας λύσαντες ἀνεχώρουν, καί τινες αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, οἱ Ἀτιντανοὶ λεγόμενοι, μετετίθεντο. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἡ Ἄγρωνος γυνὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε τά τε αἰχμάλωτα ἀποδιδόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἄγοντας, καὶ ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμης τυχεῖν τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἄγρωνος γενομένων. οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Φάρον καὶ Ἴσσαν καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων ὑπηκόους εἶναι, Πίννην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἄγρωνος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν καὶ φίλον εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ἣν ἀπέχηταί τε τῶν προλελεγμένων, καὶ τὴν Λίσσον μὴ παραπλέωσιν Ἰλλυρικοὶ λέμβοι δυοῖν πλείονες, καὶ τούτοιν δὲ ἀνόπλοιν.

8. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐδέχετο, καὶ γίγνονται Ῥωμαίοις αἵδε πρῶται πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς πεῖραί τε καὶ συνθῆκαι· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀφῆκαν ἐλευθέρας, Δημητρίῳ δ' ἔστιν ἃ χωρία μισθὸν ἔδοσαν τῆς προ-

Roman Coruncanius; the remainder escaped by flight. Thereupon the Romans invaded Illyria by land and sea. Agron, in the meantime, had died, leaving an infant son named Pinnes, having given the guardianship and regency to his wife, although she was not the child's mother. Demetrius, who was Agron's governor of Pharus and held Corcyra also, surrendered both places to the invading Romans by treachery. The latter then entered into an alliance with Epidamnus and went to the assistance of the Issii and of the Epidamnians, who were besieged by the Illyrians. The latter raised the siege and fled, and one of their tribes, called the Atintani, went over to the Romans. After these events the widow of Agron sent ambassadors to Rome to surrender the prisoners and deserters into their hands. She begged pardon also for what had been done, not by herself, but by Agron. They received for answer that Corcyra, Pharus, Issa, Epidamnus, and the Illyrian Atintani were already Roman subjects, that Pinnes might have the remainder of Agron's kingdom and be a friend of the Roman people if he would keep hands off the aforesaid territory, and agree not to sail beyond Lissus with more than two Illyrian pinnaces, both unarmed. She accepted all these conditions.

CHAP. II

B.C. 229

B.C. 228

8. This was the first conflict and treaty between the Romans and the Illyrians. Thereupon the Romans made Corcyra and Apollonia free. To Demetrius they gave certain castles as a reward for his treason to his own people adding the express

CAP. II

δοσίας, ἐπειπόντες ὅτι ἐν τυσῷδε διδόασι, τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἄρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑφορώμενοι. ἢ δὴ καὶ ἦρξεν αὐτοῦ μετ' ὀλίγον· Ῥωμαίων γὰρ Κελτοῖς ἐπὶ τριετὲς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν οὖσι πολεμούντων, ὁ Δημήτριος ὡς ὄντων ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐληζετο, καὶ Ἴστρους ἔθνος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς τοῦτο προσελάμβανε, καὶ τοὺς Ἀτιντανοὺς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφίστη. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ Κελτῶν διετέθειτο, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπιπλεύσαντες αἱροῦσι τοὺς ληστάς, ἐς νεώτα δὲ ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ Δημήτριον καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς συναμαρτόντας αὐτῷ. Δημήτριον μὲν δὴ πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα φυγόντα καὶ αὖθις ἐπιόντα καὶ ληστεύοντα τὸν Ἰόνιον κτείνουσι, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ Φάρον συναμαρτοῦσαν ἐπικατέσκαψαν, Ἰλλυριῶν δ' ἐφείσαντο διὰ Πίννην αὖθις δεηθέντα. καὶ δεύτεραι πεῖραί τε καὶ συνθῆκαι πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο.

9. Τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὔτι μοι πάντα χρόνῳ καὶ τάξει μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν ἕκαστον, ὅσα ηὗρον, συγγέγραπται.

Ῥωμαῖοι Μακεδόσιν ἐπολέμουν, καὶ Περσεὺς ἦν ἤδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς μετὰ Φίλιππον· Περσεῖ δὲ Γένθιος Ἰλλυριῶν ἑτέρων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ χρήμασι συνεμάχει, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐνέβαλε, καὶ πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας ἔδησεν, αἰτιώμενος οὐ πρέσβεις ἀλλὰ κατασκόπους ἐλθεῖν. Ἀνίκιος δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς λέμβους τε τοῦ Γενθίου τινὰς εἷλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτῷ συνενεχθεὶς

condition that they gave them only temporarily, for they suspected the man's faithless spirit, which shortly after gained complete mastery over him. For while the Romans were engaged in a three year's war with the Gauls on the River Po, Demetrius, thinking that they had their hands full, set forth on a piratical expedition, brought the Istrians, another Illyrian tribe, into the enterprise, and detached the Atintani from Rome. The Romans, when they had settled their business with the Gauls, immediately sent a naval force and overpowered the pirates. The following year they marched against Demetrius and his Illyrian fellow-culprits. Demetrius fled to Philip king of Macedon, but when he returned and resumed his piratical career in the Adriatic they slew him and utterly demolished his native town of Pharus, which was associated with him in crime. They spared the Illyrians, however, on account of Pinnes, who again besought them to do so. Such was the second conflict and treaty between them and the Illyrians.

CHAP. II

B.C. 222 Second Illyrian war

B.C. 220

9. All the remaining facts which I have discovered I have set down not in chronological order, but rather taking each Illyrian nation separately.

When the Romans were at war with the Macedonians during the reign of Perseus, the successor of Philip, Genthius, the king of another Illyrian tribe, made an alliance with Perseus for money and attacked Roman Illyria, and put the ambassadors sent by the Romans in chains, charging them with coming not as ambassadors, but as spies. The Roman general, Anicius, in a naval expedition, captured some of Genthius' pinnaces and then engaged him in battle on land, defeated him, and

B.C. 168 War with Genthius

CAP. II ἐκράτει τὴν μάχην, καὶ συνέκλεισεν ἔς τι χωρίον, ὅθεν αὐτῷ δεομένῳ ὁ μὲν Ἀνίκιος ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψαι, ὁ δ' ἐς βουλὴν ᾔτησε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔλαβεν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις τῶν ὑπηκόων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνίκιον μετατιθεμένων ἠξίωσεν ἐντυχεῖν τῷ Ἀνικίῳ, καὶ γονυπετὴς ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ πάνυ αἰσχρῶς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπιθαρρύνων κατεπτηχότα ἀνίστη, καὶ καλέσας ἐπὶ ἑστίασιν, ἀπιόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐς φυλακὴν ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐς θρίαμβον ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς Ῥώμην ἤγαγε, καὶ ὁ Γενθίου πόλεμος ἅπας εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις ἐπεπολέμητο· ἑβδομήκοντα δ' αὐτοῦ πόλεις οὔσας Αἰμίλιος Παῦλος ὁ τὸν Περσέα ἑλών, τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιστειλάσης ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, ἐς Ῥώμην παρώδευεν ἐπίτηδες, καὶ δεδιόσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο συγγνώσεσθαι τῶν γεγονότων, ἐὰν ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἀργύριόν τε καὶ χρυσίον ἐσενέγκωσιν. ὑποδεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων συνέπεμπεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς πόλιν ἑκάστην, ὁρίσας ἡμέραν τοῖς στρατηγοῦσι τοῦ στρατοῦ πᾶσι τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος ἅμα ἕῳ κηρύσσειν ἕκαστον ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει τρισὶν ὥραις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ χρήματα φέρειν, συνενεγκόντων δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ διαρπάσαι.

10. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Παῦλος ἑβδομήκοντα πόλεις διήρπασεν ὥρᾳ μιᾷ· Ἀρδεῖοι δὲ καὶ Παλάριοι, γένη ἕτερα Ἰλλυριῶν, τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους Ἰλλυρίδα ἐδήουν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δι' ἀσχολίαν πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐπιπλήξοντας αὐτοῖς. οὐ μεταθεμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ἐστράτευον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μυρίοις

shut him up in a fortress. When he begged a parley Anicius ordered him to surrender himself to the Romans. He asked and obtained three days for consideration, at the end of which time, his subjects having meanwhile gone over to Anicius, he asked for an interview with the latter, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon in the most abject manner. Anicius encouraged the trembling wretch, lifted him up, and invited him to supper, but as he was going away from the feast he ordered the lictors to cast him into prison. Anicius afterward led both him and his sons in triumph at Rome and the whole war with Genthius was finished within twenty days. But Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus, acting on secret orders from the Senate, specially visited the seventy towns which had belonged to Genthius, on his way back to Rome. They were much alarmed, but he promised to pardon them for what they had done if they would deliver to him all the gold and silver they had. When they agreed to do so he sent a detachment of his army into each town appointing the same day for all the commanding officers to act, and ordering them to make proclamation at daybreak in each that the inhabitants should bring their money into the market-place within three hours, and when they had done so to plunder what remained. Thus Paulus despoiled seventy towns in one hour.

CHAP. II

B.C. 167

10. The Ardei and the Palarii, two other Illyrian tribes, made a raid on Roman Illyria, and the Romans, being otherwise occupied, sent ambassadors to reprimand them. When they refused to be obedient, the Romans collected an army of 10,000 foot and 600 horse to be despatched against them.

CAP. II πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσιοις. οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοι, καὶ ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν μεταγιγνώσκοντες καὶ δεύμενοι. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὰς βλάβας αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἠδικημένοις. οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων δὲ ἐστράτευεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Φούλουιος Φλάκκος. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἄρα μέχρι καταδρομῆς ἔληξε μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἠῦρον αὐτοῦ τέλος ἀκριβές. Ἰάποσι δὲ τοῖς ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων ἐπολέμησε μὲν Σεμπρώνιος ὁ Τουδιτανὸς ἐπίκλην καὶ Πανδούσας Τιβέριος καὶ ἐοίκασιν οἱ Ἰάποδες αὐτοῖς ὑπακοῦσαι, ἐοίκασι δὲ καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ Λευκίῳ Κόττᾳ καὶ Μετέλλῳ, ἀμφότεροι δ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποστῆναι.

11. Δαλμάται δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν ἕτερον γένος, Ἰλλυριοὺς τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις κατέθεον, καὶ πρέσβεις ἀφικομένους περὶ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίων οὐ προσίεντο. στρατεύουσιν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μαρκίου Φίγλου σφῶν ὑπατεύοντός τε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγουμένου. οἱ δὲ ἄρτι τοῦ Φίγλου παραστρατοπεδεύοντος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐνίκων ἐπιδραμόντες, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατήραξαν ἐς πεδίον πρανές, μέχρι ἐπὶ Νάρωνα ποταμὸν ἦκεν ὑποφεύγων. ὡς δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ἀρχὴ δὲ χειμῶνος ἦν, ὁ Φίγλος ἐλπίσας αὐτοῖς ἀδοκήτως ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι συνερρυηκότας ἠῦρεν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ. καὶ συνήλασεν ὅμως ἐς πόλιν Δελμίνιον, ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματέας, εἶτα Δαλμάτας ἐτράπη. οὐδὲν δὲ πρὸς ἐχυρὰν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου δυνάμενος, οὐδὲ μηχανήμασιν ἔχων χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ ὕψος, ᾖρει τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθέων, ἐρημοτέρας

When the Illyrians learned this, as they were not yet prepared for fighting, they sent ambassadors to crave pardon. The Senate ordered them to make reparation to those whom they had wronged. As they did not do so, Fulvius Flaccus marched against them. This war resulted in a raid only, for I cannot find any definite end to it. Sempronius Tuditanus and Tiberius Pandusa waged war with the Iapydes, who live on the nearer side of the Alps, and seem to have subjugated them, as Lucius Cotta and Metellus seem to have subjugated the Segestani; but both tribes revolted not long afterward. CHAP. II B.C. 135 B.C. 129 B.C. 119

11. The Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, made a raid on the Illyrian subjects of Rome, and when ambassadors were sent to them to remonstrate they were not received. The Romans accordingly sent an army against them, with Marcius Figulus as consul and commander. While Figulus was laying out his camp the Dalmatians overpowered the guard, defeated him, and drove him out of the camp in headlong flight to the plain as far as the river Naro. As the Dalmatians were returning home (for winter was now approaching), Figulus hoped to fall upon them unawares, but he found them reassembled from their towns at the news of his approach. Nevertheless, he drove them into the city of Delminium, from which place they first got the name of Delmatenses, which was afterward changed to Dalmatians. Not being able to make any impression on this strongly defended town by assault, nor to use the engines that he had, on account of the height of the place, he attacked and captured the other towns, which were partially deserted on account of the B.C. 156 War with the Dalmatians

CAP. II ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον συνόδου γενομένας. εἶτα διπήχεας κορύνας πίσσῃ καὶ θείῳ καὶ στυππίῳ περιβαλὼν ἐς τὸ Δελμίνιον ἐκ καταπελτῶν ἐσφενδόνα. αἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης ἐξεκαίοντο, καὶ φερόμεναι καθάπερ λαμπάδες ὅπου τύχοιεν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως πολλὰ μὲν κατεπρήσθη, καὶ τέλος ἄρα τοῦτο ἦν τότε Φίγλῳ τοῦ Δαλματῶν πολέμου. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Καικίλιος Μέτελλος ὑπατεύων οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοῖς Δαλμάταις ἐψηφίσατο πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ θριάμβου, καὶ δεχομένων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ὡς φίλον διεχείμασε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Σαλώνῃ πόλει, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν.

III

CAP. III 12. Τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἡγουμένου Κελτῶν, οἱ Δαλμάται οἵδε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ἰλλυριῶν τότε μάλιστα διηυτύχουν, Λιβυρνούς, ἕτερον ἔθνος Ἰλλυριῶν, Πρωμόναν πόλιν ἀφείλοντο· οἱ δὲ σφᾶς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγὺς ὄντα κατέφευγον. ὁ δὲ ἔπεμψε μέν, καὶ προηγόρευσε τοῖς ἔχουσι τὴν Πρωμόναν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Λιβυρνοῖς· οὐ φροντισάντων δὲ ἐκείνων τέλος ἔπεμψε στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, οὓς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν οἱ Ἰλλυριοί. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ σχολὴ τότε στασιάζοντι πρὸς Πομπήιον. ἐκραγείσης δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τῆς στάσεως ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ μεθ' ὅσων εἶχεν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου χειμῶνος τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπέρα καὶ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν

concentration of forces at Delminium. Then, returning to Delminium, he hurled sticks of wood, two cubits long, covered with flax and smeared with pitch and sulphur, from catapults into the town. These were fanned into flame by the draught, and, flying in the air like torches, wherever they fell caused a conflagration, so that the greater part of the town was burned. This was the end of the war waged by Figulus against the Dalmatians. At a later period, in the consulship of Caecilius Metellus, war was declared against the Dalmatians, although they had been guilty of no offence, because he desired a triumph. They received him as a friend and he wintered among them at the town of Sa'ona, after which he returned to Rome and was awarded a triumph.

CHAP. II

B.C. 119

III

12. At the time when Caesar held the command in Gaul these same Dalmatians and the other Illyrians who were then most prosperous took the city of Promona from the Liburni, another Illyrian tribe. The latter put themselves in the hands of the Romans and appealed to Caesar, who was near by. Caesar sent word to those who were holding Promona that they should give it up to the Liburni, and when they refused, he sent against them a strong detachment of his army who were totally destroyed by the Illyrians. Nor did Caesar renew the attempt, for he had no leisure then, on account of the civil strife with Pompey. When the civil strife broke out into war Caesar crossed the Adriatic from Brundusium in the winter, with what forces he had, and opened his campaign against Pompey in Macedonia. Of the rest

CHAP. III

Caesar and the Illyrians

B.C. 50

CAP. III ἐπολέμει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου στρατοῦ τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἦγε τῷ Καίσαρι, περῶν καὶ ὅδε τὸν Ἰόνιον χειμῶνος ἄκρου, σπείρας δὲ πεζοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τρισχιλίους ἱππέας Γαβίνιος ἦγεν αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, περιοδεύων τὸν Ἰόνιον. οἱ δὲ Ἰλλυριοὶ φόβῳ τῶν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγονότων ἐς Καίσαρα, τὴν νίκην αὐτοῦ νομίζοντες ὄλεθρον γενήσεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς, κτείνουσι πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Γαβινίῳ στρατὸν ἐπιδραμόντες, χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Γαβινίου καὶ ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων. καὶ ἐς χρήματα τότε μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχὺν ἐκ τοσῶνδε λαφύρων ἔστησαν.

13. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠσχολεῖτο μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐς Πομπήιον, καὶ Πομπηίου καθαιρεθέντος ἐς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς ἐκείνου στάσεως πολυμερῆ γενόμενα, καταστησάμενος δὲ πάντα ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ Γέτας τε καὶ Παρθυαίους. ἔδεισαν οὖν οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μὴ ἐν ὁδῷ σφίσιν οὖσιν ἐπιθοῖτο, καὶ πρέσβεις πέμψαντες ἐς Ῥώμην ᾔτουν τε συγγνώμην τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ἐς φίλιαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐδίδοσαν, ὡς περὶ ἔθνους ἀλκίμου μάλιστα σεμνολογούμενοι. ὁ δὲ ἐπειγόμενος ἄρα ἐς Παρθυαίους σεμνότερον ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, φίλους μὲν οὐ θήσεσθαι τοὺς τοιαῦτα δεδρακότας, συγγνώσεσθαι δέ, εἰ φόρους ὑποσταῖεν καὶ ὅμηρα δοῖεν. ἐπισχνουμένων δὲ ἐς ἀμφότερα αὐτῶν Οὐατίνιον ἔπεμψε σὺν στρατοῦ τέλεσι τρισὶ καὶ ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, φόρους τε ὀλίγους τάξοντα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα ληψόμενον. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἡγούμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι γεγονέναι τε καὶ διεφθάρθαι, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ Οὐατινίου κατήκουον, οὔτε ἐς τοὺς

of the army, Antony brought another detachment to Caesar's aid in Macedonia, he also crossing the Adriatic in mid-winter, and Gabinius led fifteen cohorts of foot and 3000 horse for him by way of Illyria, passing around the Adriatic. The Illyrians, fearing punishment for what they had done to Caesar not long before, and thinking that his victory would be their destruction, attacked and slew the whole army under Gabinius, except Gabinius himself and a few who escaped. By the acquisition of so many spoils their wealth and power now rose to its highest point. CHAP. III B.C. 48

13. Caesar was preoccupied by the necessity of coming to a conclusion with Pompey, and, after Pompey's death, with the various sections of his remaining partisans. When he had settled everything he returned to Rome and made preparations for war with the Getae and the Parthians. The Illyrians therefore began to fear lest he should attack them, as they were on his intended line of march. So they sent ambassadors to Rome to crave pardon for what they had done and to offer their friendship and alliance, vaunting themselves as a very brave race. Caesar was hastening his preparations against the Parthians; nevertheless, he gave them the dignified answer that he could not make friends of those who had done what they had, but that he would grant them pardon if they would subject themselves to tribute and give him hostages. They promised to do both, and accordingly he sent Vatinius thither with three legions and a large cavalry force to impose a light tribute on them and receive the hostages. When Caesar was slain the Dalmatians, thinking that the Roman power resided in him and had perished with him, would not listen to Vatinius on the subject B.C. 45 B.C. 44

CAP. III φόρους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἐγχειροῦντος αὐτοὶ πέντε τάξεις ἐπιδραμόντες ἔφθειραν, καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν τάξεων Βαίβιον, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς. καὶ Οὐατίνιος μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ἀνεχώρει· ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ τὸν στρατὸν τόνδε καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ὅσων ἦρχον, ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ Καιπίωνι τῷ κτείναντι Γάϊον, ὅτε περ καὶ Συρίαν Κασσίῳ, καὶ τῷδε ἀνδροφόνῳ Γαΐου γενομένῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵδε, πολεμούμενοι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, ἐς οὐδὲν ἐσχόλασαν Ἰλλυριοῖς.

14. Οἱ δὲ Παίονές εἰσιν ἔθνος μέγα παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον, ἐπίμηκες ἐξ Ἰαπόδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους, Παίονες μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, καὶ ῥωμαϊστὶ Παννόνιοι, συναριθμούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι, ὡς προεῖπον. διὸ καὶ περὶ τῶνδέ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν κατὰ τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ εἰπεῖν. ἔνδοξοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐκ Μακεδόνων δι᾽ Ἀγριᾶνας, οἳ τὰ μέγιστα Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατεργασάμενοι Παίονές εἰσι τῶν κάτω Παιόνων, Ἰλλυριοῖς ἔποικοι. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παίονας ἐστράτευσε Κορνήλιος, κακῶς ἀπαλλάξας μέγα δέος Παιόνων Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ἐνεποίησε, καὶ ἐς πολὺ τοῖς ἔπειτα ὑπάτοις ὄκνον ἐπὶ Παίονας ἐλαύνειν. τὰ μὲν δὴ πάλαι τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Παιόνων ἔσχον εὑρεῖν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ δευτέρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κληθέντος Σεβαστοῦ, παλαιότερον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐν τοῖσδε περὶ Παιόνων ηὗρον.

15. Ἰλλυριῶν δέ μοι φαίνεται χωρὶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἕτερα Ῥωμαίων προϋπα-

of the tribute or anything else. When he attempted to use force they attacked and destroyed five of his cohorts, including their commanding officer, Baebius, a man of senatorial rank. Vatinius took refuge with the remainder of his force in Epidamnus. The Roman Senate transferred this army, together with the province of Macedonia and Roman Illyria, to Brutus Caepio, one of Caesar's murderers, and at the same time assigned Syria to Cassius, another of the assassins. But they also, being involved in war with Antony and the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, had no time to attend to the Illyrians. CHAP. III

14. The Paeones are a great nation on the Danube, extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. They are called Paeones by the Greeks, but Pannonians by the Romans. They are counted by the Romans as a part of Illyria, as I have previously said, for which reason it seems proper that I should include them in my Illyrian history. They have been renowned from the Macedonian period through the Agrianes, who rendered very important aid to Philip and Alexander and are Paeones of Lower Pannonia bordering on Illyria. When the expedition of Cornelius against the Pannonians resulted disastrously, so great a fear of those people came over all the Italians that for a long time afterwards none of the consuls ventured to march against them. Thus much I have been able to learn concerning the early history of the Illyrians and Pannonians, and not even in the commentaries of the second Caesar, surnamed Augustus, could I find anything earlier about the Pannonians. The Pannonians on the Danube

15. Nevertheless I think that other Illyrian tribes besides those mentioned had previously come under

CAP. III κοῦσαι. καὶ ὅπως μεν, οὐκ ἔγνων· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας πράξεις ὁ Σεβαστός, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συνέγραφεν, ὡς δ' ἀποστάντας ἐς τοὺς φόρους ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ ἑτέρους ὡς ἀρχήθεν ἔτι ὄντας αὐτονόμους εἶλε, καὶ πάντας ἐκρατύνατο ὅσοι τὰς κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἄλπεων, βάρβαρα καὶ μάχιμα ἔθνη, καὶ κλοπεύοντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς γείτονα. καί μοι θαῦμά ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι Ῥωμαίων στρατοὶ ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἴβηρας διὰ τῶν Ἄλπεων ὁδεύοντες ὑπερεῖδον τάδε τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ οὐδὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, εὐτυχέστατος ἐς πολέμους ἀνήρ, ἐξήνυσεν αὐτά, ὅτε Κελτοῖς ἐπολέμει καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐχείμαζεν. ἀλλά μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ μέν, ἐφ' ἃ ἠρέθησαν ἐπειγόμενοι, τῆς διόδου τῶν Ἄλπεων μόνης φροντίσαι, ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἀμφί τε τὰ Κελτικὰ γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς στάσεως τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰ Κελτικὰ ἐπιλαβούσης τὸ τούτων τέλος ὑπερθέσθαι. φαίνεται μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος ἅμα Κελτοῖς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχειν, οὐ πάσης δ' ἄρα ἦρχεν ἀλλ' ὅση τις ἦν τότε Ῥωμαίοις Ἰλλυρίς.

IV

CAP. 16. Ὁ δὲ Σεβαστὸς πάντα ἐχειρώσατο εὐτελῶς, καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ τῆς ἀπραξίας Ἀντωνίου κατελογίσατο τῇ βουλῇ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡμερώσαι συμμάχων ἐθνῶν θαμινὰ ἐνοχλούντων. Ὀξυαίους μὲν δὴ καὶ Περθηνάτας καὶ Βαθιάτας καὶ Ταυλαντίους καὶ Καμβαίους καὶ Κινάμβρους καὶ Μερομένους καὶ Πυρισσαίους εἶλε διὰ ὅλης πείρας·

Roman rule. How, I do not know, for Augustus did not describe the transactions of others so much as his own, telling how he brought back those who had revolted and compelled them again to pay tribute, how he subjugated others that had been independent from the beginning, and how he mastered all the tribes that inhabit the summits of the Alps, barbarous and warlike peoples, who often plundered the neighbouring country of Italy. It is a wonder to me that so many great Roman armies traversing the Alps to conquer the Gauls and Spaniards, should have overlooked these tribes, and that even Gaius Caesar, that most successful man of war, did not accomplish their subjection during the ten years that he was fighting the Gauls and wintering in that very country. But the others seem to have been intent only upon getting through the Alpine region on the business for which they had been appointed, and Caesar seems to have delayed putting an end to the Illyrian troubles on account of the Gallic war and the strife with Pompey, which closely followed it. For it appears that he was chosen commander of Illyria as well as of Gaul—that is, not all Illyria, but as much of it as was then under Roman rule. CHAP. III

IV

16. When Augustus had made himself master of everything, he informed the Senate, by way of contrast with Anthony's slothfulness, that he had freed Italy from the savage tribes that had so often raided it. He overcame the Oxyaei, the Perthoncatae, the Bathiatae, the Taulantii, the Cambaei, the Cinambri, the Meromenni, and the Pyrissaei in one cam- CHAP. IV

B.C. 35 Augustus invades Illyria

CAP. IV ἔργῳ δὲ μείζονι ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ φόρους ὅσους ἐξέλιπον ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀποδοῦναι, Δοκλεᾶταί τε καὶ Κάρνοι καὶ Ἰντερφρουρῖνοι καὶ Ναρήσιοι καὶ Γλιντιδίωνες καὶ Ταυρίσκοι. ὧν ἁλόντων οἱ ὅμοροι προσέθεντο αὐτῷ καταπλαγέντες, Ἱππασῖνοί τε καὶ Βεσσοί. ἑτέρους δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποστάντας, Μελιτηνοὺς καὶ Κορκυρηνούς, οἳ νήσους ᾤκουν, ἀνέστησεν ἄρδην, ὅτι ἐληΐστευον τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας αὐτῶν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπέδοτο. Λιβυρνῶν δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀφείλετο, ὅτι καὶ οἵδε ἐληΐστευον. Ἰαπόδων δὲ τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Μοεντῖνοι μὲν καὶ Αὐενδεᾶται προσέθεντο αὐτῷ προσιόντι, Ἀρουπῖνοι δ', οἳ πλεῖστοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι τῶνδε τῶν Ἰαπόδων εἰσίν, ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνῳκίσαντο, καὶ προσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς ὕλας συνέφυγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τὸ ἄστυ ἑλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας ἐνδώσειν αὐτούς· καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν οἰκεῖν ἔδωκεν.

17. Μάλιστα δ' ἠνώχλησαν αὐτὸν Σαλασσοί τε καὶ Ἰάποδες οἱ πέραν Ἄλπεων καὶ Σεγεστανοὶ καὶ Δαλμάται καὶ Δαισιτιᾶται καὶ Παίονες, ὄντες ἑκὰς τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς, οἳ κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἄλπεων, ὄρη δύσβατα, καὶ στενὴ δίοδός ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ δυσχερής· δι' ἃ καὶ ἦσαν αὐτόνομοι, καὶ τέλη τοὺς παροδεύοντας ᾔτουν. τούτοις Οὐέτερ ἐμπεσὼν ἀδοκήτως τὰ στενὰ προύλαβε δι' ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἐπὶ διετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐπολιόρκει. οἱ δὲ ἁλῶν ἀπορίᾳ, ὧν εἰσὶ μάλιστα ἐν χρείᾳ, φρουρὰς

paign. By more prolonged effort he also overcame the Docleatae, the Carni, the Interphrurini, the Naresii, the Glintidiones, and the Taurisci. From these tribes he exacted the tributes they had been failing to pay. When these were conquered, the Hippasini and the Bessi, neighbouring tribes, were overcome by fear and surrendered themselves to him. Others which had revolted, the Maltese and the Corcyreans, who inhabited islands, he destroyed utterly, because they practised piracy, putting the young men to death and selling the rest as slaves. He deprived the Liburnians of their ships because they also practised piracy. The Mocntini and the Avendeatae, two tribes of the Iapydes, dwelling within the Alps, surrendered themselves to him at his approach. The Arupini, who are the most numerous and warlike of these Iapydes, betook themselves from their villages to their city, and when he arrived there they fled to the woods. Augustus took the city, but did not burn it, hoping that they would deliver themselves up, and when they did so he allowed them to occupy it. CHAP. IV

17. Those who gave him the most trouble were the Salassi, the transalpine Iapydes, the Segestani, the Dalmatians, the Daesitiatae, and the Pannonians, far distant from the Salassi, which latter tribe occupies the higher Alpine mountains, a range difficult of access, the paths being narrow and hard to climb. For this reason they had not only preserved their independence, but had levied tolls on those who passed through their country. Vetus assaulted them unexpectedly, seized the passes by stratagem, and besieged them for two years. They were driven to surrender for want of salt, which they use largely, and they received a Subjugation of the Salassi and Iapydes

CAP. IV ἐδέξαντο. καὶ Οὐέτερος ἀποστάντος τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξέβαλον εὐθύς, καὶ τὰ στενὰ κρατυνάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος διέπαιζον, οὐδὲν δρᾶν μέγα ἔχοντας. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ, προσδοκωμένου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον πολέμου, συνέθετο αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν, καὶ ἀκολάστους τῶν ἐπὶ Οὐέτερι πραχθέντων. οἱ δ' ἅτε ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες ἄλας πολλοὺς ἐσώρευον, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέθεον, μέχρι Μεσσάλας Κορουῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεμφθεὶς λιμῷ παρεστήσατο.

18. Καὶ Σαλασσοὶ μὲν οὕτως ἑλήφθησαν, Ἰάποδες δὲ οἱ πέραν Ἄλπεων, ἔθνος ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἄγριον, οἳς μὲν ἀπεώσαντο Ῥωμαίους, ἔτεσί που ἀγχοῦ εἴκοσιν, Ἀκυληίαν δ' ἐπέδραμον καὶ Τεργηστὸν Ῥωμαίων ἄποικον ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁδὸν ἀνάντη καὶ τραχεῖαν· οἱ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὴν ἐδυσχέραινον αὐτῷ, τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντες. ὡς δ' ἀνῆλθεν, ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ὕλην αὐτοὶ συνέφυγον καὶ προσιόντα ἐλόχων. ὁ δέ (ὑπώπτευε γὰρ ἀεί τι τοιοῦτον) ἐς τὰς ἀκρωρείας τινὰς ἔπεμπεν, οἳ ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ συνέθεον προβαίνοντι διὰ τοῦ χθαμαλοῦ καὶ κόπτοντι τὴν ὕλην· οἱ δὲ Ἰάποδες ἐπεξέθεον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις ἐπιτρεχόντων κατεκόπτοντο οἱ πλείους. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάλιν ἐς τὰ λάσια συνέφευγον, τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες, ᾗ ὄνομα Τέρπωνος. καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑλὼν οὐκ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐλπίσας καὶ τούσδε ἐνδώσειν· καὶ ἐνέδωκαν.

Roman garrison; but when Vetus went away they CHAP IV
expelled the garrison forthwith, and possessing themselves of the mountain passes, mocked at the forces that Augustus sent against them, which were unable to accomplish anything of importance. Thereupon Augustus, anticipating a war with Antony, acknowledged their independence and allowed them to go unpunished for their offences against Vetus. But as they were suspicious of this behaviour, they laid in large supplies of salt and made incursions into the Roman territory until Messala Corvinus was B.C. 34
sent against them and reduced them by hunger. In this way were the Salassi subjugated.

18. The transalpine Iapydes, a strong and savage B.C. 35
tribe, drove back the Romans twice within the space of about twenty years, overran Aquileia, and plundered the Roman colony of Tergestus. When Augustus advanced against them by a steep and rugged road, they made it still harder for him by felling trees. As he advanced farther they took refuge in other parts of the forest, where they lay in ambush for the approaching foe. Augustus, who was always suspecting something of this kind, sent forces to occupy the ridges, and these marched parallel to him on either side as he advanced along the lower ground, cutting the wood as he went. The Iapydes darted out from their ambush and wounded many of the soldiers, but the greater part of their own forces were killed by the Romans who fell upon them from the heights above. The remainder again took refuge in the thickets, abandoning their town, the name of which was Terponus. Augustus took this town, but did not burn it, hoping that they also would give themselves up, and they did so.

CAP. IV 19. Ἐπὶ δ' ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐχώρει, Μετοῦλον, ἣ τῶν Ἰαπόδων ἐστὶ κεφαλή, κεῖται δ' ἐν ὄρει σφόδρα ὑλώδει ἐπὶ δύο λόφων, οὓς διαιρεῖ χαράδρα στενή. καὶ ἡ νεότης ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τρισχιλίους μαχίμους τε καὶ σφόδρα εὐόπλους· οἳ Ῥωμαίους τὰ τείχη σφῶν περιστάντας εὐκόλως ἀπεκρούοντο. οἱ δὲ χῶμα ἤγειρον· καὶ οἱ Μετοῦλοι τό τε χῶμα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐκτρέχοντες ἠνώχλουν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους μηχαναῖς κατεπόνουν, ἃς ἐσχήκεσαν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ὃν Δέκμος[1] Βροῦτος ἐνταῦθα ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ. πονοῦντος δὲ κἀκείνοις ἤδη τοῦ τείχους, οἵδ' ὑπετείχισαν ἔνδοθεν, καὶ τὸ κεκμηκὸς ἐκλιπόντες μετεπήδησαν ἐς τὸ νεότευκτον· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ μὲν ἐκλειφθὲν λαβόντες ἐνέπρησαν, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου δύο χώματα ἔχουν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεφύρας τέσσαρας ἐξέτεινον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. γενομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ περιέπεμψέ τινας ἐς τὰ ὀπίσθια τῆς πόλεως, περισπᾶν τοὺς Μετούλους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις προσέταξε περᾶν ἐς τὰ τείχη. διὰ τῶν γεφυρῶν. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ὑψηλὸν πύργον ἀναβὰς ἐώρα.

20. Οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ τοῖς περῶσιν ὑπήντων τε ἐκ μετώπου κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ ὑφεδρεύοντες ἕτεροι τὰς γεφύρας μακροῖς δόρασιν ὑπεκέντουν, μᾶλλόν τε ἐθάρρησαν μιᾶς γεφύρας καὶ δευτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ πεσούσης. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη συνέπεσε, φόβος ἤδη παντελὴς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπεῖχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς τῆς τετάρτης ἐπέβαινεν, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦ

[1] The Latin version of Candidus omits "Decimus." Decimus Brutus did not fight against Antony in Illyria, but in Cisalpine Gaul, where he was killed while trying to escape to Illyria. See *Civil Wars*, iii. 98.

Hard fighting at Metulus

19. Thence he advanced to another place called Metulus, which is the chief town of the Iapydes. It is situated on a thickly wooded mountain, on two ridges with a narrow valley between them. Here were about 3000 warlike and well-armed youths, who easily beat off the Romans who surrounded their walls. The latter raised a mound. The Metulians interrupted the work by sallies day and night, and harassed the soldiers from the walls with engines which they had obtained from the war which Decimus Brutus had waged there with Antony and Augustus. When their wall began to crumble they built another inside, abandoned the ruined one, and took shelter behind the newly-built one. The Romans captured the abandoned wall and burned it. Against the new fortification they raised two mounds and from these threw four bridges to the top of the wall. Then, in order to distract the Metulians' attention, Augustus sent a part of his force round to the rear of the town and meantime ordered the others to dash across the bridges to the walls, while he himself ascended to the top of a high tower to see the result.

20. Some of the barbarians met those who were crossing face to face on the wall, while others lurked beneath the bridges and stabbed at them from below with their long spears. They were much encouraged at seeing one bridge fall and a second one follow on top of it. When a third one went down a complete panic overtook the Romans, so that no one ventured on the fourth bridge until Augustus leaped down from the

CAP. IV πύργου καταθορὼν ὠνείδιζεν αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐρεθιζομένων, αὐτὸς ἀσπίδα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἴετο δρόμῳ. συνέθεον δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀγρίππας τε καὶ Ἱέρων καὶ ὁ σωματοφύλαξ Λοῦτος καὶ Οὐόλας, τέσσαρες οἵδε μόνοι, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὀλίγοι. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν περῶντος, ἐν αἰδοῖ γενόμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἀνεπήδησεν ἄθροος. καὶ πάλιν ἡ γέφυρα βαρηθεῖσα κατεπίπτει, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀθρόοι κατεχώννυντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συντριβέντες ἐφέροντο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπλήγη μὲν τὸ σκέλος τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἄμφω, ἀνέδραμε δ' ὅμως εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξεν ἐρρωμένον, μή τις ὡς ἀποθανόντος γένοιτο θόρυβος. ἵνα δὲ μηδ' οἱ πολέμιοι νομίσειαν αὐτὸν ἐνδώσειν ἀναχωρήσαντα, εὐθὺς ἑτέρας ἐπήγνυτο γεφύρας. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα κατέπληξε τοὺς Μετούλους ὡς ὑπὸ γνώμης ἀμάχου πολεμουμένους.

21. Καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμήρους τε πεντήκοντα ἔδοσαν, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελέξατο, καὶ φρουρὰν ὑποσχόμενοι δέξεσθαι τὸν ὑψηλότερον λόφον τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ μετεχώρουν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσελθοῦσα ἡ φρουρὰ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἀποθέσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἠγανάκτησάν τε, καὶ τὰ γύναια σφῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συγκλείσαντες, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπιστήσαντες, οἷς εἴρητο, εἴ τι μὴδὲς γίγνοιτο περὶ αὐτούς, ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἐπεχείρουν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοὶ μετ' ἀπονοίας. οἷα δ' ὑψηλοτέροις ἐπιχειροῦντες ἐκ ταπεινοῦ, συνεχώσθησαν ἀθρόοι, καὶ οἱ φύλακες τὸ βουλευ-

tower and reproached them. As they were not roused to their duty by his words, he seized a shield and ran on to the bridge himself. Agrippa and Hiero, two of the generals, and one of his body-guard, Lutus, and Volas ran with him, only these four with a few armour-bearers. He had almost crossed the bridge when the soldiers, overcome by shame, rushed after him in crowds. Then this bridge, being overweighted, fell also, and the men on it went down in a heap. Some were killed and others were carried away with broken bones. Augustus was injured in the right leg and in both arms. Nevertheless, he ascended the tower with his insignia forthwith and showed himself safe and sound, lest panic should arise from a report of his death. In order too that the enemy might not fancy that he was going to give in and retire, he began at once to construct new bridges; and this above all struck terror into the Metulians, who thought that they were contending against an unconquerable will. CHAP. IV

21. The next day they sent messengers to Augustus and gave him fifty hostages whom he selected himself, and promised to receive a garrison and to assign to them the higher hill while they themselves would occupy the other. But when the garrison entered and ordered them to lay down their arms, then indeed they were very angry. They shut their wives and children up in their council-chamber and stationed guards there with orders to set fire to the building in case things went wrong with them, and themselves attacked the Romans with desperation. Since, however, they made the attack from a lower position upon those occupying higher ground, they were completely overpowered. Then the guards set Destruction of the city

CAP. IV τήριον κατέπρησαν, πολλαί τε τῶν γυναικῶν ἑαυτάς τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα διεχρῶντο, αἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντα ἔτι φέρουσαι ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνήλαντο, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι τῶν Μετούλων τήν τε νεότητα πᾶσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἀχρείων τὸ πλέον τῷ πυρί. συγκατεφλέγη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἴχνος μεγίστης ἐκείθι γενομένης. Μετούλου δ' ἁλούσης οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰαπύδων κατα-λαγέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέτρεψαν τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἰάποδες μὲν οὖν οἱ πέραν Ἄλπεων τότε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκουσαν· καὶ αὐτῶν Ποσηνοὺς ἀποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποστάντας ἐπιπεμφθεὶς αὐτοῖς Μᾶρκος Ἕλουιος εἶλε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰτίους ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπέδοτο.

22. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σεγεστικὴν γῆν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἷς πρότερον ἐμβαλόντες οὔτε ὅμηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι εἰλήφεσαν ὅθεν ἦσαν ἐπὶ φρονήματος οἱ Σεγεστανοί, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐπῆει διὰ τῆς Παιόνων γῆς, οὕπω Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲ τῇδε ὑπηκόου γενομένης. ὑλώδης δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Παιόνων, καὶ ἐπιμήκης ἐξ Ἰαπύδων ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους, καὶ οὐ πόλεις ᾤκουν οἱ Παίονες οἵδε, ἀλλ' ἀγροὺς ἡ κώμας κατὰ συγγένειαν· οὐδ' ἐς βουλευτήρια κοινὰ συνῆεσαν, οὐδ' ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. οἱ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μάχης ἐς δέκα μυριάδας συνετέλουν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι συνῆεσαν ἀθρόοι δι' ἀναρχίαν. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐς τὰς ὕλας ὑποφυγόντες τοὺς ἀποσκιδναμένους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνῄρουν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἕως μὲν ἤλπιζεν αὐτοὺς ἁφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὔτε τὰς κώμας οὔτε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐλυμαίνετο. οὐκ ἀπαντώντων δὲ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη

fire to the council-chamber and many of the women killed their children and themselves. Others, holding in their arms their children still alive, leaped into the flames. Thus all the Metulian youth perished in battle and the greater part of the non-combatants by fire. Their city was entirely consumed, and not a trace of it was left, although it had been the greatest city in those parts. After the destruction of Metulus the remainder of the Iapydes, being terror-stricken, surrendered to Augustus. The transalpine Iapydes were then for the first time brought in subjection to the Romans. After Augustus departed the Poseni rebelled and Marcus Helvius was sent against them. He conquered them and after punishing the leaders of the revolt with death sold the rest as slaves. CHAP IV B.C. 34

22. At an earlier time the Romans twice attacked the country of the Segestani, but obtained no hostages nor anything else, for which reason the Segestani became very arrogant. Augustus advanced against them through the Pannonian territory, which was not yet under subjection to the Romans. Pannonia is a wooded country extending from the Iapydes to the Dardani. The inhabitants did not live in cities, but scattered through the country or in villages according to relationship. They had no common council and no rulers over the whole nation. They numbered 100,000 fighting men, but they did not assemble in one body, because they had no common government. When Augustus advanced against them they took to the woods, and slew the stragglers of the army; but as long as Augustus hoped that they would surrender voluntarily he spared their fields and villages. As none of them came in he devastated B.C. 35 War against the Segestani

CAP. IV καὶ ἔκειρεν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, ἐς ὃ διῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Σεγεστανῶν, καὶ τήνδε Παιόνων οὖσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Σάου ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πόλις ἔστιν ἐχυρά, τῷ τε ποταμῷ καὶ τάφρῳ μεγίστῃ διειλημμένη, διὸ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῆς ἔχρῃζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταμιείῳ χρησόμενος ἐς τὸν Δακῶν καὶ Βαστερνῶν πόλεμον, οἳ πέραν εἰσὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου, λεγομένου μὲν ἐνταῦθα Δανουβίου, γιγνομένου δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον Ἴστρου. ἐμβάλλει δ' ὁ Σάος ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον· καὶ αἱ νῆες ἐν τῷ Σάῳ Καίσαρι ἐγίγνοντο, αἳ ἐς τὸν Δανούβιον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν διοίσειν ἔμελλον.

23. Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Σεγέστης ἔχρῃζεν ὁ Καῖσαρ· προσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ προσέπεμψαν, πυνθανόμενοι τίνος χρήζει. ὁ δὲ φρουρὰν ἐσαγαγεῖν ἔφη, καὶ ὁμήρους ἑκατὸν λαβεῖν, ἵν' ἀσφαλῶς ταμιείῳ τῇ πόλει χρῷτο ἐπὶ Δάκας. ἤτει δὲ καὶ σῖτον, ὅσον δύναιντο φέρειν. ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν πρωτεύοντες ἠξίουν δοῦναι· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐξαγριαίνων τὰ μὲν ὅμηρα διδόμενα περιεῖδεν, ὅτι ἴσως οὐ παρὰ σφῶν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρωτευόντων παῖδες ἦσαν, προσιούσης δὲ τῆς φρουρᾶς τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ὁρμῇ μανιώδει τὰς πύλας αὖθις ἀπέκλειον καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέστησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τόν τε ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρου, καὶ χάρακας καὶ τάφρους πάντοθεν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀποτειχίσας δ' αὐτοὺς δύο χώματα ἔχου. οἷς ἐπέδραμον μὲν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ πολλάκις, οὐ δυνηθέντες δ' ἐλεῖν λαμπάδας καὶ πῦρ πολὺ ἄνωθεν ἐπέβαλλον. προσιούσης δ' αὐτοῖς Παιόνων ἑτέ-

the country with fire and sword for eight days, until he came to the Segestani. Theirs is also Pannonian territory, on the river Save, on which is situated a city strongly fortified by the river and by a very large ditch encircling it. For this reason Augustus greatly desired to possess it as a magazine convenient for a war against the Dacians and the Bastarnae on the other side of the Ister, which is there called the Danube, but a little lower down becomes the Ister. The Save flows into it, and Augustus caused ships to be built on the latter stream to bring provisions to the Danube for him. CHAP. IV

23. For these reasons he desired to obtain possession of Segesta. As he was approaching, the Segestani sent to inquire what he wanted. He replied that he desired to station a garrison there and to receive 100 hostages in order that he might use the town safely as a base of operations in his war against the Dacians. He also asked for as much food as they were able to supply. The chief men of the town acquiesced, but the common people were furious, yet consented to the giving of the hostages, perhaps because they were not their children, but those of the notables. When the garrison approached, however, they could not bear the sight of them, but shut the gates in a mad fury and stationed themselves on the walls. Thereupon Augustus bridged the river and surrounded the place with ditches and palisades, and, having blockaded them, raised two mounds. Upon these the Segestani made frequent assaults and, being unable to capture them, threw down upon them torches and fire in large quantities. When aid was sent to them by the other Pannonians

CAP. IV

ρων βοηθείας, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐνήδρευσεν αὐτήν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δ' ἔφυγον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι Παιόνων ἐβοήθει.

24. Οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ δὲ πᾶσαν πολιορκίαν ὑποστάντες ἡμέρᾳ τριακοστῇ κατὰ κράτος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἱκετεύειν. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαίνῳ τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐλέῳ τῆς ἱκεσίας οὔτε ἔκτεινεν οὔτε ἀνέστησεν, ἀλλὰ χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσε, καὶ τῆς πόλεως μέρος διατειχίσας ἐσήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σπειρῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδ' ἐργασάμενος ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέζευξεν, ὡς ἦρος ἐπανήξων ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα. φήμης δ' ἐπιδραμούσης ὅτι τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Σεγεστανοὶ διέφθειραν, ἐξέθορε χειμῶνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τέλος τῆς φήμης ψευδὲς ηὗρε, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἀληθῆ· ἐγεγόνεσαν γὰρ ἐν κινδύνῳ, τῶν Σεγεσταν῀ων αὐτοὺς ἄφνω περιστάντων, καὶ πολλοὺς τὸ αἰφνίδιον ἀπωλωλέκει, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης προελθόντες ἐκράτουν τῶν Σεγεσταν῀ων. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Δαλμάτας μετῄει, γένος ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν, Ταυλαντίοις ὅμορον.

V

CAP. V

25. Οἱ Δαλμάται δ' ἐξ οὗ τὰς ὑπὸ Γαβινίῳ πέντε τάξεις ἀνῃρήκεσαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα εἰλήφεσαν, ἐπαρθέντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τὰ ὅπλα οὐκ ἀπετέθειντο ἔτεσιν ἤδη δέκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς συμμαχήσειν ἀλλήλοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πλείους, ὧν στρατηγὸν Οὐέρσον αἱροῦνται. ὁ δὲ

Augustus met and ambuscaded this reinforcement, destroyed a part of it, and put the rest to flight. After this none of the Pannonians came to their assistance any more. CHAP. IV

24. Thus the Segestani, after enduring all the evils of a siege, were taken by force on the thirtieth day, and then for the first time they began to supplicate. Augustus, admiring them for their bravery and pitying their prayers, neither killed nor banished them, but contented himself with a fine. He walled off a part of the city and in this he placed a garrison of twenty-five cohorts. Having accomplished this he went back to Rome, intending to return to Illyria in the spring. But a rumour becoming current that the Segestani had massacred the garrison, he set forth hastily in the winter. However, he found that the rumour was false, yet not without cause. They had been in danger from a sudden uprising of the Segestani and had lost many men by reason of its unexpectedness, but on the next day they rallied and put down the insurgents. Augustus therefore turned his forces against the Dalmatians, another Illyrian tribe, bordering on the Taulantians. Capture of the city

V

25. The Dalmatians, after the slaughter of the five cohorts under Gabinius and the taking of their standards, elated by their success, had not laid down their arms for ten years. When Augustus advanced against them they made an alliance with each other for mutual aid in war. They had upwards of 12,000 fighting men, of whom they chose Versus general. CHAP. V

B.C. 34

Second war against the Dalmatians

CAP. V Πρωμόναν αὖθις, τὴν τῶν Λιβυρνῶν πόλιν, καταλαβὼν ὠχύρου, καὶ τἆλλα οὖσαν ἐκφυῶς ὀχυρωτάτην· ὄρειον γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον, καὶ αὐτῷ περίκεινται λόφοι πάντοθεν ὀξεῖς οἷα πρίονες. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλέον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόφοις διέθηκεν Οὐέρσος φρούρια· καὶ πάντες ἐφεώρων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὸ φανερὸν πάντας ἀπετείχιζε, λάθρᾳ δὲ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἔπεμπε ζητεῖν ἄνοδον ἐς τὸν ἀκρότατον τῶν λόφων. καὶ οἱ μέν, τῆς ὕλης αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλυπτούσης, νυκτὸς ἐμπίπτουσι τοῖς φύλαξιν εὐναζομένοις, καὶ κτείνουσιν αὐτούς, καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι κατέσεισαν ὑπὸ λύγῃ· ὁ δὲ τῆς τε πόλεως ἐς πεῖραν ἦει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, καὶ ἐς τὸ εἰλημμένον ἄκρον ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἔπεμπεν, οἳ τοῖς ἄλλοις λόφοις ἐπικατήεσαν. φόβος τε καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὁμοῦ πᾶσιν ἐπιχειρουμένοις πάντοθεν· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς λόφοις ἔδεισαν διὰ τὸ ἄνυδρον, μὴ τῶν διόδων ἀφαιρεθῶσιν. καὶ συμφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν Πρωμόναν.

26. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτήν τε καὶ δύο λόφους, οἳ ἔτι ἐκρατοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁμοῦ περιετείχιζε, τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων περίμετρον. κἀν τούτῳ Τέστιμον Δαλμάτην, στρατὸν ἕτερον ἄγοντα τοῖς ἐν Πρωμόνῃ συμμάχον, ὑπαντήσας ἐδίωκεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Τεστίμου τὴν Πρωμόναν εἶλεν, οὔπω τῆς περιτειχίσεως τετελεσμένης. ἐκδραμόντων γὰρ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ συνελαυνομένων ὀξέως, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν συνεσέπεσον, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τούτων ἔνδον ἔκτειναν· οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέ-

He again occupied Promona, the city of the Liburni, and fortified it, although it was very strong by nature, for it is a mountain stronghold surrounded on all sides by sharp-pointed hills like saw-teeth. The greater part of his forces were stationed in the town, but he placed guards on the hills, who all looked down upon the Romans from elevated positions. Augustus in plain sight began to cut them all off by a wall, but secretly he sent his bravest men to seek a path to the highest of the hills. These, concealing themselves in the woods, fell upon the guards by night while they were asleep, slew them, and signalled to Augustus in the twilight. He then led the bulk of the army to make an attempt upon the city, and sent detachment after detachment to the height that had been taken, who then descended on to the lower hills. Terror and confusion fell upon the barbarians attacked, as they were, simultaneously on all sides. Especially were those on the hills alarmed lest they should be cut off from their supply of water, for which reason they all fled into Promona. CHAP. V

26. Augustus surrounded the town, and two hills which were still held by the enemy, with a wall forty stades in length. Meanwhile Testimus, a Dalmatian, brought another army to the relief of the place. Augustus met him and drove him back to the mountains, and while Testimus was still looking on he took Promona before the line of circumvallation was finished. For when the citizens made a sally and were sharply repulsed, the Romans pursued them and entered the town with them, where they killed a third part of them. The remainder took refuge in the citadel, at the gates of City of Promona taken

CAP. V

δραμον. καὶ σπεῖρα Ῥωμαίων ἐφύλασσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν. οἷς προσπίπτουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι νυκτὸς τετάρτης, καὶ ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σπεῖρα τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀνέκοψε τῆς ὁρμῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης εἶλε παραδόντας ἑαυτούς· τὴν δὲ σπεῖραν ἢ τὸ φυλάκιον ἐξέλιπε διακληρώσας, ἐζημίωσε θανάτῳ τὸ δέκατον, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ δύο. καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκέλευεν ἐκείνου τοῦ θέρους κριθὴν ἀντὶ σίτου τραφῆναι δίδοσθαι.

27. Οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Πρωμόνα, Τέστιμος δ' ὁρῶν διεσκέδασε τὸν στρατὸν ἑαυτοῦ, φεύγειν ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ· ὅθεν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διώκειν ἐς πολύ, τήν τε διαίρεσιν σφῶν τὴν ἐς πολλὰ δείσαντες, καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῆς φυγῆς συγκεχυμένα. Συνόδιον δ' αἱροῦσι πόλιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ὕλης, ἐν ᾗ τὸν Γαβινίου στρατὸν ἐνήδρευσαν οἱ Δαλμάται περὶ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ καὶ ἐπιμήκει καὶ μέσῃ δύο ὀρῶν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνήδρευον. ὁ δὲ τό τε Συνόδιον ἐνέπρησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη περιπέμψας ἄνω στρατὸν ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ συμπαρομαρτεῖν, αὐτὸς ᾔει διὰ τῆς φάραγγος, κόπτων τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὰς πόλεις αἱρῶν, καὶ πάντα ἐμπιπρὰς ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤρει. πολιορκουμένης δὲ πόλεως Σετουΐας, ἐπήει τις αὐτοῖς συμμαχία βαρβάρων, ἣν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπαντήσας ἐκώλυσεν ἐσδραμεῖν ἐς τὴν Σετουΐαν. καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῷδε ἐπλήγη λίθῳ τὸ γόνυ, καὶ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐθεραπεύετο. ῥαΐσας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθεν, ὑπατεύσων σὺν

which a Roman cohort was placed to keep watch. CHAP. V
On the fourth night the barbarians assaulted them, and the cohort fled terror-stricken from the gates, but Augustus checked the enemy's onset, and the following day received their surrender. The cohort that had abandoned its position was obliged to cast lots, and every tenth man, and in addition to them two centurions, suffered death. It was ordered, as a further punishment, that the surviving members of the cohort should subsist on barley instead of wheat for that summer.

27. Thus was Promona taken and Testimus, seeing it, disbanded his army, telling them to scatter in all directions. For this reason the Romans were not able to pursue them long, as they feared to divide themselves into small bands, being ignorant of the roads, and the foot-prints of the fugitives being much confused. However, they took the town of Synodium burned
Synodium at the edge of the forest in which the army of Gabinius had been entrapped by the Dalmatians in a long and deep gorge between two mountains, where also the enemy now lay in wait for Augustus, but after he had burned Synodium he sent soldiers round by the summits of the mountains to keep even pace with him on either side while he passed through the gorge. He cut down trees and captured towns and burned everything that he found on his way. While he was besieging the city Setovia a force of barbarians came to its assistance, which he met and prevented from entering the place. In this conflict he was struck by a stone on the knee and was laid up for several days. When he recovered he returned to Rome to perform the

CAP. V Οὐολκατίῳ Τύλλῳ, Στατίλιον Ταῦρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου καταλιπών.

28. Νουμηνίᾳ δ' ἔτους ἀρξάμενος ὑπατεύειν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας παραδοὺς Αὐτρωνίῳ Παίτῳ, εὐθὺς ἐξέθορεν αὖθις ἐπὶ τοὺς Δαλμάτας, ἄρχων ἔτι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν· δύο γὰρ ἔλειπεν ἔτη τῇ δευτέρᾳ πενταετίᾳ τῇδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκεκυρώκει. οἱ Δαλμάται δ' ἤδη κάμνοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀγορῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι, ἐρχομένῳ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπήντων καὶ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν σὺν ἱκετηρίᾳ, ὅμηρά τε δόντες ἑπτακοσίους παῖδας, οὓς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾔτει, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ σημεῖα τὰ Γαβινίου· τὸν δὲ φόρον τὸν ἀπὸ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐκλειφθέντα ἀποδώσειν ὑποστάντες, εὐπειθεῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο. τὰ σημεῖα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέθηκεν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ὀκταουίᾳ λεγομένῃ. Δαλματῶν δ' ἁλόντων καὶ Δερβανοὶ προσιόντα τὸν Καίσαρα συγγνώμην ᾔτουν σὺν ἱκετηρίᾳ, καὶ ὁμήρους ἔδοσαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλειφθέντας φόρους ὑπέστησαν ἀποδώσειν. τῶν δὲ . . . οἷς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπλησίασε, καὶ ὁμήρους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔδοσαν· ὅσοις δ' οὐκ ἐπλησίασε διὰ νόσον, οὔτ' ἔδοσαν οὔτε συνέθεντο. φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἵδε ὕστερον ὑπαχθέντες.

Οὕτω πᾶσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα γῆν, ὅση τε ἀφειστήκει Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν οὐ πρότερον ὑπακούσασαν αὐτοῖς, ἐκράτυνατο. καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ βουλὴ θρίαμβον Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι, ὃν ἐθριάμβευσεν ὕστερον ἅμα τοῖς κατ' Ἀντωνίου.

duties of the consulship with Volcatius Tullus, his colleague, leaving Statilius Taurus to finish the war. CHAP. V

28. Entering upon his new consulship on the Calends of January, and delivering the government to Autronius Paetus the same day, he started back to Dalmatia at once, being still triumvir; for two years remained of the second five-year period which the triumvirs themselves had ordained and the people confirmed. And now the Dalmatians, oppressed by hunger and cut off from foreign supplies, met him on the road and delivered themselves up with supplications, giving 700 of their children as hostages, as Augustus demanded, and also the Roman standards taken from Gabinius. They also promised to pay the tribute that had been in arrears since the time of Gaius Caesar, and were obedient henceforth. Augustus deposited the standards in the portico called the Octavia. After the Dalmatians had been conquered Augustus advanced against the Derbani, who likewise begged forgiveness with supplications, gave hostages, and promised to pay the arrears of tribute.[1] In like manner other tribes at his approach gave hostages for observing the treaties that he made with them. Some, however, he was prevented by sickness from reaching. These gave no hostages and made no treaties. It appears, however, that they too were subjugated later. B.C. 33 The Dalmatians subdued

Thus Augustus subdued the whole Illyrian country, not only the parts that had revolted from the Romans, but those that had never before been under their rule. Wherefore the Senate awarded him an Illyrian triumph, which he enjoyed later, together with those for his victory over Antony. B.C. 33

[1] At this point there is a lacuna in the text.

CAP. V

29. Λοιποὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων νομιζομένης Ἰλλυρίδος εἶναι πρὸ μὲν Παιόνων Ῥαιτοὶ καὶ Νωρικοί, μετὰ Παίονας δὲ Μυσοὶ ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον. Ῥαιτοὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ Νωρικοὺς ἡγοῦμαι Γάιον Καίσαρα πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἢ τὸν Σεβαστὸν χειρούμενον Παίονας· ἐν μέσῳ γάρ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἴδιον ἐς Ῥαιτοὺς ἢ Νωρικοὺς γενόμενον· ὅθεν μοι δοκοῦσι τοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν γειτόνων συναλῶναι.

30. Μυσοὺς δὲ Μᾶρκος μὲν Λεύκολλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λικινίου Λευκόλλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμήσαντος, κατέδραμε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβαλών, ἔνθα εἰσὶν Ἑλληνίδες ἓξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροικοι, Ἴστρος τε καὶ Διονυσόπολις καὶ Ὀδησσὸς καὶ Μεσημβρία, καὶ Καλλατίς, καὶ Ἀπολλωνία· ἐξ ἧς ἐς Ῥώμην μετήνεγκε τὸν μέγαν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ. καὶ πλεῖον οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας ἐς Μυσοὺς γενόμενον, οὐδ' ἐς φόρου ὑπαχθέντας οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· ὑπήχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ Τιβέριου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Σεβαστὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου. ἀλλά μοι τὰ μὲν πρὸ ἁλώσεως Αἰγύπτου πάντα ὑπὸ νεύματι τοῦ δήμου γενόμενα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν συγγέγραπται, ἃ δὲ μετ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ αὐτοκράτορες οἵδε ἐκρατύναντο ἢ προσέλαβον, ὡς ἴδια αὐτῶν ἔργα, μετὰ τὰ κοινὰ εἴρηται· ἔνθα καὶ περὶ Μυσῶν ἐρῶ πλέονα. νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ τοὺς Μυσούς τε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἡγοῦνται, καὶ τὸ σύγγραμμά μοι τοῦτο Ἰλλυρικόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν εἴη τὸ σύγγραμμα ἐντελές, ἐδόκει προειπεῖν ὅτι καὶ Μυσοὺς Λεύκολλός τε τῷ δήμῳ στρατηγῶν ἐπέδραμε καὶ Τιβέριος εἶλε κατὰ τὴν μόναρχον ἐξουσίαν.

29. The remaining peoples, who are considered by the Romans to be parts of Illyria, are the Rhaetians and the Noricans, on this side of Pannonia, and the Mysians on the other side as far as the Euxine Sea. I think that the Rhaetians and Noricans were subdued by Gaius Caesar during the Gallic war or by Augustus during the Pannonian war, as they lie between the two. I have found no mention of any war against them separately, whence I infer that they were conquered along with other neighbouring tribes. CHAP V

30. Marcus Lucullus, brother of that Licinius Lucullus who conducted the war against Mithridates advanced against the Mysians and arrived at the river where six Grecian cities lie adjacent to the Mysian territory, namely, Istrus, Dionysopolis, Odessus, Mesembria, Callatis, and Apollonia; from which he brought to Rome the great statue of Apollo which was afterward set up on the Palatine Hill. I have found nothing further done by the Roman republic as to the Mysians. They were not subjected to tribute in the time of Augustus, but by Tiberius, who succeeded him as Roman emperor. All the things done by command of the people before the taking of Egypt have been written by me for each country separately. Those countries that these emperors themselves pacified after Egypt was taken, or annexed as their own work, will be mentioned after the affairs of the commonwealth. There I shall also tell more about the Mysians. For the present, since the Romans consider the Mysians a part of Illyria and this is my Illyrian history, in order that it may be complete it seems proper to premise that Lucullus invaded Mysia as a general of the republic and that Tiberius took it in the time of the empire.

BOOK XI

THE SYRIAN WARS

Λ′

ΣΥΡΙΑΚΗ

I

CAP. I

1. Ἀντίοχος ὁ Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, Σύρων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν βασιλεύς, ἕκτος δὲ ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ Εὐφράτην βεβασιλευκότος, ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Μηδίαν τε καὶ Παρθυηνὴν καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη ἀφιστάμενα ἔτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα δράσας, καὶ μέγας Ἀντίοχος ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληθείς, ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτὰ προσωνυμίᾳ, Συρίαν τε τὴν κοίλην καὶ Κιλικίας ἔστιν ἃ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, Αἰγύπτου βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, ἐπιδρομὴν περιέσπασε, καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος Ἑλλησποντίους ἐπῄει καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Ἴωνας ὡς οἱ προσήκοντας ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀσίας, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέων ὑπήκουον. ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην διαπλεύσας Θρᾴκην ὑπήγετο καὶ τὰ ἀπειθοῦντα ἐβιάζετο, Χερρονησόν τε ὠχύρου, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ᾤκιζεν, ἣν Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεύσας ἔκτισεν ἐπιτείχισμα τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν

BOOK XI

THE SYRIAN WARS

I

CHAP. 1

1. Antiochus (the son of Seleucus and grandson of Antiochus), king of the Syrians, the Babylonians and other nations, was the sixth in succession from that Seleucus who succeeded Alexander in the government of the Asiatic countries around the Euphrates. He invaded Media and Parthia, and other countries that had revolted from his ancestors, and performed many exploits, from which he was named Antiochus the Great. Elated by his successes, and by the title which he had derived from them, he invaded Coele-Syria and a portion of Cilicia and took them away from Ptolemy Philopator,[1] king of Egypt, who was still a boy. Filled with unbounded ambition, he marched against the Hellespontines, the Aeolians, and the Ionians as though they belonged to him as the ruler of Asia, because they had been formerly subjects of the Asiatic kings. Then he crossed over to Europe, brought Thrace under his sway, and reduced by force those who would not obey him. He fortified Chersonesus and rebuilt Lysimacheia, which Lysimachus, who ruled Thrace after Alexander, built as a stronghold against the

B.C. 224 Ambition of Antiochus the Great

B.C. 198

B.C. 196

[1] An error for Epiphanes.

CAP. I εἶναι, οἱ Θρᾷκες δ' ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου καθηρήκεσαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος συνῴκιζε, τούς τε φεύγοντας τῶν Λυσιμαχέων κατακαλῶν, καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες ἐδούλευον ὠνούμενος, καὶ ἑτέρους προσκαταλέγων, καὶ βοῦς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ σίδηρον ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπιδιδούς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων ἐς ταχεῖαν ἐπιτειχίσματος ὁρμήν· πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο λαμπρῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ ὅλῃ Θρᾴκῃ, καὶ ταμιεῖον εὔκαιρον ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ὧν ἐπενόει πάντων ἔσεσθαι.

2. Ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διαφορᾶς φανερᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἦρξεν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ μετῄει τὰς τῇδε Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, οἱ μὲν πλέονες αὐτῷ προσετίθεντο καὶ φρουρὰς ἐσεδέχοντο δέει τῷ τῆς ἁλώσεως, Σμυρναῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ καὶ ἕτεροι ἔτι ἀντέχοντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐς Φλαμινῖνον τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγόν, ἄρτι Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνος μεγάλῃ μάχῃ περὶ Θετταλίαν κεκρατηκότα· ἐγίγνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ Μακεδόνων καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπίμικτα ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη καὶ χρόνους, ὥς μοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ γραφῇ δεδήλωται. καὶ γίγνονταί τινες Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Φλαμινίνῳ διαπρεσβεύσεις τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀπόπειραι ἀτελεῖς. ἐκ πολλοῦ δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπόπτως εἶχον ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεμήσειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες Ἀντίοχον ἐπαιρόμενον ἀρχῆς τε μεγέθει καὶ εὐπραξίας ἀκμῇ, ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίους οἱ μόνους αὐξομένῳ μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κωλύσειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην περαιούμενον. οὐδενὸς δέ πω

Thracians themselves, but which they destroyed after his death. Antiochus repeopled it, calling back the citizens who had fled, redeeming those who had been sold as slaves, bringing in others, supplying them with cattle, sheep, and iron for agricultural purposes, and omitting nothing that might contribute to its speedy completion as a stronghold; for the place seemed to him to be admirably situated to hold all Thrace in subjection, and a convenient base of supplies for all the other operations that he contemplated. CHAP. I

2. This was the beginning of an open disagreement with the Romans as well, for as he passed among the Greek cities thereabout most of them joined him and received his garrisons, because they feared capture by him. But the inhabitants of Smyrna and Lampsacus, and some others who still resisted, sent ambassadors to Flamininus, the Roman general, who had lately overthrown Philip the Macedonian in a great battle in Thessaly; for the affairs of the Macedonians and of the Greeks were closely linked together at certain times and places, as I have shown in my Grecian history. Accordingly, certain embassies passed between Antiochus and Flamininus and they sounded each other without result. The Romans and Antiochus had been suspicious of each other for a long time, the former surmising that he would not keep quiet because he was so much puffed up by the extent of his dominions and the height of fortune that he had reached. Antiochus, on the other hand, believed that the Romans were the only people who could put a stop to his increase of power and prevent him from passing over to Europe. Still, there was no

His first disagreement with Rome

CAP. I φανεροῦ γεγονότος αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔχθραν ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλοπάτορος, αἰτιωμένου Συρίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν Ἀντίοχον αὐτὸν ὑφελέσθαι. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐπέβαινον ἄσμενοι, κατὰ καιρὸν σφίσι γενομένης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἔστελλον, οἳ λόγῳ μὲν ἔμελλον συναλλάξειν Πτολεμαῖον Ἀντιόχῳ, ἔργῳ δὲ κατασκέψεσθαι τὴν ὁρμὴν Ἀντιόχου καὶ κωλύσειν ὅσα δύναιντο.

3. Τούτων δὴ τῶν πρέσβεων Γναῖος ἡγούμενος ἠξίου τὸν Ἀντίοχον Πτολεμαίῳ μέν, ὅντι Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ, συγχωρεῖν ἄρχειν ὅσων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὧν Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἦρχεν, αὐτονόμους εἶν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον Ἀντίοχον κρατεῖν ὧν Φίλιππον ἀφείλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι. ὅλως δ' ἀπορεῖν ἔφη τί τοσοῦτον στόλον ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ τοσαύτην στρατιὰν ἄγων ἄνωθεν ἐκ Μήδων ἔλθοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐσβάλοι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάζοιτο, καὶ Θρᾴκην ὑπάγοιτο, εἰ μὴ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἑτέρου πολέμου θεμέλια. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο Θρᾴκην μέν, τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην τε καὶ δι' ἀσχολίας ἐκπεσοῦσαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ὢν ἀναλαμβάνειν, καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐγείρειν οἰκητήριον Σελεύκῳ τῷ παιδὶ εἶναι, τὰς δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν, εἰ τὴν χάριν οὐ Ῥωμαίοις

open breach between them until ambassadors came to Rome from Ptolemy Philopator complaining that Antiochus had taken Syria and Cilicia away from him. The Romans gladly seized this occasion as one well suited to their purposes, and sent ambassadors to Antiochus ostensibly to bring about a reconciliation between him and Ptolemy, but really to find out his designs and to check him as much as they could. CHAP. I

3. Gnaeus,[1] the chief of the embassy, demanded that Antiochus should allow Ptolemy, who was a friend of the Roman people, to rule over all the countries that his father had left to him, and that the cities of Asia that had been part of the dominions of Philip should be left independent, for it was not right that Antiochus should seize places of which the Romans had deprived Philip. "We are wholly at a loss to know," he said, "why Antiochus should come from Media bringing so large a fleet and an army from the upper country to the Asiatic coast, make an incursion into Europe, build cities there, and subdue Thrace, unless these are the preparations for another war." Antiochus replied that Thrace had belonged to his ancestors, that it had slipped from their grasp when they were occupied elsewhere, and that he had resumed possession because he had leisure to do so. He had built Lysimacheia as the future seat of government of his son Seleucus. He would leave the Greek cities of Asia independent if they would acknowledge the favour as due to himself and not to the Romans. A conference at Lysimacheia

[1] The name of this ambassador, according to Polybius (xvii. 31), was Lucius Cornelius. In other respects the account of the conference by Polybius agrees with that of our author. The conference took place at Lysimacheia.

CAP. I ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ μέλλοιεν ἔξειν. "Πτολεμαίῳ δ'," ἔφη, "καὶ συγγενής εἰμι καὶ ὅσον οὔπω καὶ κηδεστὴς ἔσομαι, καὶ χάριν ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν παρασκευάσω. ἀπορῶ δὲ κἀγὼ τίνι Ῥωμαῖοι δικαίῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, ἐμοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦντος."

4. Οὕτω μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἄπρακτοι διεκρίθησαν, ἀπορρηγνύντες ἤδη τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐς τὸ φανερώτερον· λόγου δὲ καὶ δόξης ἐμπεσούσης ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ ἀποθάνοι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπῄει ὡς Αἴγυπτον ἔρημον ἄρχοντος ἁρπασόμενος. καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἔφεσον Ἀννίβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος συμβάλλει, φεύγων τὴν πατρίδα δι' ἐχθρῶν διαβολάς, οἳ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἔφασκον εἶναι δύσερίν τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ οὔποτε εἰρηνεύειν δυνάμενον. τότε δ' ἦν ὅτε Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουον ἔνσπονδοι. Ἀννίβαν μὲν δὴ διώνυμον ἐπὶ στρατηγίαις ὄντα ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὑπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς καὶ εἶχεν ἀμφ' αὐτόν· περὶ δὲ τὴν Λυκίαν Πτολεμαῖον περιεῖναι μαθὼν Αἰγύπτου μὲν ἀπέγνω, Κύπρον δ' ἐλπίσας αἱρήσειν ἀντὶ Αἰγύπτου διέπλει κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτήν. χειμῶνι δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμὸν συμπεσών, καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαλών, ἐνίας δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ φίλοις, ἐς Σελεύκειαν τῆς Συρίας κατέπλευσε, καὶ τὸν στόλον κατεσκεύαζε πεπονημένον. γάμους τε τῶν παίδων ἔθυεν, Ἀντιόχου καὶ Λαοδίκης, ἀλλήλοις συναρμόζων.

5. Ἤδη δὲ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐγνωκὼς ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἐπιγαμίαις τοὺς ἐγγὺς βασιλέας προκατελάμβανε, καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν ἐς

"I am a relative of Ptolemy," he said, "and I shall very shortly be his father-in-law, and I will see to it that he renders gratitude to you. I too am at a loss to know by what right the Romans interfere in the affairs of Asia when I never interfere in those of Italy." 4. And so they separated without coming to any understanding, and both sides broke into more open threats. CHAP. I

A rumour having spread abroad that Ptolemy Philopator was dead, Antiochus hastened to Egypt in order to seize the country while bereft of a ruler. While on this journey Hannibal the Carthaginian met him at Ephesus. He was now a fugitive from his own country on account of the accusations of his enemies, who reported to the Romans that he was a stirrer up of strife, that he wanted to bring on a war, and that he could never enjoy peace. This was the time when the Carthaginians were by treaty subject to the Romans. Antiochus received Hannibal in a magnificent manner on account of his great military reputation, and kept him close to his person. At Lycia he learned that Ptolemy was alive. So he gave up the idea of seizing Egypt and hoping to take Cyprus instead sailed thither with all speed; but encountering a storm at the mouth of the river Sarus and losing many of his ships, some of them with his soldiers and friends, he put in at Seleucia in Syria to repair his damaged fleet. There he celebrated the nuptials of his children, Antiochus and Laodice, whom he had joined together in marriage. B.C. 195 Hannibal at Ephesus

5. Now, determining no longer to conceal his intended war with the Romans, he formed alliances by marriage with the neighbouring kings. To Ptolemy B.C. 193

CAP. I Αἴγυπτον ἔστελλε Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Σύραν ἐπίκλησιν, προῖκα Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἐπιδιδούς, ἣν αὐτὸς ἀφῄρητο τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, θεραπεύων ἤδη τὸ μειράκιον, ἵν' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀτρεμῇ· Ἀντιοχίδα δ' ἔπεμπεν Ἀριαράθῃ τῷ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν Εὐμένει τῷ Περγάμου βασιλεῖ. ὁ δέ (ἑώρα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤδη Ῥωμαίοις τε πολεμησείοντα καὶ πρὸς τήνδε τὴν χρείαν τὸ κῆδος αὐτῷ συναπτόμενον) ἠρνήσατο, καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Ἀττάλῳ τε καὶ Φιλεταίρῳ, θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι κῆδος βασιλέως τοσοῦδε καὶ γείτονος, αὐτοῦ τε κατάρχοντος καὶ δεομένου, παραιτοῖτο, ἐπεδείκνυ τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ τι παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἔξειν ἰσοπαλές, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' ὑπεροίσειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων δι' εὐψυχίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν. "ἐγὼ δ'," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐπικρατούντων βεβαίως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἄρξω. Ἀντιόχου δὲ νικῶντος ἐλπὶς μὲν ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι πάντα πρὸς γείτονος, ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ ἔχοντα βασιλεύσειν βασιλεύομενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου."

II

CAP. II 6. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῖσδε λογισμοῖς τοὺς γάμους ἀπεώσατο, ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος αὖθις ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου κατῄει, καὶ περιπλεύσας ἐς Χερρόνησον πολλὰ καὶ τότε τῆς Θράκης ὑπήγετό τε καὶ κατεστρέφετο. Ἕλληνας δ', ὅσοι τοῖς Θραξὶν ὑπήκουον, ἠλευθέρου, καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἐχαρίζετο πολλὰ ὡς ἐπίκαιρον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος πόλιν ἔχουσιν.

in Egypt he sent his daughter Cleopatra, surnamed Syra, giving with her Coele-Syria as a dowry, which he had taken away from Ptolemy himself, thus flattering the young king in order to keep him quiet during the war with the Romans. To Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent his daughter Antiochis, and the remaining one to Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But the latter, seeing that Antiochus was about to engage in war with the Romans and that he wanted to form a marriage connection with him on this account, refused her. To his brothers, Attalus and Philetaerus, who were surprised that he should decline marriage relationship with so great a king, who was also his neighbour and who made the first overtures, he pointed out that the coming war would be of doubtful issue at first, but that the Romans would prevail in the end by their courage and perseverance. "If the Romans conquer," said he, "I shall be firmly seated in my kingdom. If Antiochus is the victor, I may expect to be stripped of all my possessions by my neighbour, or, if I am allowed to reign, to be ruled over by him." For these reasons he rejected the proffered marriage. CHAP. I

II

6. Then Antiochus went down to the Hellespont and crossed over to Chersonesus and possessed himself of a large part of Thrace by surrender or conquest. He freed the Greeks who were under subjection to the Thracians, and propitiated the Byzantines in many ways, because their city was admirably situated at the outlet of the Euxine Sea. CHAP II

Antiochus sends an embassy to Rome

CAP. II Γαλάτας τε δώροις καὶ καταπλήξει τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπήγετο, ἀξιομάχους ἡγούμενος ἔσεσθαί οἱ διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν σωμάτων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς Ἔφεσον κατῆρε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε Λυσίαν τε καὶ Ἡγησιάνακτα καὶ Μένιππον, οἳ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποπειράσειν ἔμελλον, τῷ λόγῳ δ' ὁ Μένιππος ἔφη τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν ἐσπουδακότα, καὶ βουλόμενον αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἂν ἀξιῶσι, θαυμάζειν ὅτι κελεύουσι τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ φόρους τισὶν ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔνια μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, καὶ Θρᾴκην ἐᾶν ἀεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην· ἅπερ οὐ τοῖς φίλοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡττημένοις τοὺς κρατηκότας ἐπικελεύειν. οἱ δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας συνιέντες ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ σφῶν ἀφιγμένης, διὰ βραχέος ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν Ἀντίοχος αὐτονόμους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐᾷ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχηται, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι φίλον, ἂν ἐθέλῃ.

7. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν οὐκ ἐπέθεσαν· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐς πρώτην ἐπινοῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐσβαλεῖν, κἀκεῖθεν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου, ὑπετίθετο τὴν γνώμην τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ Ἀννίβᾳ· ὁ δ' ἔφη τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἐκ πολλοῦ τετρυμένην ἔργον εὐχείρωτον εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πολέμους ἅπασι χαλεποὺς μὲν οἴκοι διὰ λιμὸν τὸν ἐπιγιγνόμενον, ἔξω δὲ κουφοτέρους· καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων οὔ ποτε Ἀντίοχον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καθαιρήσειν, ἀγορᾶς τε οἰκείας καὶ παρασκευῆς ἱκανῆς εὐπορούντων. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τι προλαβεῖν τῆς

By gifts and by fear of his resources he brought the Galatians into his alliance, because he considered that they would be good soldiers for him by reason of their bodily size. Then he put in at Ephesus and sent as ambassadors to Rome Lysias, Hegesianax, and Menippus. They were sent really to find out the intentions of the Senate, but for the sake of appearances Menippus said, "King Antiochus, while strongly desirous of the friendship of the Romans and willing to be their ally if they wish, is surprised that they urge him to give up the cities of Ionia and to remit tribute for certain states, and not to interfere with certain of the affairs of Asia and to leave Thrace alone, though it has always belonged to his ancestors. Yours are not the exhortations of friends, but resemble orders given by victors to the vanquished." The Senate, perceiving that the embassy had come to make a test of their disposition, replied curtly, "If Antiochus will leave the Greeks in Asia free and independent, and keep away from Europe, he can be the friend of the Roman people if he desires." Such was the answer of the Romans, and they gave no reason for their rejoinder. CHAP II

7. As Antiochus intended to invade Greece first and thence begin his war against the Romans, he communicated his design to Hannibal. The latter said that as Greece had been wasted for a long time, the task would be easy; but that wars which were waged at home were the hardest to bear, by reason of the scarcity which they caused, while those which took place in foreign territory were much easier to endure. Antiochus could never vanquish the Romans in Greece, where they would have plenty of home-grown corn and adequate resources. Hannibal Hannibal's advice to Antiochus

CAP. 11 Ἰταλίας καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενον, ἵνα Ῥωμαίοις ἀσθενέστερα ᾖ καὶ τὰ οἴκοι καὶ τὰ ἔξω. "ἔχω δ' ἐμπείρως," ἔφη, "τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ μυρίοις ἀνδράσι δύναμαι καταλαβεῖν αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, ἔς τε Καρχηδόνα τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιστεῖλαι τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐγεῖραι, δυσφοροῦντα τέως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπίστως ἔχοντα, τόλμης τε καὶ ἐλπίδος ἐμπλησόμενον, εἰ πύθοιντό με πορθοῦντα τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὖθις." ὁ δ' ἄσμενος ἀκούσας τοῦ λόγου, καὶ μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος Καρχηδόνα προσλαβεῖν, αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐπιστέλλειν τοῖς φίλοις ἐκέλευεν.

8. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέστειλε μέν (οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγεῖτό πω, Ῥωμαίων τε πάντ' ἀνερευνωμένων, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μή πω φανεροῦ γεγονότος, καὶ πολλῶν οἱ διαφερομένων ἐν Καρχηδόνι, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδ' εὐσταθὲς ἐγούσης, ἃ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀνέτρεψε τὴν Καρχηδόνα), Ἀρίστωνα δ' ἔμπορον Τύριον ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ἐμπορίας ἔπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀξιῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβάλῃ, τότε ἐκείνους τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐς ἄμυναν ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἐγείρειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστον οὕτως ἔπραξεν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀννίβου ἐχθροί, αἰσθόμενοι τῆς Ἀρίστωνος ἐπιδημίας, ἐθορύβουν ὡς ἐπὶ νεωτέροις ἔργοις, καὶ τὸν Ἀρίστωνα ἐζήτουν περιιόντες. ὁ δέ, ἵνα τὴν διαβολὴν μὴ ἐξαίρετον ἔχοιεν οἱ Ἀννίβου φίλοι, προύθηκε νυκτὸς λαθὼν γράμματα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, ὅτι πάντας ὁ Ἀννίβας τοὺς βουλευτὰς παρακαλοίη τῇ πατρίδι συνάρασθαι μετ' Ἀντιόχου. καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ μὲν δέος ἐξῄρητο τῶν Ἀννίβου φίλων ἐκ τῆς Ἀρί-

therefore urged him to occupy some part of Italy and make his base of operations there, so that the Romans might be weakened both at home and abroad. "I have had experience of Italy," he said, "and with 10,000 men I can occupy the strategic points and write to my friends in Carthage to stir up the people to revolt. They are already discontented with their condition, and mistrust the Romans, and they will be filled with courage and hope if they hear that I am ravaging Italy again." Antiochus listened eagerly to this advice, and as he considered the accession of Carthage a great advantage (as it was) for his war, directed him to write to his friends at once.

Hannibal sends a messenger to Carthage

8. Hannibal did not write the letters, since he did not consider it yet safe to do so, as the Romans were searching out everything and the war was not yet openly declared, and he had many opponents in Carthage, and the city had no fixed or consistent policy—the very lack of which caused its destruction not long afterward. But he sent Aristo, a Tyrian merchant, to his friends, on the pretext of trading, asking them when he should invade Italy to rouse Carthage to avenge her wrongs. Aristo did this, but when Hannibal's enemies learned that he was in the city they raised a tumult as though a revolution was impending, and searched everywhere to find him. But he, in order that Hannibal's friends might not be particularly accused, posted letters in front of the senate-house secretly by night, saying that Hannibal exhorted the whole senate to rescue the country with the help of Antiochus. Having done this he sailed away. In the morning the friends of Hannibal were relieved of their fears by

CAP. II στωνος ἐπινοίας, ὡς πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν γερουσίαν ἀπεσταλμένου, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπεπλήρωτο θορύβου ποικίλου, δυσμενῶς μὲν ἔχουσα Ῥωμαίοις, λήσεσθαι δ' οὐ προσδοκῶσα.

9. Καὶ τὰ μὲν Καρχηδονίων ὧδε εἶχε, Ῥωμαίων δὲ πρέσβεις, ἕτεροί τε καὶ Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐς ὁμοίαν πεμφθέντες Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε γνώμης ἀπόπειραν καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς κατάσκεψιν, ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα ηὗρον οἰχόμενον ἐς Πισίδας, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περιέμενον, ἔνθα συνήεσαν θαμινὰ ἐς λόγους τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ, Καρχηδόνος τε σφίσιν ἔτι οὔσης ἐνσπόνδου καὶ οὔπω φανερῶς Ἀντιόχου πολεμίου, καταμεμφόμενοι τὸν Ἀννίβαν ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα φύγοι, Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Καρχηδονίους ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἁμαρτόντων. ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦθ', ὕποπτον ἐργαζόμενοι γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς σφῶν ὁμιλίας τε καὶ συνόδου. καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν στρατηγικώτατος Ἀννίβας οὐχ ὑπενόησεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος ὑπώπτευσε, καὶ ἀμβλύτερος ἦν τἀπὸ τοῦδε πιστεύειν ἔτι τῷ Ἀννίβᾳ· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ζήλου προὐπῆν ἐς αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ φθόνου, μὴ τῶν γιγνομένων τὸν ἔπαινον Ἀννίβας ἀποφέροιτο.

10. Λέγεται δ' ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς διατριβαῖς ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λεσχηνεῦσαί ποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους Σκιπίωνα καὶ Ἀννίβαν περὶ στρατηγίας πολλῶν ἐφεστώτων, καὶ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐρομένου τίς δοκοίη οἱ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος γενέσθαι, τὸν Ἀννίβαν εἰπεῖν, "ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος." Σκιπίωνα δ' ἡσυχάσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδ', ἐξιστάμενον ἄρα Ἀλεξαν-

this afterthought of Aristo, which implied that he had been sent to the whole senate, but the city was filled with all kinds of tumult, the people feeling bitterly toward the Romans, but despairing of avoiding detection. Such was the situation of affairs in Carthage. CHAP. II

9. In the meantime Roman ambassadors, and among them Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power, were sent, like those of Antiochus, to ascertain his designs and to form an estimate of his strength. Learning that the king had gone to Pisidia, they waited for him at Ephesus. There they entered into frequent conversations with Hannibal, Carthage being still at peace with them and Antiochus not yet openly at war. They reproached Hannibal for flying his country when the Romans had done nothing to him or to the Carthaginians in violation of the treaty. They did this in order to cast suspicion on Hannibal in the mind of the king owing to his protracted conversations and intercourse with themselves. This Hannibal, although a most profound military genius, failed to perceive, but the king, when he learned what had been going on, did suspect him, and was more reluctant to give him his confidence thereafter. There was already an underlying feeling of jealousy and envy in his mind, lest Hannibal should carry off the glory of his exploits. B.C. 192 Roman ambassadors meet Hannibal at Ephesus

10. It is said that at one of their meetings in the gymnasium Scipio and Hannibal had a conversation on the subject of generalship, in the presence of a number of bystanders, and that Scipio asked Hannibal whom he considered the greatest general, to which the latter replied, "Alexander of Macedon." On this Scipio made no comment, yielding, as it seemed, the first place Colloquy between Scipio and Hannibal

CAP. 11 δρῳ, ἐπανερέσθαι δὲ τίς εἴη δεύτερος μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ τὸν φάναι, "Πύρρος ὁ Ἠπειρώτης," τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄρα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐν τόλμῃ τιθέμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν μεγαλοτολμοτέρους τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων. δακνόμενον δ' ἤδη τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὅμως ἐπανερέσθαι ἔτι τίνι διδοίη τὰ τρίτα, ταχὺ γοῦν ἐλπίζοντα ἕξειν τὰ τρίτα. τὸν δέ, "ἐμαυτῷ," φάναι· "νέος γὰρ ὢν ἔτι Ἰβηρίας τε ἐκράτησα, καὶ στρατῷ τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη μεθ' Ἡρακλέα πρῶτος ὑπερῆλθον, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὑμῶν οὐδενός πω θαρροῦντος, ἐμβαλὼν τετρακόσια ἀνέστησα ἄστη, καὶ περὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ἀγῶνα πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐπέστησα, οὔτε μοι χρημάτων οὔτε στρατιᾶς ἐπιπεμπομένης ἐκ Καρχηδόνος." ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Σκιπίων εἶδεν ἀπομηκύνοντα τὴν σεμνολογίαν, ἔφη γελάσας, "ποῦ δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔταττες, ὦ Ἀννίβα, μὴ νενικημένος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ;" τὸν δέ φασιν, αἰσθανόμενον ἤδη τῆς ζηλοτυπίας, εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔγωγε ἔταξα ἂν ἐμαυτὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπέμεινέ τε τῇ σεμνολογίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα λαθὼν ἐθεράπευσεν ὡς καθελόντα τὸν ἀμείνονα Ἀλεξάνδρου·

11. Διαλυομένης δὲ τῆς συνόδου Σκιπίωνα μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐπὶ ξένια ἐκάλει, Σκιπίων δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἂν ἔφη μάλα προθύμως, εἰ μὴ συνῆσθα νῦν Ἀντιόχῳ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑπόπτως ἔχοντι. ὧδε μὲν ἐκεῖνοι, τῆς στρατηγίας ἀξίως, τὴν ἔχθραν ὡρίζοντο τοῖς πολέμοις, Φλαμινῖνος δ' ἀνομοίως. ἡττηθέντος γὰρ ὕστερον Ἀντιόχου φεύγοντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ ἁλόμενον περὶ Βιθυνίαν, πρεσβεύων, ἐφ' ἕτερα

to Alexander, but proceeded to ask Hannibal whom he placed next. Hannibal replied, "Pyrrhus of Epirus," because he considered boldness the first qualification of a general; for it is not possible to find two kings more enterprising than these. Scipio was rather nettled by this, but nevertheless he asked Hannibal to whom he would give the third place, expecting that at least the third would be assigned to him; but Hannibal replied, "To myself; for when I was a young man I conquered Spain and crossed the Alps with an army, which no one after Hercules ever did. I invaded Italy and struck terror into all of you, laid waste 400 of your towns, and often put your city in extreme peril, all this time receiving neither money nor reinforcements from Carthage." As Scipio saw that he was likely to prolong his self-laudation he said, laughing, "Where would you have placed yourself, Hannibal, if you had not been defeated by me?" Hannibal, now perceiving his jealousy, replied, "I should have put myself before Alexander." Thus Hannibal persisted in his self-laudation, but flattered Scipio in a delicate manner by suggesting that he had conquered one who was the superior of Alexander.[1] CHAP. II

11. At the end of this conversation Hannibal invited Scipio to be his guest, and Scipio replied that he would have come gladly if Hannibal were not living with Antiochus, who was held in suspicion by the Romans. Thus did they, in a manner worthy of great commanders, cast aside their enmity at the end of their wars. Not so Flamininus, for, at a later period when Hannibal had fled after the defeat of Antiochus and was wandering around Bithynia, he sent

[1] This tale is considered by most modern critics a fiction.

CAP. II πρὸς Προυσίαν, οὔτε τι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀννίβου προπαθών, οὔτε Ῥωμαίων ἐντειλαμένων, οὔτε φοβερὸν ἔτι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι δυνάμενον Καρχηδόνος κατεστραμμένης, ἔκτεινε διὰ τοῦ Προυσίου φαρμάκῳ, λεγόμενον μὲν ἐσχηκέναι ποτὲ χρησμὸν ὧδε ἔχοντα "Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβου δέμας," καὶ οἰόμενον ἐν Λιβύῃ τεθνήξεσθαι, ποταμὸς δ' ἔστι Λίβυσσος ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ, καὶ πεδίον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Λίβυσσα. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς ὑπόμνημα τῆς Ἀννίβου καὶ Σκιπίωνος μεγαλονοίας καὶ Φλαμινίνου σμικρότητος παρεθέμην.

III

CAP. III 12. Ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐκ Πισιδῶν ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπανῆει, καὶ χρηματίσας τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι Ῥοδίους μὲν καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυζικηνούς, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες, αὐτονόμους ἐπηγγείλατο ἐάσειν, εἰ γίγνοιντο αὐτῷ συνθῆκαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, Αἰολέας δὲ καὶ Ἴωνας οὐ συνεχώρει ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας εἰθισμένους ὑπακούειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοντες (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἔργῳ συμβάσεων ἐληλύθεσαν ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπόπειραν) ᾤχοντο ἐς Ῥώμην· Ἀντιόχῳ δ' ἦκον Αἰτωλῶν πρέσβεις, ὧν Θόας ἦρχεν, αὐτοκράτορά τε στρατ-

an embassy to King Prusias on other matters, and, although he had no grievance against Hannibal, and had no orders from the Senate, and Hannibal could no longer be formidable to them, Carthage having fallen, he caused Prusias to put him to death by poison. There was a story that Hannibal once received an oracle which said:

CHAP. II

The place of Hannibal's death

"Libyssan earth shall cover Hannibal's remains."

So he believed that he should die in Libya. But there is a river Libyssus in Bithynia, and the adjoining country takes the name of Libyssa from the river. These things I have placed side by side as memorials of the magnanimity of Hannibal and Scipio and of the smallness of Flamininus.

III

12. Antiochus, on his return from Pisidia to Ephesus entered upon the business with the Roman ambassadors, and promised to leave the Rhodians, the Byzantines, the Cyzicenes, and the other Greeks of Asia free and independent if the Romans would make a treaty with him; but he would not release the Aetolians and the Ionians, since they had long been accustomed to obey even the barbarian kings of Asia. The Roman ambassadors came to no agreement with him—in fact, they had not come to make an agreement, but to find out his purposes. So they returned to Rome. Thereupon an Aetolian embassy came to Antiochus, of which Thoas was the principal

CHAP. III

Antiochus invades Greece

CAP. III ἠγὸν Αἰτωλῶν Ἀντίοχον ἀποφαίνοντες, καὶ διαπλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤδη παρακαλοῦντες ὡς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἕτοιμον. οὐδὲ εἴων ἀναμένειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω κατιοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Αἰτωλῶν ὑπερεπαίροντες, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σφίσι καὶ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν Μακεδόνα, Ῥωμαίοις μηνίοντα, συμμαχήσειν, ἐπέσπερχον ἐς τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ δ' ἠρεθίζετο μάλα κουφονως, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῷ προσαγγελθέντος ἐν Συρίᾳ τεθνάναι τῆς ὁρμῆς τι ἐνδούς, διέπλει μετὰ μυρίων ὧν τότε εἶχε μόνων ἐς Εὔβοιαν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν αὐτὸς παρεστήσατο ἅπασαν, ἐνδοῦσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως· Μικιθίων δέ, αὐτοῦ στρατηγός, τοῖς περὶ Δήλιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιπεσὼν (ἱερὸν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον Ἀπόλλωνος) τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐζώγρησεν.

13. Ἀμύνανδρός τε, ὁ Ἀθαμάνων βασιλεύς, ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀντιόχῳ συνῆλθε διὰ τοιάσδε προφάσεως. τῶν τις Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει τραφεὶς καὶ τῆς αὐτόθι πολιτείας ἀξιωθείς, ἐτερατεύετο γένος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου προσήκειν, γενομένους τέ οἱ παῖδας ὠνόμασεν, ἐς πίστιν ὧν ἐλογοποίει, Φίλιππόν τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπάμαν, ἣν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ πρὸς γάμον ἠγγύησεν. ἀγαγὼν δ' αὐτὴν Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἐπεὶ τὸν Ἀμύνανδρον εἶδεν ἀσθενῆ καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον, παρέμενε, τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τὸ κῆδος διοικῶν. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Φίλιππον ὁ Ἀντίοχος τότε ἐπελπίζων ἐς τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν ὡς οἰκείαν οἱ κατάξειν, προσέλαβε τοὺς Ἀθαμᾶνας ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ

member, offering him the command of the Aetolian forces and urging him to embark for Greece at once, as everything was in readiness there. They would not allow him to wait for the army that was coming from upper Asia, but by exaggerating the strength of the Aetolians and promising the alliance of the Lacedaemonians and of Philip of Macedon in addition, who was angry with the Romans, they urged his crossing. His head was quite turned by excitement, nor did even the news of his son's death in Syria delay him at all. He sailed to Euboea with 10,000 men, who were all that he had at the time. He took possession of the whole island, which surrendered to him through panic. Micithio, one of his generals, fell upon the Romans at Delium (a place sacred to Apollo), killed some of them, and took the rest prisoners. CHAP. III

13. Amynander, king of the Athamanes, leagued himself with Antiochus for the following reason. A certain Macedonian, named Alexander, who had been educated at Megalopolis and admitted to citizenship there, pretended that he was a descendant of Alexander the Great, and to make people believe his fables he named his two sons Philip and Alexander and his daughter Apama. The latter he betrothed to Amynander. Her brother Philip conducted her to the nuptial ceremony, and when he saw that Amynander was weak and inexperienced he remained there and took charge of the government by virtue of this connection. By holding out to this Philip the hope that he would restore his ancestral kingdom of Macedonia to him, Antiochus secured the alliance of the Athamanes. He secured that of the Amynander joins him

CAP. III Θηβαίους, αὐτὸς ἐς Θήβας παρελθών τε καὶ δημηγορήσας.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Θηβαίοις τε καὶ Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πολέμῳ μάλα ματαίως ἐθάρρει, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐσκόπει πότερον εὐθὺς ἢ μετὰ χειμῶνα δέοι στρατεύειν· Ἀννίβαν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ σκέψει τῇδε ἡσυχάζοντα ἐκέλευε γνώμην πρῶτον ἐσενεγκεῖν.

14. Ὁ δ' ἔφη, "Θεσσαλοὺς μὲν οὐ δυσχερές, εἴτε νῦν εἴτε μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐθέλοις, ὑπάγεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἔθιος ἐκ πολλοῦ πεπονηκὸς ἔς τε σὲ νῦν καὶ ἐς Ῥωμαίους αὖ, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο νεώτερον, μεταβαλεῖται. ἥλθομεν δ' ἄνευ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπάγουσι πεισθέντες ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἡμῖν συμμαχήσουσιν· ὧν Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν ἀκούω μετ' Ἀχαιῶν, Φίλιππον δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ σοι παρόντα, δυνατὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ῥοπήν, ὁποτέρωσε προσθοῖτο, ποιῆσαι. τῆς δὲ γνώμης ἔχομαι τῆς αὐτῆς, τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας καλεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ μὴ ἐν Ἀμυνάνδρῳ καὶ Αἰτωλοῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, ὅταν δ' ἀφίκηται, τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς περισπώμενοι τὰ σὰ λυπῶσιν ἥκιστα, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφετέρων δεδιότες μηδαμοῦ προΐωσιν. ὁ δὲ τρόπος οὐκέθ' ὅμοιος ᾧ προύλεγον, ἀλλὰ χρὴ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας πορθεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ναυλοχεῖν ἐφεδρεῦον ἐς τὰ συμφερόμενα, αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ τῷ πεζῷ παντὶ προκαθήμενον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δόξαν ἐμποιεῖν ἐσβολῆς, καὶ

Thebans also by going himself to Thebes and making a speech to the people. CHAP. III

He was emboldened to enter upon this great war relying most rashly on the Thebans, Amynander, and the Aetolians, and he debated whether to invade Thessaly at once or after the winter had passed. But as Hannibal expressed no opinion on the subject, Antiochus, before coming to a decision, asked him his views.

14. Hannibal replied, "It is not difficult to reduce the Thessalians either now or at the end of winter, if you wish. Exhausted by much suffering they will change now to you, and again to the Romans, if any misfortune befalls you. We have come here without any army of our own, trusting to the Aetolians, who brought us here and said that the Lacedaemonians and Philip would join us. Of these I hear that the Lacedaemonians are actually fighting on the side of the Achaeans against us, and as for Philip I do not see him here helping you, although he can turn the scale of this war for whichever side he favours. I hold the same opinion as before, that you should summon your army from Asia as quickly as possible and not put any reliance on Amynander and the Aetolians. When your army comes, carry the war into Italy so that they may be distracted by evils at home, and thus harm you as little as possible, and make no advance movement for fear of what may befall themselves. The plan I spoke of before is no longer available, but you ought to employ half of your fleet in ravaging the shores of Italy and keep the other half lying in wait for opportunities while you station yourself with all your land forces at some point in Greece near to Italy, making a feint of invasion Hannibal repeats his advice

CAP. III εἰ δύναιό ποτε, καὶ ἐσβαλεῖν. Φίλιππον δὲ πειρᾶσθαι μὲν προσάγεσθαι μηχανῇ πάσῃ, πλεῖστον ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ δυνάμενον· ἢν δ' ἀπειθῇ, τὸν σὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Σέλευκον ἐπιπέμπειν διὰ Θράκης, ἵνα καὶ ὅδε περισπώμενος οἰκείοις κακοῖς μηδὲν ᾖ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήσιμος."

Τοσάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀννίβας εἶπε, καὶ ἦν ἄριστα πάντων· ὑπὸ δὲ φθόνου τῆς τε δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἧσσον ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη σφῶν ὁ Ἀννίβας τῇ στρατηγίᾳ προφέρειν, μηδὲ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐσομένων ἐκείνου γένοιτο, μεθῆκαν ἅπαντα, πλὴν ὅτι Πολυξενίδας ἐπὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπέμφθη.

15. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἀναιρέσεώς τε καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπύθοντο, πολεμεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντιόχου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος, ἐκ πολλοῦ δι' ὑπονοίας ἀλλήλοις γενόμενος, τότε πρῶτον ἀπερρήγνυτο ἐς ἔργον· οἷα δ' Ἀντιόχου τῆς τε Ἀσίας τῆς ἄνω πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, ὅλης ἐπικρατοῦντος, ἔς τε τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβεβηκότος ἤδη, καὶ δόξαν ἐπίφοβον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν ἔχοντος, πολλά τε ἄλλα καθ' ἑτέρων ἐξειργασμένου λαμπρά, δι' ἃ καὶ μέγας ἦν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ, τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χρόνιον σφίσι καὶ μέγαν ἔσεσθαι προσεδόκων. Φίλιππόν τε τὸν Μακεδόνα δι' ὑποψίας εἶχον, ἄρτι ὑπὸ σφῶν καταπεπολεμημένον, καὶ Καρχηδονίους, μὴ οὐ πιστοὶ σφίσιν ὦσιν ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις, Ἀννίβου συνόντος Ἀντιόχῳ. τούς

and invading it in reality any time you may be able. Try by every means to make an alliance with Philip, because he can be of the greatest service to whichever side he espouses. If however he will not consent, send your son Seleucus against him by way of Thrace, so that Philip likewise may be distracted by troubles at home, and prevented from furnishing aid to the enemy." Such were the counsels of Hannibal, and they were the best of all that were offered; but, moved by jealousy of his reputation and judgment, the other counsellors, and the king himself no less, cast them all aside lest Hannibal should seem to excel them in generalship, and lest the glory of the exploits should be his—except that Polyxenidas was sent to Asia to bring the army. CHAP. III

15. When the Romans heard of the irruption of Antiochus into Greece and the killing and capturing of Romans at Delium, they declared war. Thus war first actually broke out between Antiochus and the Romans, who had long suspected each other. So great was the dominion of Antiochus, who was ruler of many powerful nations of upper Asia, and of all but a few on the sea coast and who had now invaded Europe; so formidable was his reputation and so considerable his resources, so many and so famous had been his exploits against other peoples, from which he had earned the title of Great, that the Romans anticipated that this war would be long and severe for them. They had their suspicions also of Philip of Macedon, whom they had lately conquered, and of the Carthaginians also, lest they should prove false to the treaty because Hannibal was cooperating with Antiochus. They also suspected their other subjects, B.C. 191 Romans prepare for war

CAP. 111 τε ἄλλους σφῶν ὑπηκόους ὑπονοοῦντες, μὴ καὶ παρὰ τούτων τι νεώτερον ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχου δόξαν γένοιτο, στρατιὰν ἐς ἅπαντας, ἐφεδρεύειν εἰρηνικῶς αὐτοῖς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, περιέπεμπον, οὓς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ἑξαπελέκεας, ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων δυώδεκα πελέκεσι καὶ δυώδεκα ῥάβδοις, ὥσπερ οἱ πάλαι βασιλεῖς, χρωμένων, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔστι τοῖσδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τὰ ἡμίσεα παράσημα. ὡς δ' ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ, καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐδείμαινον, μὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ σφίσιν ᾖ πιστὴ ἢ βέβαιος ἐπ' Ἀντιόχῳ. πεζὸν δὴ πολὺν ἐς Τάραντα διέπεμπον, ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι, καὶ νεῶν στόλος τὴν παράλιον περιέπλει. τοσόσδε φόβος ἦν Ἀντιόχου τὰ πρῶτα. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνετετάχατο πάντα, ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχον ἤδη κατέλεγον ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐς δισμυρίους ἄνδρας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ διπλάσιον, ὡς ἅμα τῷ ἦρι τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλοῦντες.

16. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Θετταλούς, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν Κυνὸς κεφαλαῖς, ἔνθα τὸ πταῖσμα τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐγεγένητο, τὰ λείπανα τῶν τότε πεσόντων ἄταφα ἔτι ὄντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαπτε, δημοκοπῶν ἐς Μακεδόνας, καὶ Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς διαβάλλων οὐ θάψαντα τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. ὧν πυθόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐνδοιάζων ἔτι καὶ περισκοπῶν ὁποτέρωσε προσθοῖτο, αὐτίκα εἵλετο τὰ Ῥωμαίων, Βαίβιόν τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν, ἄρχοντά τινος πλησίον στρατοῦ, καλέσας ἐλθεῖν ἔς τι χωρίον, πίστεις αὖθις ἐδίδου Ῥωμαίοις ἀδόλως συμμαχή-

lest they too should rebel in consequence of the fame of Antiochus. For these reasons they sent forces into all the provinces to watch them without provoking hostilities. With them were sent praetors, whom they call six-axe men, because while the consuls have twelve bundles of rods and twelve axes (as the kings before them had), these praetors have only half the dignity of the consuls and half the number of insignia of office. The peril being so great, they were anxious about Italy also, lest there should be some disaffection or revolt against them there. They therefore sent a large force of infantry to Tarentum to guard against an attack in that quarter, and also a fleet to patrol the coast. So great was the alarm caused by Antiochus at first. But when everything appertaining to the government at home was arranged, they raised an army to serve against Antiochus himself, 20,000 from the city and double that number from the allies, with the intention of crossing the Adriatic in the early spring. Thus they employed the whole winter in making preparations for war. CHAP III

16. Antiochus marched against the Thessalians and came to Cynoscephalae, where the Macedonians had been defeated by the Romans, and finding the remains of the dead still unburied, gave them a magnificent funeral. Thus he curried favour with the Macedonians and accused Philip before them of leaving unburied those who had fallen in his service. Until now Philip had been wavering and in doubt which side he should espouse, but when he heard of this he joined the Romans at once. He invited Baebius, their general, who was in command of an army in the neighbourhood, to a rendezvous, and gave

Philip joins the Romans

CAP. III σειν κατ' Αντιόχου. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ Βαίβιος ἐπῄνει, καὶ θαρρήσας αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον μετὰ δισχιλίων πεζῶν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἄππιος ἀπὸ τῶι Τεμπῶν Ἀντίοχον Λαρίσῃ παρακαθήμενον ἰδὼν πῦρ πολὺ ἤγειρεν, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ὀλιγότητα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ὡς Βαιβίου καὶ Φιλίππου παρόντων διαταραχθείς, ἐξέλιπε τὴν πολιορκίαν, πρόφασιν τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενος, καὶ ἐς Χαλκίδα παρῆλθεν, ἔνθα κόρης εὐπρεποῦς ἔρωτι ἁλούς, ὑπὲρ ἔτη πεντήκοντα γεγονὼς καὶ τοσόνδε πόλεμον διαφέρων, ἔθυε γάμους καὶ πανηγύρεις ἦγε, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐς πᾶσαν ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν ἐπὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ἀνῆκεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ἐμβαλὼν ἐς Ἀκαρνανίαν ἤσθετο μὲν τῆς ἀργίας τοῦ στρατοῦ δυσέργου πρὸς ἅπαντα ὄντος, καὶ τότε τῶν γάμων αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως μετέμελεν· ὑπαγαγόμενος δ' ὅμως τινὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πολιορκῶν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα Ῥωμαίους ἐπύθετο περᾶν τὸν Ἰόνιον, ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀνεζεύγνυ.

IV

CAP. IV 17. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τοῖς τότε ἑτοίμοις ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις καὶ πεζοῖς δισμυρίοις καὶ ἐλέφασί τισιν, ἡγουμένου σφῶν Ἀκιλίου Μανίου Γλαβρίωνος, ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαβαλόντες ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ἐβάδιζον καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξέλυον τῶν πολιορκιῶν, ἐν ὅσαις δ' ἦσαν ἤδη Ἀθαμάνων φρουραί, τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξέβαλλον. καὶ

fresh pledges of faithful alliance against Antiochus. Baebius praised him for this, and felt emboldened to send Appius Claudius straightway with 2000 foot through Macedonia into Thessaly. When Appius arrived at Tempe and from that point saw Antiochus besieging Larissa, he kindled a large number of fires to conceal the smallness of his force. Antiochus thought that Baebius and Philip had arrived, and became panic-stricken, abandoned the siege on the pretext that it was winter, and retreated to Chalcis. There he fell in love with a pretty girl, and, although he was above fifty years of age and was supporting the burden of so great a war, he celebrated his nuptials with her, gave a public festival, and allowed his army to spend the whole winter in idleness and luxury. When spring came he made a descent upon Acarnania, where he perceived that idleness had unfitted his army for every kind of duty. Then he repented of his marriage and his public festival. Nevertheless he reduced a part of Acarnania and was besieging the rest of its strongholds when he learned that the Romans were crossing the Adriatic. Then he returned at once to Chalcis.

CHAP. III

IV

17. The Romans crossed hastily from Brundusium to Apollonia with the forces that were then ready, being 2000 horse, 20,000 foot, and a few elephants, under the command of Acilius Manius Glabrio. They marched to Thessaly and relieved the besieged cities. They expelled the enemy's garrisons, from the towns of the Athamanes and made a prisoner of

CHAP. IV

The Romans cross the Adriatic

CAP. IV τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Φίλιππον αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον, ἐλπίζοντα ἔτι τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. εἶλον δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐς τρισχιλίους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Μάνιος εἰργάζετο, καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ἐς Ἀθαμανίαν ἐμβαλὼν πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπήκοον ἔλαβεν, Ἀμυνάνδρου φυγόντος ἐς Ἀμβρακίαν. ὧν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αἰσθανόμενός τε, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῶν γιγνομένων καταπλαγείς, ἔδεισεν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ταχείᾳ μεταβολῇ, καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας Ἀννίβου τότε ᾔσθετο, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἔπεμπεν ἐπισπέρχειν Πολυξενίδαν ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, αὐτὸς δ' ὅσους εἶχε, πανταχόθεν συνεκάλει. γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων πεζῶν μυρίων καὶ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τινῶν συμμάχων, Θερμοπύλας κατέλαβεν ὡς τὴν δυσχωρίαν προβαλούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναμενῶν. δίοδος δ' ἐστὶν αἱ Θερμοπύλαι στενὴ καὶ ἐπιμήκης, καὶ αὐτὴν περιέχει τῇ μὲν θάλασσα τραχεῖα καὶ ἁλίμενος, τῇ δὲ ἕλος ἄβατόν τε καὶ βαραθρῶδες. κορυφαί τε εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ὀρῶν ἀπόκρημνοι, καὶ τούτων μὲν Τειχιοῦντα καλοῦσι τὴν δὲ Καλλίδρομον. ἔχει δὲ ὁ τόπος θερμῶν ὑδάτων πηγάς, καὶ Θερμοπύλαι ἀπὸ τοῦδ' ἐπικληζονται.

18. Τεῖχος οὖν ἐνταῦθα διπλοῦν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ᾠκοδομήσατο, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέθηκεν. ἔς τε τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρῶν Αἰτωλοὺς ἀνέπεμψε, μή τις λάθοι κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἀτραπὸν περιελθών, ᾗ δὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδαν Ξέρξης ἐπέθετο, ἀφυλάκτων τότε τῶν ὀρῶν ὄντων. Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ χιλίους μὲν ἑκατέρῳ τῶνδε τῶν ἄκρων ἐπέστησαν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς

that Philip of Megalopolis who was still expecting the throne of Macedonia. They also captured about 3000 of the soldiers of Antiochus. While Manius was doing these things, Philip made a descent upon Athamania and brought the whole of it into subjection, King Amynander fleeing to Ambracia. When Antiochus learned these facts, he was terrified by the swiftness of events and by the suddenness of the change of fortune, and he now perceived the wisdom of Hannibal's advice. He sent messenger after messenger to Asia to hasten the coming of Polyxenidas. Then from all sides he drew in what forces he had. These amounted to 10,000 foot and 500 horse of his own, besides some allies, with which he occupied Thermopylae, in order to put this difficult pass between himself and the enemy while waiting for the arrival of his army from Asia. The pass at Thermopylae is long and narrow, flanked on the one side by a rough and harbourless sea and on the other by a deep and impassable morass. It is overhung by two precipitous peaks, one called Teichius and the other Callidromus. The place also contains some hot springs, whence comes the name Thermopylae (the Hot Gates).

Antiochus occupies Thermopylae

18. There Antiochus built a double wall on which he placed his engines. He sent Aetolian troops to occupy the summits of the mountains to prevent anybody from coming round secretly by way of the famous path by which Xerxes had come upon the Spartans under Leonidas, the mountains at that time being unguarded. One thousand Aetolians occupied each mountain. The remainder encamped

CAP. IV ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν περὶ πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευήν, σημεῖον ἔδωκεν ἐς ἔω μάχης· καὶ δύο τῶν χιλιάρχων, Μᾶρκον Κάτωνα καὶ Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον, ἐκέλευσε νυκτός, ἐπιλεξαμένους ἑκάτερον ὁπόσους ἐθέλοι, τὰ ὄρη περιελθεῖν καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, βιάσασθαι. τούτων ὁ μὲν Λεύκιος ἀπεκρούσθη τοῦ Τειχιοῦντος, ἀγαθῶν ἐνταῦθα τῶν Αἰτωλῶν γενομένων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων τῷ Καλλιδρόμῳ παραστρατοπεδεύσας, κοιμωμένοις ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπέπεσε περὶ ἑσχάτην φυλακήν, καὶ πολὺς ἀμφ' αὐτοὶ ἐγίγνετο ἀγών, βιαζόμενον ἐς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρημνα κωλυόντων τῶν πολεμίων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ Μάνιος ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν Ἀντιόχῳ κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐς λόχους ὀρθίους διῃρημένην· ὧδε γὰρ μόνως ἐν στενοῖς ἐδύνατο. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς προμάχεσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὴν δ' ἔστησε πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ δ' αὐτῆς τοὺς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, καὶ τὸ στῖφος ὃ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀεὶ συνετάσσετο, παρὰ τῇ θαλάσσῃ.

19. Γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὸν Μάνιον οἱ ψιλοὶ πανταχόθεν περιτρέχοντες ἐλύπουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοπόνως δεχόμενός τε καὶ ἀναχωρῶν καὶ αὖθις ἐπιὼν ἐτρέψατο, τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων διαστᾶσα ἐς αὐτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐν τάξει πυκνὰς προὐβάλοντο, ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου κατεπλήσσοντο τοὺς πολεμίους,

by themselves near the city of Heraclea. When Manius saw the enemy's preparations he gave the signal for battle on the morrow at dawn and ordered two of his tribunes, Marcus Cato and Lucius Valerius, to select such forces as they pleased and to go around the mountains by night and drive the Aetolians from the heights as best they could. Lucius was repulsed from Mount Teichius by the Aetolians, who at that place fought well, but Cato, who encamped near Mount Callidromus, fell upon the enemy while they were still asleep, about the last watch. Nevertheless there was a stiff fight here, as he was obliged to climb over high rocks and precipices in the face of an opposing enemy. Meantime Manius was leading his army against Antiochus' front in files, as this was the only way possible in the narrow pass. The king placed his light-armed troops and peltasts in front of the phalanx, and drew up the phalanx itself in front of the camp, with the archers and slingers on the right hand on the lower slopes, and the elephants, with the column that always accompanied them, on the left near the sea. CHAP IV

19. Battle being joined, the light-armed troops assailed Manius first, rushing in from all sides. He received their onset bravely, first yielding and then advancing, and drove them back. The phalanx opened and let the light-armed men pass through. It then closed and covered them, with its long spears presented in massed order, the formation with which the Macedonians from the time of Alexander and Philip used to strike terror into enemies who did The battle of Thermopylae

CAP. IV ἀντίοις δόρασι πολλοῖς καὶ μακροῖς οὐ τολμῶντας πελάζειν. αἰφνίδιον δ' ὤφθη τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καλλιδρόμου φυγὴ καὶ βοή, καθαλλομένων ἐς τὸ Ἀντιόχου στρατόπεδον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἑκατέροις ἄγνοιά τε τοῦ γιγνομένου καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ· ὡς δὲ ὁ Κάτων ἐπεφαίνετο διώκων αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐγίγνετο ἤδη τὸ Ἀντιόχου, ἔδεισαν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως, περί τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων μάχης ἐπιφόβως ἐκ πολλοῦ πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ σφᾶς εἰδότες ὑπὸ ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς δι' ὅλου τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς δυσεργίαν διεφθαρμένους. τούς τε σὺν τῷ Κάτωνι σαφῶς μὲν οὐ καθορῶντες ὁπόσοι τινὲς εἶεν ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ φόβου πλείους νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ περὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δείσαντες, ἀκόσμως ἐς αὐτὸ κατέφυγον ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνούμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς παραθέοντες συνεσέπεσον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἦν ἄλλη φυγὴ τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκεῖθεν ἄκοσμος. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος μέχρι μὲν ἐπὶ Σκάρφειαν ἐδίωκαν αὐτοὺς κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σκαρφείας ἐπανιὼν διήρπαζε τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπιδραμόντας τῷ Ῥωμαίων χάρακι παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτῶν ἐξήλασεν ἐπιφανείς.

20. Ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, Ἀντιόχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς ληφθεῖσιν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τροπῆς μετὰ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων ἐς Ἐλάτειαν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ διέδραμεν, ἀπὸ δ' Ἐλατείας ἐς Χαλκίδα καὶ ἐς Ἔφεσον μετ' Εὐβοίας τῆς νεογάμου (τοῦτο γὰρ

not dare to encounter the thick array of long pikes presented to them. Suddenly, however, the Aetolians were seen fleeing from Callidromus with loud cries, and leaping down into the camp of Antiochus. At first neither side knew what had happened, and there was confusion among both in their uncertainty; but when Cato made his appearance pursuing the Aetolians with shouts of victory and was already close above the camp of Antiochus, the king's forces, who had been hearing for some time back fearful accounts of the Roman style of fighting, and who knew that they themselves had been enervated by idleness and luxury all the winter, took fright. Not seeing clearly how large Cato's force was, it was magnified to their minds by terror. Fearing for the safety of their camp they fled to it in disorder, with the intention of defending it against the enemy. But the Romans were close at their heels and entered the camp with them. Then there was another flight of the troops of Antiochus as disorderly as the first. Manius pursued them as far as Scarphia, killing and taking prisoners. Returning thence he plundered the king's camp, and by merely shewing himself drove out the Aetolians who had broken into the Roman camp during his absence.

CHAP. IV

Antiochus defeated

20. The Romans lost about 200 in the battle and the pursuit; Antiochus about 10,000, including prisoners. The king himself, at the first sign of defeat, fled without looking back with 500 horse as far as Elateia, and from Elateia to Chalcis, and thence to Ephesus with his bride Euboea, as he called her, on board his

He flees to Asia

CAP. IV

αὐτὴν ὠνόμαζεν) ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔφυγεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἁπασῶν· ἀγοραν γάρ τινας αὐτῶν διαφερούσας ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ἐπαναχθεὶς διεφθάρκει. οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης πυθόμενοι, ταχείας τε οὕτω σφίσι καὶ εὐχεροῦς φανείσης, ἔθυον, ἐκ φοβερᾶς τῆς Ἀντιόχου δόξης τὴν πρώτην πεῖραν ἀσπασάμενοι. Φίλιππόν τε τῆς συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενοι, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Δημήτριον, ὁμηρεύοντα ἔτι παρὰ σφίσιν, ἔπεμψαν.

21. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἐν ἄστει, Μάνιος δὲ Φωκέας μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν, δεομένους ἀπέλυσε τοῦ δέους, τὴν δ' Αἰτωλίαν αὐτός τε καὶ Φίλιππος ἐδήουν, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπολιόρκουν. Δαμόκριτόν τε τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μάνιος ἔλαβε κρυπτόμενον, ὃς Φλαμινίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν ἠπείλει στρατοπεδεύσειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάνιος ἐπὶ Καλλιπόλεως διώδευε τὸ ὄρος ὃ καλοῦσι Κόρακα, ὑψηλότατόν τε ὀρῶν καὶ δυσόδευτον καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, μετὰ στρατοῦ βαρυτάτου τε καὶ λαφύρων καταγόμου· πολλοὶ δ' ἐξέπιπτον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσοδίας ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, καὶ σκεύεσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅπλοις κατεφέροντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντες ἂν οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συνταράξαι οὐδὲ ὤφθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπρέσβευον. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐκάλει, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε, ναυαρχοῦντος αὐτῷ Πολυξενίδου Ῥοδίου φυγάδος. ἔς τε Χερρόνησον διαπλεύσας πάλιν αὐτὴν ὠχύρου, καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἄβυδον ἐκρατύνετο, δι' ὧν ἔδει τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁδεῦσαί τε καὶ περᾶσαι. Λυσιμά-

ships; but not all of them, for the Roman admiral made an attack upon some that were bringing supplies, and sank them. When the people of Rome heard of this victory, so swiftly and easily gained, they offered sacrifice, being satisfied with their first trial of the formidable reputation of Antiochus. To Philip, in return for his services as an ally, they sent his son Demetrius, who was still a hostage in their hands. CHAP. IV

21. While these things were going on in the city, Manius received the supplications of the Phocians, the Chalcidians, and the others who had cooperated with Antiochus, and relieved their fears. He and Philip ravaged Aetolia and laid siege to its cities. He there captured, in hiding, Democritus, the general of the Aetolians, who had threatened Flamininus that he would pitch his camp on the banks of the Tiber. Manius, with an army laden with baggage and spoils, made his way to Callipolis over Mount Corax, a precipitous and difficult mountain, and the highest in that region. Many soldiers, by reason of the badness of the road, fell over precipices and were dashed in pieces with their arms and accoutrements, and although the Aetolians might have thrown the army into confusion, they were not even to be seen, but were sending an embassy to Rome to treat for peace. In the meantime Antiochus ordered the army to march in haste from the satrapies of upper Asia to the sea, and fitted out a fleet which he put under the command of Polyxenidas, an exile from Rhodes. He then crossed over to Chersonesus and again fortified it. He also strengthened Sestus and Abydus, through which the Roman legions would be obliged to pass if they should invade Asia. He made Lysimacheia his

CAP. IV

χειαν δὲ ταμιεῖον τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ποιούμενος, ὅπλα καὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐς αὐτὴν συνέφερεν, ἡγούμενος αὐτίκα οἱ Ῥωμαίους πεζῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Μανίῳ μὲν αἱροῦνται διάδοχον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς τότε αὐτοῖς ὕπατος ἦν, ἀπράκτῳ δ' ὄντι καὶ ἀπειροπολέμῳ σύμβουλον αἱροῦνται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδονίους ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πρῶτον ὀνομασθέντα Ἀφρικανόν.

V

CAP. V

22. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Σκιπίωνες ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ, Λίουιος δ' ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐπὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν αἱρεθεὶς Ἀτιλίῳ διάδοχος, αὐτίκα ταῖς τε ἰδίαις ναυσίν, αἷς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπλει, καὶ παρὰ Καρχηδονίων αὐτῷ τισὶ δοθείσαις καὶ συμμαχίσιν ἄλλαις ἐς Πειραιᾶ κατήχθη, καὶ τὸν ὑπ' Ἀτιλίῳ στόλον παραλαβὼν ἔπλει καταφράκτοις ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ μιᾷ, ἑπομένου καὶ Εὐμένους πεντήκοντα ἰδίαις· καὶ ἦν κατάφρακτον καὶ τῶνδε τὸ ἥμισυ. ἔς τε Φώκαιαν ὑπήκοον μὲν Ἀντιόχου, ὑπὸ δ' ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοὺς δεχομένην κατήγοντο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἀνέπλεον. ἀντανήγετο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ναύαρχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου Πολυξενίδας διακοσίαις ναυσί, κουφοτέραις τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ πολύ· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα προύλαβε τοῦ πελάγους ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ἀναπειρωμένων. καὶ δύο τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναῦς ἰδὼν προπλεούσας, τρεῖς τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιπέμψας εἶλε τὰς δύο κενάς, ἐξαλομένων τῶν Λιβύων ἐς τὸ

principal magazine for the present war and accumulated large supplies of arms and provisions in it, believing that the Romans would soon attack him with large land and sea forces. They appointed Lucius Scipio, who was then consul, to succeed Manius in the command, but as he was inexperienced in war they appointed as his adviser his brother, Publius Scipio, who had humbled the Carthaginian power and who first bore the title of Africanus.

CHAP. IV

The two Scipios sent against him

V

22. While the Scipios were still making their preparations, Livius, who had charge of the coast defence of Italy and who had been chosen the successor of Atilius, with his own coast-guard ships and some contributed by the Carthaginians and other allies, sailed at once for the Piraeus. Receiving there the fleet from Atilius he set sail with eighty-one decked ships, Eumenes following with fifty of his own, one-half of which had decks. They put in at Phocaea, a place belonging to Antiochus, but which received them from fear, and on the following day they sailed out for a naval engagement. Polyxenidas, commanding the fleet of Antiochus, met them with 200 ships much lighter than those opposed to him, which was a great advantage to him, since the Romans were not yet experienced in nautical affairs. Seeing two Carthaginian ships sailing in front, he sent three of his own against them and took them, but without the crews, who leaped overboard. Livius

CHAP. V

Roman naval victory

CAP. V πέλαγος. Λίουιος δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἐφέρετο πρῶτος ὑπ' ὀργῆς τῇ στρατηγίδι νηΐ, πολὺ προύχων τοῦ στόλου. αἱ δ', ὡς μιᾷ, σὺν καταφρονήσει χεῖράς τε σιδηρᾶς ἐπέβαλον, καὶ συνεστηκότων τῶν σκαφῶν ὁ ἀγὼν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ. πολὺ δὲ κρείσσους ὄντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς εὐτολμίαις, ἐπιβάντες ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐκράτουν, καὶ μιᾷ νηὶ δύο ὁμοῦ φέροντες ἐπανῄεσαν. καὶ τόδε μὲν τῆς ναυμαχίας προαγώνισμα ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στόλοι συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις, ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεκράτει, διὰ δὲ βαρύτητα τῶν σκαφῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν κούφαις ναυσὶν ὑποφεύγοντας, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον ὀξέως κατέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐς Χίον ἀπῆραν, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς Ῥοδίων νῆες συμμαχίδες ἦλθον ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ναυμαχίας πυθόμενος, Ἀννίβαν ἔστελλεν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἐς νεῶν ἄλλων ἐκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας παρασκευήν.

Καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἐπανιόντα Ῥόδιοι κατέκλεισαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν, καί τινας αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν εἷλον, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐφύλασσον· 23. Πόπλιος δὲ Σκιπίων ἀφικόμενος ἐς Λίτωλίαν μετὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ τὸν Μανίου στρατὸν παραλαβών, τὰς μὲν ἐν Λίτωλίᾳ πολιορκίας ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς μικρὸν ἔργον, καὶ τοῖς Λίτωλοῖς δεομένοις ἐπέτρεψεν αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ σφῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἠπείγετο πρὶν ἐκβῆναι τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν. διὰ δὲ Μακεδόνων ὧδευε καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, δυσχερῆ καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἄν, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ὡδοποίει καὶ ὑπεδέχετο καὶ

dashed angrily at the three with his flag-ship, much in advance of the rest of the fleet. The enemy being three to one grappled him contemptuously with iron hooks, and when the ships were fastened together the battle was fought as though it were on land. The Romans, being much superior in valour, sprang upon the enemy's ships, overpowered them, and returned on their one ship, bringing two of the enemy's with them. This was the prelude to the naval engagement. When the fleets came together the Romans had the best of it by reason of their bodily strength and bravery, but on account of the unwieldy size of their ships they could not overtake the enemy, who got away with their nimble craft, and, by rapid flight, took refuge in Ephesus. The Romans repaired to Chios, where twenty-seven Rhodian ships joined them as allies. When Antiochus received the news of this naval fight, he sent Hannibal to Syria to fit out another fleet from Phoenicia and Cilicia. When he was returning with it the Rhodians drove him into Pamphylia, captured some of his ships, and blockaded the rest. CHAP. V

23. In the meantime Publius Scipio arrived in Aetolia with the consul and received the command of the army from Manius. He scorned the siege of the Aetolian towns as a small business, and granted the petition of the inhabitants to send a new embassy to Rome, while he hastened against Antiochus before his brother's command should expire. He moved by way of Macedonia and Thrace to the Hellespont, and it would have been a very hard march for him had not Philip of Macedon repaired the roads, B.C. 190 The Scipios march to the Hellespont

CAP. V παρέπεμπεν ἐζευγμένοις τε ποταμοῖς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ ἀγοραῖς ἑτοίμοις· ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν οἱ Σκιπίωνες αὐτίκα τῶν ὑπολοίπων χρημάτων ἀπέλυσαν, ἐπιτετραμμένοι τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ πρόθυμον εὕροιεν. ἐπέστελλον δὲ καὶ ἐς Προυσίαν τὸν Βιθυνῶν βασιλέα, καταλέγοντες ὅσοις βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι συμμαχήσασι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπηύξησαν· Φίλιππον δέ, φασί, τὸν Μακεδόνα καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες ἄρχειν ἐῶσι, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῷ τῆς ὁμηρείας ἀπελύσαμεν, καὶ τὸ ἔτι ὄφλημα τῶν χρημάτων. οἷς ὁ Προυσίας ἡσθεὶς συνέθετο συμμαχήσειν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον.

Λίουιος δ' ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπεὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τῶν Σκιπιώνων ἐπύθετο, Παυσίμαχον μὲν τὸν Ῥόδιον μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων νεῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατέλιπε, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ ἰδίου στόλου, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔπλει τὸν στρατὸν ὑποδεξόμενος. καὶ Σηστὸς μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥοίτειον καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶν λιμὴν καί τινα ἄλλα προσέθετο, Ἄβυδον δὲ ἀπειθοῦσαν ἐπολιόρκει.

24. Παυσίμαχος δ' οἰχομένου Λιουίου πείρας τε πυκνὰς καὶ μελέτας τῶν ἰδίων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ μηχανὰς ποικίλας συνεπήγνυτο, πυρφόρα τε ἀγγεῖα σιδηρᾶ ἐξῆπτε κοντῶν μακρῶν, αἰωρεῖσθαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα τῶν μὲν ἰδίων σκαφῶν πολὺ προύχῃ, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσιοῦσιν ἐμπίπτῃ. καὶ αὐτὸν τάδε φιλοπονούμενον Πολυξενίδας ὁ Ἀντιόχου ναύαρχος, Ῥόδιός τε ὢν καὶ ὅδε καί τισιν αἰτίαις ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐνήδρευεν, ὑπισχνούμενος τὸν Ἀντιόχου στόλον ἐγχειριεῖν, εἰ συνθοῖτο συμπράξειν ἐς κάθοδον

entertained him, escorted him, bridged the streams some time before, and furnished him provisions. In return for this the Scipios immediately relieved him from the payment of the remaining money indemnity, having been authorized to do so by the Senate if they should find him zealous. They also wrote to Prusias, king of Bithynia, reminding him that the Romans had often augmented the Empires of the kings in alliance with them. Philip of Macedon, they said, although they had conquered him in war, they had allowed to retain his kingdom, had released his son whom they held as a hostage, and had remitted the money payment still due. Thereupon Prusias gladly entered into alliance with them against Antiochus. CHAP V

Livius, the commander of the fleet, when he learned that the Scipios were on the march, left Pausimachus, the Rhodian, with the Rhodian ships and a part of his own, in Aeolis, and himself sailed with the greater part to the Hellespont to receive the army. Sestos and Rhoeteum, and the harbour of the Achaeans, and several other places surrendered to him. Abydos refused and he laid siege to it.

Roman fleet captured by stratagem

24. After the departure of Livius, Pausimachus trained his sailors by repeated exercises, and constructed machines of various kinds. He attached iron vessels containing fire to long poles, for suspending over the sea, so as to hang clear of his own ships and fall upon those of the enemy when they approached. While he was thus engaged, Polyxenidas, the admiral of Antiochus, who was also a Rhodian, but had been banished for crime, laid a trap for him. He promised to deliver the fleet of Antiochus to him if he would agree to help him in securing his recall.

CAP. V αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἐπίκλοπον ἄνδρα καὶ πανοῦργον, καὶ ἐς πολὺ καλῶς ἐφυλάσσετο· γράψαντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Πολυξενίδου περὶ τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἀναζεύξαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑποκριθέντος ἐς χορτολογίαν περιπέμπειν, ὁ Παυσίμαχος τήν τε ἀνάζευξιν ὁρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἄν τινα περὶ προδοσίας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτόγραφον οὐκ ἀληθεύοντα πέμψαι, πάγχυ πιστεύσας ἐξέλυσε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐς σιτολογίαν καὶ αὐτὸς περιέπεμπεν. ὁ δὲ Πολυξενίδας ἐπεὶ κατεῖδεν αὐτὸν ἐνηδρευμένον, αὐτίκα τὴν παρασκευὴν συνῆγε, καὶ Νίκανδρον τὸν πειρατὴν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐς τὴν Σάμον περιέπεμπε, κατὰ τὴν γῆν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Παυσιμάχου θορυβοποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν αὐτὸς ἐπέπλει, καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν ἐπέπιπτεν ἔτι κοιμωμένῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ κακῷ καὶ ἀδοκήτῳ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε, τὰς ναῦς ἐκλιπόντας, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. προσπεσόντος δ' ὄπισθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νικάνδρου, νομίσας καὶ τὴν γῆν προειλῆφθαι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωραμένων μόνων ἀλλ', ὡς ἐν νυκτί, πολὺ πλειόνων, πάλιν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐνέβαινε θορυβούμενος, πρῶτός τε ἐς μάχην ἀνήγετο, καὶ πρῶτος ἔπιπτε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐλήφθησαν οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντο. καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑπτὰ μέν αἱ τὸ πῦρ ἔφερον, οὐδενὸς αὐταῖς διὰ τὴν φλόγα προσιόντος ἔφυγον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἴκοσιν ὁ Πολυξενίδας ἀναδησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον κατήχθη.

25. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ νίκῃ Φώκαια αὖθις καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κύμη πρὸς Ἀντίοχον μετετίθεντο.

Pausimachus suspected the wily rascal and for a long time guarded against him carefully. But after Polyxenidas had written him an autograph letter on the subject of the betrayal and in accord therewith had actually sailed away from Ephesus and had pretended to send his army round to procure corn, Pausimachus, observing the movement and thinking that no one would put his own signature to a letter proposing a betrayal unless he were speaking the truth, felt entire confidence, relaxed his vigilance, and sent his own fleet away to procure corn. Polyxenidas, seeing that his stratagem was successful, at once reassembled his ships, and sent the pirate Nicander to Samos with a few men to create confusion by getting in the rear of Pausimachus on the land, and himself sailed at midnight, and about daybreak fell upon him while still asleep. Pausimachus, in this sudden and unexpected catastrophe, ordered his men to abandon their ships and defend themselves on land. But when Nicander attacked him in the rear he thought, as was natural in the darkness, that the land had been taken possession of not merely by those who were visible, but by a much larger number. So he made another confused rush for his ships. He was foremost in the encounter and the first to fall, fighting bravely. The rest were all captured or killed. Seven of the ships, which were provided with the fire-apparatus, escaped, as no one dared approach them for fear of conflagration. The remaining twenty Polyxenidas towed to Ephesus. CHAP V

25. Upon the news of this victory Phocaea again changed sides to Antiochus, as did also Samos and

CAP. V δείσας δ' ὁ Λίουιος περὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν, ἃς ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατελελοίπει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπανῄει. καὶ Εὐμένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠπείγετο, Ῥόδιοί τε Ῥωμαίοις ναῦς ἑτέρας εἴκοσιν ἔπεμπον. μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπόντες ἅπαντες ἀνεθάρρησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἔπλεον ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐσκευασμένοι. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς ἀντεπιπλέοντος, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἔστησαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ταῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν καταχθέντες ἐπόρθουν, μέχρι Νίκανδρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς μεσογείας ἐπιπεσὼν τήν τε λείαν ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς κατεδίωξεν.

26. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς Σάμον ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἔληγε Λιουίῳ τῆς ναυαρχίας· τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Εὐμένους γῆν ἐδῄου καὶ Περγάμῳ παρεκάθητο, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατακλείσας. ὅθεν ὁ Εὐμένης ἐς Ἐλαίαν, τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίνειον, διέπλει κατὰ σπουδήν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Ῥηγίλλος ὁ Λιουίου τὴν ναυαρχίαν παραδεδεγμένος. ἦκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Εὐμένει σύμμαχοι χίλιοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑκατὸν ἐπίλεκτοι, ὧν Διοφάνης ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδὼν τοὺς Σελευκείους παίζοντάς τε καὶ μεθύοντας ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, ἔπειθε τοὺς Περγαμηνοὺς ἑαυτῷ συνεκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐχ ὑφισταμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὥπλισε τοὺς ἰδίους χιλίους καὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππέας. καὶ προαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἔστησεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὑπερορώντων αὐτοὺς ἐς πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀλίγους τε καὶ οὐ τολμῶντας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀριστοποιου-

Cuma. Livius, fearing for his own ships, which he had left in Aeolis, returned to them in haste. Eumenes hurried to join him, and the Rhodians sent the Romans twenty new ships. In a short time they were all in good spirits again and sailed toward Ephesus prepared for another engagement. As no enemy appeared they divided their naval force into two parts, displaying one out at sea in a long line, while the other landed on the enemy's coast and ravaged it, until Nicander attacked them from the interior, took away their plunder, and drove them back to their ships. Then they withdrew to Samos, and Livius' term of office as admiral expired. CHAP. V

Fighting at Pergamus

26. About this time Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, ravaged the territory of Eumenes and laid siege to Pergamus, shutting up the soldiers in it. On account of this Eumenes sailed with haste to Elaea, the naval station of his kingdom, and with him L. Aemilius Regillus, the successor of Livius as admiral. One thousand foot-soldiers and 100 picked horse had also been sent by the Achaeans as allies to Eumenes. When their commander, Diophanes, from the wall saw the soldiers of Seleucus sporting and drinking in a contemptuous way, he urged the Pergameans to join him in a sally against the enemy. As they would not agree to this he armed his 1000 foot and his 100 horse, led them out of the city under the wall, and stood there quietly. The enemy derided him for a long time on account of the smallness of his force and because he did not dare to fight, but he fell upon them while they were taking

CAP. V

μένοις ἐπιδραμὼν ἐθορύβησέ τε καὶ ἐτρέψατο τοὺς προφύλακας, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀναπηδώντων, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περιχαλινούντων ἢ φεύγοντας διωκόντων ἢ δυσχερῶς ἀναβαινόντων οὐκ εὐσταθοῦντας, ἐκράτει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, ἐπιβοώντων ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τῶν Περγαμηνῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε προελθεῖν ὑφισταμένων. κτείνας δ' ὅσους ἐδύνατο ὡς ἐν ἐπιδείξει ταχείᾳ, καί τινας αἰχμαλώτους ἑλὼν ἄνδρας τε καὶ ἵππους, ἐπανῆει κατὰ σπουδήν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης αὖθις ἵστη τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Περγαμηνῶν αὐτῷ συνεξιόντων. Σέλευκος δ' ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς αὐτῷ προσεπέλαζε προκαλούμενος. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐπεξῄει, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἑστώς, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάσσετο· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σέλευκος παραμείνας ἐς μεσημβρίαν, καμνόντων οἱ ἤδη τῶν ἱππέων ἐπέστρεφε καὶ ἐπανῄει, τοῖς τελευταίοις αὐτοῦ ὁ Διοφάνης ἐπιθέμενος καὶ θορυβοποιήσας, καὶ βλάψας ὅσα καὶ τότε δυνατὸς ἦν, εὐθὺς ἐπανῆει πάλιν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον συνεχῶς ἔν τε χορτολογίαις καὶ ξυλείαις ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ἀεί τι ἐνοχλῶν ἀπό τε Περγάμου τὸν Σέλευκον ἀνέστησε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Εὐμένους χώρας ἐξήλασεν.

27. Πολυξενίδᾳ δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μετ' οὐ πολὺ γίγνεται ναυμαχία περὶ Μυόννησον, ἐς ἣν συνῆεσαν Πολυξενίδας μὲν ναυσὶν ἐνενήκοντα καταφράκτοις, Λεύκιος δ' ὁ Ῥωμαίων ναύαρχος ὀγδοήκοντα τρισί· τούτων ἦσαν ἐκ Ῥόδου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν. ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς Εὔδωρος ἐτέτακτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρως, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα Πολυξενίδαν πολὺ προύχοντα Ῥωμαίων, ἔδεισέ τε μὴ

their dinner, threw them into confusion, and put their advance guard to flight. While the others sprang for their arms, and tried to bridle their horses or to catch those that ran away or to mount those that would not stand, Diophanes won a most glorious victory, the Pergameans cheering vociferously from the walls, but even then not venturing out. Having killed as many as he could in this hurried exploit and taken a certain number of prisoners with their horses, he quickly returned. The following day he again stationed the Achaeans under the wall, the Pergameans again not going out with him. Seleucus approached him with a large body of horse and challenged him to battle, but Diophanes did not as yet accept the challenge. He kept his station close under the wall and watched his opportunity. But when Seleucus, having remained till midday, turned and led his tired horsemen back, Diophanes fell upon his rear and threw it into confusion, and after again doing all the damage he could, returned forthwith to his place under the wall. By continually lying in wait for the enemy in this way whenever they were collecting forage or wood, and always harassing them in some way or other, he compelled Seleucus to move away from Pergamus, and finally drove him out of Eumenes' territory altogether. CHAP. V

27. Not long afterward Polyxenidas and the Romans had a naval engagement near Myonnesus, in which the former had ninety decked ships, and Regillus, the Roman admiral, eighty-three, of which twenty-five were from Rhodes. The Rhodian commander, Eudorus, was stationed on the left wing, but seeing Polyxenidas on the other wing extending his line much beyond that of the Romans, and fearing Naval battle of Myonnesus

CAP. V κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ περιπλεύσας ὀξέως ἅτε κούφαις ναυσὶ καὶ ἐρέταις ἐμπείροις θαλάσσης, τὰς ναῦς τὰς πυρφόρους τῷ Πολυξενίδᾳ πρώτας ἐπῆγε, λαμπομένας τῷ πυρὶ πάντοθεν. οἱ δ' ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐτόλμων διὰ τὸ πῦρ, κύκλῳ δ' αὐτὰς περιπλέοντες ἐνέκλινόν τε καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπίμπλαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐτύπτοντο, μέχρι Ῥοδίας νεὼς ἐς Σιδονίαν ἐμβαλούσης, καὶ τῆς πληγῆς εὐτόνου γενομένης, ἄγκυρα ἐκπίπτουσα τῆς Σιδονίας ἐς τὴν Ῥοδίαν ἐπάγη τε καὶ συνέδησεν ἄμφω πρὸς ἀλλήλας, ὅθεν ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν ἀτρεμούντων τῶν σκαφῶν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ. καὶ προσιουσῶν ἄλλων ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἑκατέρᾳ πολλῶν, φιλονεικία τε παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἐγίγνετο λαμπρά, καὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν Ἀντιόχου νεῶν ἔρημον ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον αἱ Ῥωμαίων νῆες διέπλεον, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντας ἐκύκλουν, ὡς δ' ἔμαθόν ποτε, ἐγίγνετο φυγὴ καὶ τροπή, καὶ διεφθάρησαν Ἀντιόχου νῆες μιᾶς δέουσαι τριάκοντα, ὧν τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν. Ῥωμαίων δ' ἀπώλοντο μόναι δύο. καὶ ὁ Πολυξενίδας τὴν Ῥοδίαν ναῦν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον κατήχθη.

VI

CAP. VI 28. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὴν Μυόννησον ἦν τέλος· οὔπω δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀντίοχος αἰσθόμενος Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐπι-

lest it should be surrounded, he sailed rapidly around there with his swift ships and experienced oarsmen, and first brought his fire-ships against Polyxenidas, scattering flames everywhere. The ships of the latter did not dare to ram their assailants on account of the fire, but, sailing round and round, tried to keep out of the way, shipped much water, and were constantly struck on their catheads.[1] Finally a Rhodian ship rammed a Sidonian, and the blow being severe the anchor of the latter was dislodged and stuck in the former, fastening them together. The two ships being immovable the contest between the crews became like a land fight. As many others hastened to the aid of each, the rivalry on both sides became spirited, and the Roman ships broke through the middle of Antiochus' line, which was weakened in this way, and surrounded the enemy before they knew it. When they discovered it there was a flight and a pursuit. Twenty-nine of Antiochus' ships were lost, thirteen of which were captured with their crews. The Romans lost only two vessels. Polyxenidas captured the Rhodian ship and brought it to Ephesus. CHAP. V

VI

28. Such was the result of the naval engagement at Myonnesus. Before Antiochus heard of it he was fortifying the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with CHAP. VI

[1] Beams running across the bows, and projecting on either side like ears; used originally for letting down the anchors, and occasionally strengthened against ramming. (Thucydides, vii. 34, 36.)

CAP. VI μελῶς ὠχύρου, μέγα, ὥσπερ ἦν, τὸ ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ δυσόδευτον αὐτοῖς ἂν ἐγένετο καὶ δύσβατον, εἰ μὴ Φίλιππος διέφερεν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὢν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κουφόνους ἀεὶ καὶ ταχὺς ἐς μεταβολήν, ἐπεὶ τῆς ἥσσης ἐπύθετο τῆς περὶ Μυόννησον, πάμπαν ἐξεπλάγη, νομίσας αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιβουλεύειν· παρὰ γὰρ λόγον ἕκαστα χωρεῖν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κρατούντων, ἐν ᾗ πολὺ προύχειν αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζε, Ῥοδίων δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐς Παμφυλίαν κατακεκλεικότων, Φιλίππου δὲ Ῥωμαίους παραπέμποντος ἀβάτους ὁδούς, ὧν μάλιστα μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπαθεν ὑπελάμβανεν. ὑπὸ δὴ τῶνδε πάντων ἐκταρασσόμενός τε, καὶ θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοὺς λογισμούς, ὅπερ ἅπασι προσιόντων ἀτυχημάτων ἐπιγίγνεται, Χερρόνησον ἐξέλιπεν ἀλογίστως, πρὶν καὶ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὔτε μετενεγκὼν ὅσος ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ σῖτος σεσωρευμένος πολὺς ἢ ὅπλα ἢ χρήματα ἢ μηχαναί, οὔτε ἐμπρήσας, ἀλλ' ὑγιεῖς ἀφορμὰς τοσάσδε τοῖς πολεμίοις καταλιπών. Λυσιμαχέας τε αὐτῷ καθάπερ ἐκ πολιορκίας συμφεύγοντας μετ' οἰμωγῆς, ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδίοις, ὑπερεώρα, μόνου τοῦ διάπλου τοῦ περὶ Ἄβυδον εἴρξαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπινοῶν, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἔτι ἐλπίδα τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐν τούτῳ τιθέμενος. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἠπείχθη ἐπανελθεῖν, φθάνων τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέ τινα φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ κατέλιπεν.

29. Οἱ δὲ Σκιπίωνες ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως

the greatest care, thinking, as was the fact, that this was very important as a defence against the Romans, who would have found it very difficult to march through even the rest of Thrace, if Philip had not conducted them. But Antiochus, who was generally light minded and unstable, when he heard of his defeat at Myonnesus was completely panic-stricken, and thought that fate was conspiring against him. Everything had turned out contrary to his expectations. The Romans had beaten him on the sea, where he thought he was much superior; the Rhodians had shut Hannibal up in Pamphylia; Philip was helping the Romans over impassable roads, whereas Antiochus supposed that he would have a lively remembrance of what he had suffered from them. Everything unnerved him, and the deity began to destroy his reasoning powers (as is always the case when misfortunes multiply), so that he abandoned the Chersonesus without cause, even before the enemy came in sight, neither carrying away nor burning the great stores which he had collected there of grain, arms, money, and engines, but leaving all these sinews of war in good condition for the enemy. He paid no attention to the Lysimacheans who, as though after a siege, accompanied him in his flight with lamentations, together with their wives and children. He was intent only upon preventing the enemy from crossing at Abydus and rested his last hope of success wholly on that. Yet he was so infatuated by heaven that he did not even defend the crossing, but hastened to reach the interior in advance of the enemy, not even leaving a guard at the straits.

CHAP. VI

Consternation of Antiochus

29. When the Scipios learned of his retreat they

CAP. VI αὐτοῦ ἐπύθοντο, Λυσιμάχειάν τε δρόμῳ κατέλαβον, καὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ θησαυρῶν τε καὶ ὅπλων κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔρημον ὄντα φυλακῆς εὐθὺς ἐπέρων μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἔφθασάν τε Ἀντίοχον ἔτι ἀγνοοῦντα ἐν Σάρδεσι γενόμενοι. ὁ δ' ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐβαρυθύμει, καὶ τὰ ἴδια αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτήματα ἐς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνατιθεὶς Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Βυζάντιον ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ἐπὶ διαλύσεσι τοῦ πολέμου, Σμύρναν τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὐτοῖς διδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ καὶ Λάμψακον, δι' ἃς ἦρξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δαπάνης τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου. ἐνετέλλετο δέ, εἰ δέοι, καὶ τῶν Ἰάδων πόλεων δοῦναι καὶ τῶν Αἰολίδων ὅσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι εἵλοντο, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο αἰτοίεν οἱ Σκιπίωνες. ταῦτα μὲν εἶχεν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λέγειν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς Πόπλιον Σκιπίωνα ἔφερε παρ' Ἀντιόχου χρημάτων τε πολλῶν ὑποσχέσεις καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀφέσεις. ῥήτει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὁ Ἀντίοχος, ἐς Δηματριάδα ἐκ Χαλκίδος διαπλέοντα· καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς Σκιπίων ὁ Καρχηδόνα ὕστερον ἑλών τε καὶ κατασκάψας, καὶ δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Σκιπίωνι Ἀφρικανὸς ὀνομασθείς, Παύλου μὲν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνα ἑλόντος, Σκιπίωνος δὲ τῷ γένει θυγατριδοῦς καὶ θέσει παῖς. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκιπίωνες τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ τήνδε ἔδοσαν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐὰν ὁ Ἀντίοχος εἰρήνης δέηται, μὴ τῶν Ἰάδων μηδὲ τῶν Αἰολίδων αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι πόλεων, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε Ταύρου, καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦ πολέμου πᾶσαν ἐσενεγκεῖν, δι'

took Lysimacheia at a single blow,[1] possessed themselves of the treasure and arms in the Chersonesus, crossed the unguarded Hellespont in haste and arrived at Sardis before Antiochus, who did not yet know that they had crossed. The panic-stricken and dispirited king, charging his own faults to the score of fortune, sent Heraclides the Byzantine to the Scipios to treat for peace. He offered to give them Smyrna, Alexandria on the Granicus, and Lampsacus, on account of which cities the war had been begun, and to pay them half the cost of the war. He was authorized if necessary to surrender the Ionian and Aeolian cities which had sided with the Romans in the fight and whatever else the Scipios might ask. These things Heraclides was to propose publicly. Privately he was authorized to promise Publius Scipio a large sum of money and the release of his son, whom the king had taken prisoner in Greece as he was sailing from Chalcis to Demetrias. This son was the Scipio who afterwards took and destroyed Carthage, and was the second to bear the name of Scipio Africanus. He was the son of Paulus, who conquered Perseus, king of Macedon, and of Scipio's daughter, and had been adopted by Scipio. The Scipios jointly gave this answer to Heraclides, "If Antiochus wishes peace he must surrender, not only the cities of Ionia and Aeolia, but all of Asia this side of Mount Taurus, and pay the whole cost of the war incurred

CHAP. VI

He sends proposals to the Scipios

[1] Literally "at a run."

CAP. VI αὐτὸν γενομένου. ἰδιᾳ δὲ ὁ Πόπλιος ἔφη τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μὲν ἔτι Χερρονήσου καὶ Λυσιμαχείας κρατῶν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ταῦτα προύτεινεν, ἀσμένως ἂν λαβεῖν· τάχα δ' εἰ καὶ μόνον ἔτι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσε· νῦν δ' αὐτοὺς ἤδη περάσαντάς τε καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους, καὶ τὸν χαλινόν, φασίν, ἐνθέντας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸν ἵππον ἀναβάντας, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι διαλύσεων ἐπ' ὀλίγοις. αὐτὸς δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς προαιρέσεως, καὶ μᾶλλον εὔσεσθαι λαβὼν τὸν υἱόν· ἀμείβεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη, καὶ συμβουλεύειν δέχεσθαι τὰ προτεινόμενα πρὶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν μειζόνων ἐπιταγμάτων.

30. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Πόπλιος ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐς Ἐλαίαν νοσηλευόμενος ὑπεχώρει, σύμβουλον τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γναῖον Δομίτιον καταλιπών· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος, οἷόν τι καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακέδων, οἰηθεὶς τῶνδε τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων πλέον οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφαιρήσεσθαι, συνέτασσε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ Σκιπίωνι τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέπεμπεν ἐς Ἐλαίαν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἄγουσι συνεβούλευε μὴ μάχεσθαι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθοι. καὶ τῷδε πεισθεὶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος μετεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σίπυλον, τεῖχός τε καρτερὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιετείχιζε, καὶ τὸν Φρύγιον ποταμὸν ἐν προβολῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτίθετο, ἵνα μηδ' ἄκων ἀναγκάζοιτο πολεμεῖν. Δομίτιος δὲ φιλοτιμούμενος τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κριθῆναι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρα μάλα θρασέως, καὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἀπ' Ἀντιόχου διασχὼν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. τέσσαρσί τε ἡμέραις ἐφεξῆς ἐξέτασσον ἑκάτεροι παρὰ τὸν χάρακα τὸν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ μάχης οὐ κατῆρχον. τῇ πέμπτῃ

on his account." Privately Publius said to Heraclides, "If Antiochus had offered these conditions while he still held the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia they would have been gladly accepted ; possibly also if he were merely still guarding the passage of the Hellespont. But now that we have crossed in safety and have not merely bridled the horse (as the saying is), but mounted him, we cannot consent to such light conditions. Personally I am grateful to the king for his proposal and shall be still more so after receiving my son. I repay him now with advice, that he accept the terms offered instead of risking severer conditions." CHAP. VI

30. After this conference Publius was taken sick and withdrew to Elaea, leaving Gnaeus Domitius as his brother's counsellor. Antiochus thinking, as Philip of Macedon did, that nothing worse than these terms could befall him if he were vanquished in war, drew his forces together near the plain of Thyatira not far from the enemy, and sent Scipio's son to him at Elaea. Scipio advised those who brought his son that Antiochus should not fight until he himself should return to the army. Antiochus, acting on this advice, transferred his camp to Mount Sipylus and fortified it with a strong wall. He also interposed the river Phrygius between himself and the enemy, so that he should not be compelled to fight against his will. Domitius, however, was ambitious to decide the war himself. So he boldly crossed the river and established a camp at a distance of twenty stades from Antiochus. Four days in succession they both drew up their forces in front of their own fortifications, but neither of them began a

Both armies prepare for battle

CAP. VI δὲ ὁ Δομίτιος ἐξέτασσεν αὖθις καὶ ἐπέβαινε σοβαρῶς. οὐκ ἀντεπιόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, τότε μὲν ἐγγυτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευσε, μίαν δὲ ἄλλην διαλιπὼν ἐκήρυσσεν ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν πολεμίων ἐς αὔριον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ ἄκοντι πολεμήσειν. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς αὖθις μεθίει τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἑστάναι μόνον ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἢ καλῶς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπομάχεσθαι μέχρι ῥαΐσειεν ὁ Πόπλιος, αἰσχρὸν ἡγεῖτο μετὰ πλειόνων φυγομαχεῖν· ὅθεν ἐς μάχην παρέτασσεν.

31. Καὶ ἐξῆγον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἄμφω περὶ ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, διεκόσμει δ' αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ὧδε. τὸ μὲν λαιὸν εἶχον ὁπλῖται Ῥωμαίων μύριοι, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτόν· καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν Ἰταλῶν ἕτεροι μύριοι, τρεῖς ἑκατέρων τάξεις ἐπὶ βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς ὁ Εὐμένους στρατὸς ἐτάσσετο, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πελτασταὶ περὶ τρισχιλίους. ὧδε μὲν εἶχε τὸ λαιόν, τὸ δεξιὸν δ' ἦν ἱππεῖς, οἵ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν καὶ Εὐμένους, οὐ πλείους οὐδ' οὗτοι τρισχιλίων. ἀνεμεμίχατο δ' ἄπασι ψιλοί τε καὶ τοξόται πολλοί, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δομίτιον αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἱππέων ἴλαι τέσσαρες. οὕτω μὲν ἐγίγνοντο πάντες ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἐπεστάτει δὲ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Δομίτιος αὐτός, καὶ ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἵστη τὸν ὕπατον, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἔδωκεν Εὐμένει. τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων, οὓς εἶχεν ἐκ Λιβύης, οὐδένα νομίζων ἔσεσθαι χρήσιμον ὀλιγωτέρων τε ὄντων καὶ βραχυτέρων οἷα Λιβύων (δεδίασι δ' οἱ σμικρότεροι τοὺς μείζονας), ἔστησεν ὀπίσω πάντας.

battle. On the fifth day Domitius did the same again and haughtily advanced. As Antiochus did not meet him he moved his camp nearer. After an interval of one day he announced by herald in the hearing of the enemy that he would fight Antiochus on the following day whether he was willing or not. The latter was perplexed and again changed his mind. Although he might have merely made a stand under the wall, or repelled the enemy from it with success, till Scipio should regain his health, he now thought that with superior numbers it would be disgraceful to decline an engagement. So he prepared for battle. CHAP. VI

31. Both marched out about the last watch, just before daylight. The ordering of the troops on either side was as follows. The Roman legionaries, to the number of 10,000, formed the left wing resting on the river. Behind these were 10,000 Italian allies, and both these divisions were in triple line of battle. Behind the Italians came the army of Eumenes and about 3000 Achaean peltasts. This was the formation of the left, while on the right wing were the Roman and Italian cavalry and those of Eumenes, not more than 3000 in all. Mingled with all these were light-armed troops and bowmen, and around Domitius himself were four troops of horse. Altogether they were about 30,000 strong. Domitius took his station on the right wing and placed the consul himself in the centre. He gave the command of the left wing to Eumenes. Considering his African elephants of no use, being few in number and of small size, as those of Africa usually are (and the small ones are afraid of the larger), he placed them all in the rear. 32. Such was the Roman line of battle. The Roman formation

CAP VI 32. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ διετετάχατο Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἀντιόχῳ δ' ἦν μὲν ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἑπτακισμύριοι, καὶ τούτων τὸ κράτιστον ἦν ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδόνων, ἄνδρες ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, ἐς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου τρόπον ἔτι κοσμούμενοι· ἵστη δ' αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ, διελὼν ἀνὰ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐς δέκα μέρη, καὶ τούτων ἑκάστου μέρους ἦσαν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ μετώπου πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες, ἐς δὲ τὸ βάθος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ πλευρὰ ἑκάστου μέρους ἐλέφαντες δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν. ἡ δ' ὄψις ἦν τῆς μὲν φάλαγγος οἷα τείχους, τῶν δ' ἐλεφάντων οἷον πύργων. τοιοῦτον μὲν ἦν τὸ πεζὸν Ἀντιόχῳ, ἱππεῖς δ' ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ παρετετάχατο Γαλάται τε κατάφρακτοι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἄγημα τῶν Μακεδόνων. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἵδε ἱππεῖς ἐπίλεκτοι, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἄγημα λέγεται. τάδε μὲν ἔξ ἴσου τῆς φάλαγγος ἦν ἑκατέρωθεν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ κέρατα κατεῖχον ἐν μὲν δεξιᾷ ψιλοί τέ τινες καὶ ἕτεροι ἱππεῖς ἀργυράσπιδες καὶ ἱπποτοξόται διακόσιοι, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Γαλατῶν τ' ἔθνη, Τεκτοσάγαι τε καὶ Τρόκμοι καὶ Τολιστόβοιοι, καὶ Καππαδόκαι τινὲς οὓς ἔπεμψεν Ἀριαράθης, καὶ μιγάδες ἄλλοι ξένοι, κατάφρακτός τε ἵππος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἑτέρα, καὶ ἦν ἑκάλουν ἵππον ἑταιρικήν, ὡπλισμένη κούφως. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐξέτασσεν. καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν ἐλπίδα λαβεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, οὓς πολλοὺς ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, τὴν δὲ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν ἐς ὀλίγον συναγαγεῖν ἀπειροπολεμος, ᾗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔδει θαρρεῖν πάνυ ἠσκημένῃ. πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν λιθοβόλων τε καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκον-

The total force of Antiochus was 70,000 and the strongest body of these was the Macedonian phalanx of 16,000 men, still arrayed after the fashion of Alexander and Philip. These were placed in the centre, divided into ten sections of 1600 men each, with fifty men in the front line of each section and thirty-two deep. On the flanks of each section were twenty-two elephants. The appearance of the phalanx was like that of a wall, of which the elephants were the towers. Such was the arrangement of the infantry of Antiochus. His horse were stationed on either wing, consisting of the mail-clad Galatians and the Macedonian corps called the Agema,[1] so named because they were picked horsemen. An equal number of these were stationed on either side of the phalanx. Besides these the right wing had certain light-armed troops, and other horsemen with silver shields, and 200 mounted archers. On the left were the Galatian bands of the Tectosagae, the Trocmi, the Tolistoboii, and certain Cappadocians furnished by King Ariarathes, and a mingling of other tribes. There was also another body of mailed horse, and a detachment known as the Companion cavalry, which was light-armed. In this way Antiochus drew up his forces. He seems to have placed most reliance on his cavalry, whom he stationed in large numbers on his front, while the phalanx, in which he should have placed most confidence on account of its high state of discipline, was crowded together unskilfully in a narrow space. Besides the forces enumerated there was a great multitude of stone-

CHAP. VI

[1] Appian seems to derive this word, probably wrongly, from ἀγητός, "admirable."

CAP. VI τιστῶν καὶ πελταστῶν, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ Πισιδῶν Κρητῶν τε καὶ Τραλλιανῶν καὶ Κιλίκων ἐς τὸν Κρητῶν τρόπον ἐσκευασμένων. ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἕτεροι, Δᾶαι καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Ἑλυμαῖοι καὶ Ἄραβες, οἳ καμήλους ὀξυτάτας ἐπικαθήμενοι τοξεύουσί τε εὐμαρῶς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ μαχαίραις, ὅτε πλησιάζοιεν, ἐπιμήκεσι καὶ στεναῖς χρῶνται. δρεπανηφόρα τε ἅρματα ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ, προπολεμεῖν τοῦ μετώπου, ἐτετάχατο· καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς μετὰ τὴν πρώτην πεῖραν ὑποχωρεῖν.

33. Ὄψις τε ἦν ὥσπερ δύο στρατῶν, τοῦ μὲν ἀρχομένου πολεμεῖν, τοῦ δ' ἐφεδρεύοντος· ἑκάτερος δ' αὐτῶν ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐσκεύαστο δεινῶς πλήθει τε καὶ κόσμῳ. ἐφειστήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν δεξιοῖς ἱππεῦσιν Ἀντίοχος αὐτός, τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου, τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι Φίλιππος ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης καὶ τοῖς προμάχοις Μύνδις τε καὶ Ζεῦξις. ἀχλυώδους δὲ καὶ ζοφερᾶς τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης, ἥ τε ὄψις ἔσβεστο τῆς ἐπιδείξεως, καὶ τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἀμβλύτερα ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀέρι ὑγρῷ καὶ σκοτεινῷ. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ κατεῖδεν Εὐμένης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνησε, τὴν δὲ ῥύμην τῶν ἁρμάτων τεταγμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα δείσας, ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ σφενδονῆται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ ἕτεροι κοῦφοι, συναγαγὼν προσέταξε, τὰ ἅρματα περιθέοντας, ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἀκοντίζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν· ἵππου γὰρ ἐν ἅρματι ζυγομαχοῦντος ἀχρεῖον τὸ λοιπὸν ἅρμα γίγνεται, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐταξίας παραλύεται, τὰ δρέπανα τῶν φιλίων δεδιότων. ὃ καὶ τότε συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι· πληγέντων γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἀθρόως, καὶ τὰ

throwers, archers, javelin-throwers, and peltasts from Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Crete, Tralles, and Cilicia, armed after the Cretan fashion. There were also other mounted archers from the Dahae, Mysia, Elymaïs, and Arabia, who, riding on swift camels, shoot arrows with dexterity from their high position, and use very long thin knives when they come to close combat. Antiochus also placed scythe-bearing chariots in the space between the armies to begin the battle, with orders to retire after the first onset. CHAP. VI

33. The appearance of his formation was like that of two armies, one to begin the fight, the other held in reserve. Each was arranged in a way to strike terror into the enemy both by numbers and equipment. Antiochus commanded the horse on the right wing in person; his son Seleucus commanded the left. Philip, the master of the elephants, commanded the phalanx, and Mendis and Zeuxis those who were to begin the battle. The day was dark and gloomy so that the sight of the display was obscured and the aim of the missiles of all kinds impaired by the misty and murky atmosphere. When Eumenes perceived this he disregarded the remainder of the enemy's force, and fearing only the onset of the scythe-bearing chariots, which were mostly ranged against him, he collected the slingers, archers, and other light-armed troops under his command, and ordered them to circle around the chariots and aim at the horses, instead of the drivers; for when a horse drawing a chariot becomes unmanageable, the chariot is of no more use, and also considerably impairs the order of the rest of the army, who are afraid of the scythes of their own side. So it turned out then. The horses being wounded in B.C. 190 Battle of Magnesia

CAP. VI

ἅρματα ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιφερόντων, αἵ τε κάμηλοι πρῶται τῆς ἀταξίας ἠσθάνοντο, πλησίον τοῖς ἅρμασι παρατεταγμέναι, καὶ μετὰ ταύτας ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οὐ ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους τὰ δρέπανα ἐκφεύγειν δυναμένη. θόρυβός τε ἦν ἤδη πολὺς καὶ τάραχος ποικίλος, ἀρξάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶνδε μάλιστα, χωρῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ὅλον τὸ μεταίχμιον, καὶ μείζων ὑπόνοια τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· ὡς γὰρ ἐν διαστήματι μακρῷ καὶ πλήθει πυκνῷ καὶ βοῇ ποικίλῃ καὶ φόβῳ πολλῷ, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγχοῦ τῶν πασχόντων καταληπτὸν ἦν, τὴν δὲ ὑπόνοιαν μειζόνως ἐς τοὺς ἑξῆς ἕκαστοι μετέφερον.

34. Ὁ δ' Εὐμένης, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ μεταίχμιον, ὅσον αἵ τε κάμηλοι καὶ τὰ ἅρματα ἐπεῖχεν, ἐγεγύμνωτο, τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππέας, καὶ ὅσοι Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰταλῶν παρετετάχατο, ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντικρὺ Γαλάτας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σύνοδον τῶν ξένων, μέγα κεκραγὼς καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ἀπείρους τε μάχης καὶ γεγυμνωμένους τῶν προπολεμούντων. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, καὶ βαρείας σφῶν τῆς ἐμβολῆς γενομένης τρέπονται τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς παρεζευγμένους αὐτοῖς ἱππέας τε καὶ καταφράκτους, ἐκ πολλοῦ ταρασσομένους διὰ τὰ ἅρματα· οὓς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα, διὰ τὸ βάρος ὑποφεύγειν ἢ ἀναστρέφειν εὐμαρῶς οὐ δυναμένους, κατελάμβανόν τε καὶ συνέκοπτον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὸ λαιὸν τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων· ἐν δεξιᾷ δέ, ἧπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐτέτακτο, διακόψας τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων φάλαγγος ἀπέσπασεν ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκων.

great numbers charged with their chariots upon their own ranks. The camels were thrown into disorder first as they were next in line to the chariots, and after them the mail-clad horse, who could not easily avoid the scythes on account of the weight of their armour. Great now was the tumult and various the disorder started chiefly by these runaways and spreading along the whole field, the apprehension being even worse than the fact. For on that extensive and crowded battlefield, in the midst of confused cries and utter panic, the truth was not clearly grasped even by those near the danger, and each transmitted the alarm constantly magnified to those next them.

34. Eumenes, having succeeded admirably in his first attempt and cleared the ground held by the camels and chariots, led his own horse and those of the Romans and Italians in his division against the Galatians, the Cappadocians, and the other contingent of mercenaries opposed to him, cheering loudly and exhorting them to have no fear of these inexperienced men who had been deprived of their advance supports. They obeyed him and made so heavy a charge that they put to flight not only those, but the adjoining squadrons and the mail-clad horse, who had long ago been thrown into disorder by the chariots. These horsemen especially, unable to turn and fly quickly, on account of the weight of their armour, were overtaken and killed. While this was the state of affairs on the left of the Macedonian phalanx, Antiochus, on the right, broke through the Roman line of battle, divided it, and pursued it for a long distance.

CAP. VI 35. Καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τεταγμένη μέν, ὡς μεθ' ἱππέων, ἐπὶ στενοῦ τε καὶ τετραγώνου, γεγυμνωμένη δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἑκατέρωθεν, τοὺς μὲν ψιλοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου σφῶν ἔτι προπολεμοῦντας διαστᾶσα ἐς αὑτὴν ἐδέξατο καὶ πάλιν συνῆει, Δομιτίου δ' αὐτὴν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς εὐμαρῶς, οἷα πλινθίον πυκνόν, κυκλώσαντος, οὔτ' ἐκδραμεῖν ἔτι ἔχουσα οὔτ' ἐξελίξαι βάθος οὕτω πολύ, μάλα καρτερῶς ἐκακοπάθει. καὶ ἠγανάκτουν αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἔτι χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις εὔβλητοι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖς πανταχόθεν ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ τὰς σαρίσσας ἐκ τετραγώνου προβαλλόμενοι πυκνὰς προὐκαλοῦντο Ῥωμαίους ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, καὶ δόξαν ἐπιβαινόντων ἀεὶ παρεῖχον. οὐ μὴν τι προεπῄδων, πεζοί τε καὶ βαρεῖς ὄντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ ἵππων ὁρῶντες, μάλιστα δὲ ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς τάξεως πυκνὸν ἐκλύσειαν· μετατάξασθαι γὰρ ἑτέρως οὐκ ἔφθανον. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς οὐ προσεπέλαζον μέν, οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἦεσαν, δεδιότες ἀνδρῶν ἠσκημένων ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ πυκνότητα καὶ ἀπόγνωσιν, περιθέοντες δὲ ἐσηκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐσετόξευον. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἀχρεῖον ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλῶν συνεστώτων. οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οὔτε ἐκκλῖναι τὰ βαλλόμενα οὔτε φερομένοις διαστῆναι. ὅθεν ἤδη πολλὰ κάμνοντες ἐνεδίδοσαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας, καὶ βάδην ὑπεχώρουν σὺν ἀπειλῇ, πάνυ εὐσταθῶς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφόβως· οὐδὲ γὰρ τότε προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ περιθέοντες ἔβλαπτον, μέχρι, τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐν τῇ Μακεδόνων φαλαγγι συνταραχθέντων

The Macedonian phalanx broken

35. The Macedonian phalanx had been drawn up in a close rectangle, as it was flanked by horse, but, when denuded of cavalry on either side, had opened to receive the light-armed troops, who had been skirmishing in front, and closed again. Thus crowded together in a rectangle, Domitius easily enclosed them with his numerous cavalry and light-armed troops. Having no longer opportunity either to charge or to deploy their dense mass they began to suffer severely; and they were indignant that they were themselves unable to adopt their accustomed tactics, while they were exposed on all sides to the weapons of the enemy. Nevertheless, they presented their thick-set pikes on all four sides. They challenged the Romans to close combat and preserved at all times the appearance of being about to charge. Yet they did not advance, because they were foot-soldiers and heavily armed, and saw that the enemy were mounted. Most of all they feared to relax their close formation, which they had not time to change. The Romans did not come to close quarters nor approach them because they feared the discipline, the solidity, and the desperation of this veteran corps; but circled around them and assailed them with javelins and arrows, none of which missed their mark in the dense mass, who could neither turn the missiles aside nor open ranks and avoid them. After suffering severely in this way they yielded to necessity, and fell back step by step, with threats, in perfect order and still formidable to the Romans, who even then did not venture to close with them, but continued to circle around and wound them, until the elephants inside the Mace-

CAP. VI τε καὶ οὐχ ὑπακουόντων ἔτι τοῖς ἐπιβάταις, ὁ κόσμος ὁ τῆς φυγῆς συνεχεῖτο.

36. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ Δομίτιος ἐκράτει, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φθάσας ἐβιάζετο τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ φυλάσσοντας· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἐς πολὺ διώκων παρ' οὓς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς φάλαγγος ἐτέτακτο, οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ἐκείνοις ἱππέων ἢ ψιλοῦ παρόντος ἐς ἐπικουρίαν (οὐ γὰρ παρετετάχει Δομίτιος, ἡγούμενος οὐ δεήσεσθαι διὰ τὸν ποταμόν), μέχρι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων χάρακος ἦλθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὅ τε χιλίαρχος ὁ τοῦ χάρακος φύλαξ, ἀκμῆσι τοῖς φύλαξιν ὑπαντιάσας, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες τοῖς ἀναμιχθεῖσι θαρροῦντες ἐπεστρέφοντο, ἐπαυήει σοβαρὸς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ὡς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πεπυσμένος. Ἄτταλος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ Εὐμένους ἀδελφός, ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάζει. καὶ τούσδε μὲν εὐμαρῶς ὁ Ἀντίοχος διακόψας διέβραμε, καὶ παρατρεχόντων ἔτι καὶ μικρὰ λυπούντων οὐκ ἐφρόντιζεν· ὡς δὲ κατεῖδε τὴν ἧτταν καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἅπαν νεκρῶν ἰδίων πλῆρες, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων, τό τε στρατόπεδον εἰλημμένον ἤδη κατὰ κράτος, τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔφυγεν ἀμεταστρεπτί, καὶ μέχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἐς Σάρδεις παρῆλθεν. παρῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐς Κελαινάς, ἣν Ἀπάμειαν καλοῦσιν, οἳ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπυνθάνετο συμφυγεῖν. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἐς Συρίαν ἐκ Κελαινῶν ἀνεζεύγνυ, τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐν Κελαιναῖς καταλιπὼν ὑποδέχεσθαί τε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς διαφυγόντας. περι τε καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου πρέσβεις ἔπεμπε πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον. ὁ δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἔθαπτε, καὶ ἐσκύλευε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα συνῆγεν. ἐφάν-

donian phalanx became excited and unmanageable. Then the phalanx broke into disorderly flight. CHAP. VI

36. After he had gained this success, Domitius hastened to the camp of Antiochus and overpowered the forces guarding it. In the meantime Antiochus, after pursuing for a long distance that part of the Roman legionaries opposed to him, who also were unsupported either by cavalry or by light-armed troops (for Domitius, thinking that the river afforded sufficient protection, had not provided any) came to the Roman camp. But a military tribune, the prefect of the camp, hastened to meet him with his fresh troops and checked his advance, and the fugitives took new courage from their comrades and rallied. The king returned proudly as one who had gained a victory, knowing nothing of what had taken place on the other wing. When Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, with a large body of horse, threw himself in his way, Antiochus easily cut through them, disregarding the enemy, who moved parallel to him and did a little damage. But when he discovered his defeat and saw the field of battle strewn with the bodies of his own men, horses, and elephants, and his camp already captured, he fled precipitately, arriving at Sardis about midnight. From Sardis he went to the town Celaenae, which they call Apamea, whither he had been informed that his son had fled. On the following day he retreated to Syria, leaving his officers in Celaenae to collect the remains of his army. He also sent ambassadors to the consul to treat for peace. The latter was engaged in burying his own dead, stripping those of the enemy, and collecting

Total defeat of Antiochus

CAP. VI

ησαν δὲ νεκροὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ πεζοὶ τριακόσιοι μάλιστα, οὓς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἔκτεινεν, Εὐμένους δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα ἱππεῖς μόνοι. Ἀντιόχου δέ, σὺν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις εἰκάζοντο ἀπολέσθαι περὶ πεντακισμυρίους· οὐ γὰρ εὐμαρὲς ἦν ἀριθμῆσαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ μὲν ἀνῄρηντο, πεντεκαίδεκα δ' αἰχμάλωτοι ἐγεγένητο.

VII

CAP. VII

37. Ὡς δ' ἐπὶ νίκῃ λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ παραλόγως τισὶ δοκούσῃ γενέσθαι (οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐνόμιζον ὀλιγωτέρους πολὺ πλειόνων ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ παρὰ τοσόνδε κρατῆσαι, καὶ μάλιστα φάλαγγος Μακεδόνων, εὖ γεγυμνασμένης καὶ εὐανδρούσης τότε μάλιστα, καὶ δόξαν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ φοβερὰν ἐχούσης), οἱ μὲν Ἀντιόχου φίλοι τὴν προπέτειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους διαφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπειρίαν τε καὶ ἀβουλίαν ἐπεμέμφοντο, Χερρόνησόν τε καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τοσῇδε παρασκευῇ μεθέντος ἐκ χειρῶν πρὶν καὶ ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυλακὴν ἐκλιπόντος, Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ἂν εὐμαρῶς ἐλπισάντων βιάσασθαι τὴν διάβασιν. κατεμέμφοντο δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀφροσύνην, ἀχρεῖον ἐν στενῷ τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στρατοῦ πεποιηκότος, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα θεμένου ἐν πλήθει συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν ἀρτιπολέμων μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἀνδράσι διὰ μελέτην καὶ χρόνον ἐργάταις τε οὖσι πολέμου καὶ ἐκ τοσῶνδε πολέμων τὸ φρόνημα ἐς εὐτολμίαν καὶ θάρσος ἠὐξημένοις.

prisoners. Of the Roman dead there were found twenty-four horsemen and about 300 foot-soldiers from Rome, being mostly those whom Antiochus had slain. Eumenes lost only fifteen of his horse. The loss of Antiochus, including prisoners, was conjectured to be 50,000; for it was not easy to number them on account of their multitude. Some of his elephants were killed and fifteen were captured.

VII

37. After this brilliant, and to many people surprising victory (for it did not seem at all likely that the smaller force, fighting in a strange land, would overcome a much larger one so completely, and especially the Macedonian phalanx which was then in a high state of discipline and valour, and had the reputation of being formidable and invincible), the friends of Antiochus began to blame him for his rashness in quarrelling with the Romans and for his want of skill and his bad judgment from the beginning. They blamed him for giving up the Chersonesus and Lysimacheia with their arms and war material without even coming to blows with the enemy, and for leaving the Hellespont unguarded, seeing that the Romans could not have hoped to force a passage easily. They accused him of his latest blunder in rendering the strongest part of his army useless by its cramped position, and for putting his reliance on a promiscuous multitude of raw recruits rather than on men who had become by long training professional fighters, and whose spirit had been hardened and emboldened by many wars.

Antiochus sues for peace

CAP. VII τοιαῦτα μὲν ἦν τὰ περὶ Ἀντιόχου λογοποιούμενα. Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἐπῆρτο τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δυσεργὲς ὑπό τε ἀρετῆς καὶ θεῶν ἐπικουρίας· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς δόξαν εὐτυχίας ἔφερεν ὅτι οὕτω γε ὀλίγοι τε πολλῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ ἐν πρώτῃ μάχῃ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ παρασκευῆς βασιλικῆς, καὶ μισθοφόρων ἀρετῆς, καὶ δόξης Μακεδόνων, καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ μεγίστην τε ἀρχὴν κεκτημένου καὶ ἐπίκλησιν μεγάλου, κεκρατηκότες ἦσαν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ. πολύ τε σφίσιν ἦν τὸ ἔπος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, "ἦν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ὁ μέγας."

38. Τοιάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ σφῶν ἐμεγαλαύχουν· ὁ δὲ ὕπατος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ῥαΐσας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πόπλιος ἦλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλαίας, ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεσιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ μαθεῖν ἠξίουν ὅ τι ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος ἔσται Ῥωμαίοις φίλος· ὁ δὲ Πόπλιος αὐτοῖς ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο· "αἴτιος μὲν αὐτῷ διὰ πλεονεξίαν Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν νῦν καὶ τῶν πρότερον γεγονότων, ὃς ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἔχων τε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἐόντων ἔχειν, Πτολεμαίου συγγενοῦς ἰδίου καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλου Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην ἀφείλετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἐμβαλὼν Θρᾴκην κατεστρέφετο καὶ Χερρόνησον ὠχύρου καὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἤγειρεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα διελθὼν ἐδουλοῦτο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄρτι αὐτονόμους ἀφειμένους, μέχρι περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἡττήθη μάχῃ. καὶ φυγὼν οὐδ' ὡς ἔληξε τῆς πλεονεξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ

While these discussions were going on among the friends of Antiochus, the Romans were in high spirits and considered no tasks now too hard for them, thanks to the favour of the gods and their own courage; for it brought them great confidence in their own good fortune that such a small number, in the first battle and at the first assault, in a foreign country, should have overcome a much greater number, composed of so many peoples, with all the royal resources, including valiant mercenaries and the renowned Macedonian phalanx, and the king himself, ruler of that vast empire and surnamed the Great,—all in a single day. It became a common saying among them, "There *was* a king—Antiochus the Great!" CHAP. VII

38. While the Romans were thus boasting about their achievements, the consul, his brother, Publius, having recovered his health and returned from Elaea, gave audience to Antiochus' ambassadors. These wanted to know on what terms Antiochus could be a friend of the Roman people. To them Publius made the following reply: "The grasping nature of Antiochus has been the cause of his present and past misfortunes. While he was the possessor of a vast empire, to which the Romans did not object, he seized Coele-Syria, which belonged to Ptolemy, his own relative and our friend. Then he invaded Europe, which did not concern him, subjugated Thrace, fortified the Chersonesus, and rebuilt Lysimacheia. He passed thence into Greece and took away the liberty of the people whom the Romans had lately freed, and kept on his course till he was defeated in battle at Thermopylae, and put to flight. Even then he did not abandon Scipio's reply

CAP. VII πολλάκις ἐλαττωθεὶς σπονδῶν μέν, ἄρτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἡμῶν πεπερακότων, ἐδεήθη, διὰ δὲ ὑπεροψίαν τὰ προτεινόμενα ὑπερεῖδε, καὶ στράτευμα αὖθις πολὺ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄπειρον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συναγαγὼν ἐπολέμει, βιαζόμενος ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, μέχρι συνηνέχθη μεγάλῳ κακῷ. ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ μείζονα τὴν ζημίαν ἐπιθεῖναι, βιασαμένῳ πολλάκις Ῥωμαίους ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζομεν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις, οὐδ' ἐπιβαροῦμεν τοῖς ἑτέρων ἀτυχήμασιν. δίδομεν δὲ ὅσα καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ προὐτείνομεν, μικρὰ ἄττα προσθέντες, ὅσα καὶ ἡμῖν ἔσται χρήσιμα καὶ αὐτῷ λυσιτελῆ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅλης καὶ Ἀσίας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου (καὶ τούτοις ὅροι τεθήσονται), παραδοῦναι δ' ἐλέφαντας ὅσους ἔχει καὶ ναῦς ὅσας ἂν ἐπιτάξωμεν, ἔς τε λοιπὸν ἐλέφαντας μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν, ναῦς δὲ ὅσας ἂν ὁρίσωμεν, δοῦναι δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὅμηρα, ἃ ἂν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπιγράψῃ, καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, δι' αὐτὸν γενομένου, τάλαντα Εὐβοϊκὰ αὐτίκα μὲν ἤδη πεντακόσια, καὶ ὅταν τάσδε τὰς σπονδὰς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ, δισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια, δώδεκα δ' ἔτεσιν ἄλλοις ἕτερα μύρια καὶ δισχίλια, τὸ μέρος ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναφέροντα ἐς Ῥώμην· ἀποδοῦναι δ' ἡμῖν αἰχμάλωτα καὶ αὐτόμολα πάντα, καὶ Εὐμένει ὅσα λοιπὰ τῆς πρὸς Ἄτταλον τὸν Εὐμένους πατέρα συνθήκης ἔχει. ταῦτα Ἀντιόχῳ πράττοντι ἀδόλως δίδομεν εἰρήνην τε καὶ φιλίαν, ὅταν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπιψηφίσῃ."

39. Τοσάδε προύτεινεν ὁ Σκιπίων, καὶ πάντα

his grasping policy, for, although frequently beaten at sea, he did not seek peace until we had crossed the Hellespont. Then he scornfully rejected the conditions offered to him, and again collecting a vast army and countless supplies, he continued the war against us, determined to come to an engagement with his betters, until he met with this great calamity. We might properly impose a severer punishment on him for his obstinacy in fighting us so persistently: but we are not accustomed to abuse our own prosperity or to aggravate the misfortunes of others. We offer him the same conditions as before, making some small additions which will be advantageous to us and conducive to his own future security. He must abandon Europe altogether and all of Asia this side of the Taurus, the boundaries to be fixed hereafter; he shall surrender all the elephants he has, and such number of ships as we may prescribe, and for the future keep no elephants and only so many ships as we allow; he shall give twenty hostages, whom the consul will select, and pay for the cost of the present war, incurred on his account, 500 Euboïc talents down and 2500 more when the Senate ratifies the treaty; and 12,000 more during twelve years, each yearly instalment to be delivered in Rome. He shall also surrender to us all prisoners and deserters, and to Eumenes whatever remains of the possessions he acquired by his agreement with Attalus, the father of Eumenes. If Antiochus accepts these conditions without guile we offer him peace and friendship subject to the Senate's ratification."

CHAP VII

39. All the terms offered by Scipio were accepted

Treaty ratified

CAP. VII ἐδέχοντο οἱ πρέσβεις. τὸ τε μέρος αὐτίκα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ὅμηρα ἐκομίζετο, καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀντίοχος ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς Ἀντιόχου. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην οἵ τε Σκιπίωνες καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις συνετίθεντο. καὶ ἐγράφοντο συνθῆκαι τοὺς Σκιπίωνος λόγους βεβαιοῦσαί τε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀορίστων ἐπιλέγουσαι, καὶ βραχέα ἄττα προσεπιλαμβάνουσαι, ὅρον μὲν Ἀντιόχῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι δύο ἄκρας, Καλύκαδνόν τε καὶ Σαρπηδόνιον, καὶ τάσδε μὴ παραπλεῖν Ἀντίοχον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ναῦς δὲ καταφράκτους ἔχειν δώδεκα μόνας, αἷς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πολέμου κατάρχειν· πολεμούμενον δὲ καὶ πλέοσι χρῆσθαι· μηδένα δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ξενολογεῖν, μηδὲ φυγάδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ὑποδέχεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὅμηρα διὰ τριετίας ἐναλλάσσειν, χωρίς γε τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀντιόχου. ταῦτα συγγραψάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐς δέλτους χαλκᾶς ἀναθέντες, οὗ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας συνθήκας ἀνατιθέασιν, ἔπεμπον ἀντίγραφα Μαλλίῳ Οὐούλσωνι τῷ διαδεδεγμένῳ τὴν Σκιπίωνος στρατηγίαν. ὁ δ' ὤμνυ τοῖς Ἀντιόχου πρέσβεσι περὶ Ἀπάμειαν τῆς Φρυγίας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμφθέντι Θέρμῳ χιλιάρχῳ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Ἀντιόχῳ μεγάλῳ τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου τέλος ἦν. καὶ ἐδόκει μέχρι τοῦδε προελθεῖν μόνου διὰ χάριν τὴν ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν Σκιπίωνος Ἀντιόχῳ γενομένην.

40. Καί τινες τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἐπανελθόντα διέβαλλον ἐπὶ τῷδε, καὶ δήμαρχοι δύο δωροδοκίας αὐτὸν ἐγράψαντο καὶ προδοσίας. ὁ δὲ ἀδοξῶν καὶ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, ἐπεὶ συνῆλθε τὸ δικαστήριον

by the ambassadors. That part of the money which was to be paid down, and the twenty hostages, were furnished. Among the latter was Antiochus, the younger son of Antiochus. The Scipios and Antiochus both sent messengers to Rome. The Senate ratified their acts, and a treaty was written carrying out Scipio's views, detailing what had been left indefinite, and making certain slight additions. The boundaries of the dominions of Antiochus were to be the two promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedonium, beyond which he should not sail for purposes of war. He should have only twelve decked ships with which to commence war against his subjects, but he might have more if he were attacked first. He should not recruit mercenaries from Roman territory nor entertain fugitives from the same, and the hostages should be changed every third year, except the son of Antiochus. This treaty was engraved on brazen tablets and deposited in the Capitol (where it is customary to deposit such treaties), and a copy of it was sent to Manlius Vulso, Scipio's successor in the command. He administered the oath to the ambassadors of Antiochus at Apamea in Phrygia, and Antiochus did the same to the tribune, Thermus, who was sent for this purpose. This was the end of the war between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, and some thought that it was by reason of the favour extended by Antiochus to Scipio's son that it went no farther.

CHAP VII

B.C. 189

40. When Scipio returned, some persons accused him of this, and two tribunes of the people brought a charge of corruption and treason against him. He made light of it and scorned the accusation, and as his trial was fixed for the day which happened to

B.C. 187

Accusation against Scipio

CAP. VII ἧς ἡμέρας ποτὲ Καρχηδόνα παρεστήσατο, θυσίαν προύπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸς παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ σχήματος ἀντὶ οἰκτροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε πάντας ἐκπλῆξαί τε καὶ ἐς εὔνοιαν, ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστῷ δὴ συνειδότι μεγαλοφρονούμενον, προσαγαγέσθαι. λέγειν δὲ ἀρξάμενος τῆς μὲν κατηγορίας οὐδ' ἐπεμνήσθη, τὸν δὲ βίον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ ἔργα πάντα ἐπεξῆλθεν, καὶ πολέμους ὅσους ἐπολέμησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς ἐπολέμησεν, ὁσάκις τε ἐνίκησεν, ὡς ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις τι καὶ ἡδονῆς διὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς σεμνολογίας. ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε προῆλθεν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα, ἐξάρας ἐς φαντασίαν τάδε μάλιστα, καὶ ὁρμῆς αὐτός τε ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμπλήσας, εἶπεν ὅτι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγὼ τάδε ἐνίκων καὶ Καρχηδόνα ὑμῖν, ὦ πολῖται, περιεποίουν, τὴν τέως ὑμῖν ἐπιφοβωτάτην. ἄπειμι δὴ θύσων τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· καὶ ὑμῶν ὅσοι φιλοπόλιδες, τῆς θυσίας μοι, γιγνομένης ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν συνάψασθε. ταῦτα ἔφη, καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθει, μηδὲν τῆς δίκης φροντίσας. εἵπετο δ' αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ πλέονες τῶν δικαστῶν σὺν εὐφήμῳ βοῇ, καὶ θύοντι ὅμοια ἐπεφώνουν. οἱ κατήγοροι δὲ ἠποροῦντο, καὶ οὔτε αὐτῷ τὴν δίκην αὖθις ὡς ἀτέλεστον ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιγράψαι, οὔτε μέμψασθαι δημοκοπίας, δυνατώτερον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον εἰδότες ὑπονοίας τε καὶ διαβολῆς.

be the anniversary of his victory over Carthage, he sent victims for sacrifice to the Capitol in advance of his coming, and then made his appearance in court clad in festive garments instead of the mournful and humble garb customary to those under accusation, whereby he at once made a profound impression on all and predisposed them favourably as to a high-minded citizen conscious of his own rectitude. When he began to speak he did not even mention the accusation against him, but detailed the events of his life, what he had done, the wars he had waged for his country, how he had carried on each, and how often he had been victorious. They listened with actual pleasure to this proud narration. When he came to the overthrow of Carthage he was roused to the highest pitch of eloquence and filled the multitude, as well as himself, with enthusiasm, saying, "On this very day, O citizens, I won the victory and laid at your feet Carthage, that had lately been such an object of terror to you. Now I am going up to the Capitol to offer the sacrifice appointed for the day. As many of you as love your country join me in the sacrifice, which is offered on your behalf." Having finished his speech he hastened to the Capitol, having ignored the charge against him. The crowd, including most of the judges, followed him, with joyful acclamations, which were continued while he was performing the sacrifice. The accusers were at a loss, and did not dare to call him to trial again, on the ground that the case had not been fully tried, or to charge him with demagogism, because they knew that his whole life was stronger than suspicion or calumny.

CHAP VII

CAP. VII

41. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Σκιπίων ὧδε ἐγκλήματος ἀναξίου τῶν βεβιωμένων οἱ κατεφρόνησε, σοφώτερον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Ἀριστείδου περὶ κλοπῆς καὶ Σωκράτους περὶ ὧν ἐνεκαλεῖτο οὐδὲν εἰπόντων ὑπ' ἀδοξίας ὁμοίας, ἢ Σωκράτους εἰπόντος ἃ δοκεῖ Πλάτωνι, μεγαλοφρονέστερον δὲ ἄρα καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, ὃς ἐξοιωτάρχει μὲν ἅμα Πελοπίδᾳ καὶ ἑτέρῳ, ἐξέπεμψαν δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, στρατὸν ἑκάστῳ δόντες, ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀρκάσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Λακώνων, οὕπω δ' ὅσα ἐπενόουν ἐργασαμένους ἐπὶ διαβολῇ μετεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ τοῖς διαδόχοις σφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ μῆνας ἓξ οὐ μεθῆκαν, ἕως τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρούρια καθεῖλον καὶ ἐπέστησαν αὖθις ἕτερα τῶν Ἀρκάδων, Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοὺς συστρατήγους ἐς τοῦτο ἀναγκάζοντός τε, καὶ ὑποδεχομένου τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἀζήμιον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανελθοῦσιν οἱ κατήγοροι, καθ' ἕνα διώκοντες, ἐτιμῶντο θανάτου (θανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἐζημίου τὸν ἐκ βίας ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα ἀλλοτρίαν), οἱ μὲν ἕτεροι διέφυγον οἴκτῳ τε χρώμενοι καὶ λόγοις πλείοσι, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἀναφέροντες, αὐτὸν οὕτω λέγειν ὑποθέμενον αὐτοῖς καὶ λέγουσιν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντα· ὁ δὲ κρινόμενος τελευταῖος "ὁμολογῶ," ἔφη, "παρανόμως ἄρξαι τόνδε τὸν χρόνον, καὶ οὓς ἀπελύσατε νῦν, ἐγὼ συναναγκάσαι. καὶ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸν θάνατον παρανομήσας. αἰτῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ τῶν προβεβιωμένων μοι κατὰ τὸν τάφον ἐπιγράψαι· "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ Λεῦκτρα νικήσας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐχ

41. In this way Scipio showed his contempt for an accusation unworthy of his career, acting more wisely, as I think, than Aristides when charged with theft, or Socrates when accused as he was; for each of these under a like calumny made no reply, unless Socrates said what Plato makes him say. He displayed too a loftier spirit than Epaminondas, when he held the office of Boeotarch with Pelopidas and one other. The Thebans gave each of them an army and sent them to assist the Arcadians and Messenians, in war against the Lacedaemonians, but recalled them on account of certain calumnies, before they had accomplished what they intended to do. Yet they did not hand over the command to their successors for six months, nor until they had driven out the Lacedaemonian garrisons and substituted Arcadians in their places. Epaminondas had compelled his colleagues to take this course and had undertaken that they should not be punished. When they returned home their accusers prosecuted them separately, assessing their penalty at death (for the law made it a capital offence to withhold by force a command which had been assigned to another), but the other two escaped punishment by exciting pity and by long speeches, putting the blame on Epaminondas, who had authorized them to say this and who testified to the truth of their words. He was tried last. "I acknowledge," he said, "that I retained the command beyond my time, contrary to law, and that I coerced those whom you have just acquitted. Nor do I deprecate the death penalty, since I have broken the law. I only ask, in return for my past services, that you inscribe on my tomb, 'Here lies the victor of Leuctra. Although his country had

CHAP. VII

B.C. 369

Similar to the case of Epaminondas

CAP. VII

ὑπομένουσαν, οὐδ' εἴ τις ξένος ἔχοι Λακωνικὸν πῖλον, ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν προαγαγών. οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνῄρηται, παρανομήσας ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν κατέβη τε τοῦ βήματος, καὶ παρεδίδου τὸ σῶμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἀπαγαγεῖν. οἱ δικασταὶ δὲ τῷ τε ὀνείδει τοῦ λόγου καὶ θαύματι τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου, τὰς ψήφους οὐχ ὑποστάντες λαβεῖν, ἐξέδραμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου.

42. Τάδε μὲν δή τις, ὡς ἐθέλοι, συγκρίνειν ἔχει· Μάλλιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος διάδοχος τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν Ἀντιόχου γῆν ἐπιὼν καθίστατο, καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχησάντων Τολιστοβοίους, ἀναφυγόντας ἐς τὸν Μύσιον Ὄλυμπον, ἐπιμόχθως τοῦ ὄρους ἐπιβὰς ἐτρέπετο φεύγοντας, ἕως ἔκτεινε καὶ κατεκρήμνισεν ὅσους ἀριθμήσασθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐγένετο, αἰχμαλώτους δ' ἔλαβεν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ὧν τὰ μὲν ὅπλα κατέκαυσε, τὰ δὲ σώματα, οὐ δυνάμενος τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἐν πολέμοις περιάγεσθαι, τοῖς ἐγγὺς βαρβάροις ἀπέδοτο. ἐν δὲ Τεκτοσάγαις τε καὶ Τρόκμοις ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν ἐξ ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἔφυγεν· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς αὐλιζομένους τε καὶ βεβυσμένους ὑπὸ πλήθους περιέστησε τοὺς ψιλοὺς αὐτοῖς, καὶ περιτρέχων ἐκέλευεν ἐσακοντίζειν μήτε προσπλεκομένους μήτε πλησιάζοντας. οὐδενὸς δὲ βέλους ἀτυχοῦντος διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν πολεμίων, ἔκτεινεν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐδίωξε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπὲρ Ἄλυν ποταμόν. Ἀριαράθου

not dared to face this enemy, or even a stranger that wore the Laconian cap, he led his fellow-citizens to the very doors of Sparta. His country put him to death for breaking the laws for his country's good.'" After saying this he stepped down from the rostrum and offered to surrender his person to anyone who wished to drag him to punishment. The judges, moved by the reproval in his words, by admiration for his defence, and by reverence for the man who uttered it, did not wait to take the vote, but ran out of the court-room. 42. The reader may compare these cases together as he likes.

B.C. 189 Manlius succeeds Scipio

Manlius, who succeeded Scipio as consul, went to the countries taken from Antiochus and regulated them. The Tolistoboii, one of the Galatian tribes in alliance with Antiochus, had taken refuge on Mount Olympus in Mysia. With great difficulty Manlius ascended the mountain and pursued them as they fled until he had killed and hurled over the rocks so large a number that it was impossible to count them. He took about 40,000 of them prisoners and burned their arms, and as it was impossible to take about with him so many captives while the war was continuing, he sold them to the neighbouring barbarians. Among the Tectosagi and the Trocmi he fell into danger by ambush and barely escaped. He came back against them, however, and finding them packed together in a great crowd in camp surrounded them with his light-armed troops and rode around ordering his men to shoot them at a distance, but not to come to close quarters with them. The crowd was so dense that no dart missed its mark. He killed about 8000 of them and pursued the remainder beyond the river Halys. Ariarathes, king

CAP. VII δὲ τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τοῦδε συμμάχους πέμψαντος Ἀντιόχῳ, δεδιότος τε καὶ δεομένου καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τῇ δεήσει τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐπέδραμεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπανῆλθε σὺν γάζῃ τε πολλῇ καὶ χρήμασιν ἀπείροις καὶ λείᾳ βαρυτάτῃ καὶ στρατῷ καταγόμῳ.

43. Τάδε μὲν καλῶς ἐπέπρακτο τῷ Μαλλίῳ· τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀλόγως πάμπαν ὥρᾳ θέρους πλεῦσαι μὲν ὑπερεῖδεν, οὔτε τὸ βάρος ὧν ἐπήγετο ποιησάμενος ἐνθύμιον, οὔτ' ἐπειγόμενος διαπονεῖν ἢ γυμνάζειν ὁδοιπορίαις ἔτι στρατὸν οὐκ ἐς πόλεμον ὁρμῶντα ἀλλ' ἐς οἰκείαν μετὰ λαφύρων ἐπανιόντα, διὰ δὲ Θρᾴκης ὥδευε, στενὴν καὶ μακρὰν καὶ δύσβατον ὁδόν, πνίγους ὥρᾳ, οὔτ' ἐς Μακεδονίαν Φιλίππῳ προεπιστείλας ἀπαντᾶν, ἵνα παραπέμψειεν αὐτόν, οὔτε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διελών, ἵνα κουφότερον βαδίζοι καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα εὐμαρέστερα ἔχοι, οὔτε τὰ σκευοφόρα συντάξας ἐς λόχους ὀρθίους, ἵν' εὐφυλακτότερα ᾖ. ἀλλ' ἀθρόως ἦγεν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ μῆκος πολύ, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα εἶχεν ἐν μέσῳ, μήτε τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς δυναμένων ἐπικουρεῖν μήτε τῶν ὄπισθεν ὀξέως διὰ μῆκος ὁμοῦ καὶ στενότητα τῆς ὁδοῦ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἐπικειμένων, πολὺ μέρος ἀπώλεσε τῆς τε λείας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ στρατοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Μακεδονίαν διεσώθη. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐγένετο καταφανὲς ὅσον ὤνησε παραπέμπων τοὺς Σκιπίωνας ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ὅσον ἥμαρτεν Ἀντίοχος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Χερρόνησον. ὁ δὲ Μάλλιος ἔκ τε Μακεδονίας

of Cappadocia, who also had sent military aid to Antiochus, became alarmed and sent entreaties, and 200 talents in money besides, by which means he kept Manlius out of his country. The latter returned to the Hellespont with much treasure, countless money, very heavy loot, and an overburdened army. CHAP. VII B.C. 188

43. Manlius had done well so far, but he afterwards foolishly neglected to take the precaution of returning home by water, as it was summer time, and making no account of the burden he was carrying, in spite of the fact that there was no longer any need to give hard work and marching exercise to his army, which was not going to war, but returning home with its spoils, he proceeded by a long, narrow, and difficult road through Thrace in a stifling heat. He neither sent word to Philip of Macedonia to meet and escort him, nor did he divide his army into parts, so that it might move more lightly and have what was needed more handy, nor did he station his baggage between the files, for greater security; but he led his army in a single long column, with the baggage in the centre, so that neither the vanguard nor the rear-guard could render assistance to it quickly by reason of the length of the column and the narrowness of the road. So, when the Thracians attacked him in flank from all directions, he lost a large part of the spoils, and of the public money, and of the army itself, but escaped into Macedonia with the remainder; and this disaster shewed how great a service Philip had rendered by escorting the Scipios and how Antiochus had blundered in abandoning the Chersonesus. Manlius passed from Macedonia into Thessaly, and A disaster in Thrace

CAP. VII Θεσσαλίαν διελθὼν καὶ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Ἤπειρον ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρα, καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην.

44. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Εὐμένης ὁ Περγάμου βασιλεὺς μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' Ἀντιόχου συμμαχίᾳ, Εὐμένης μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐστέλλετο, Ῥόδιοι δὲ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ Ῥοδίοις μὲν ἔδωκε Λυκίους τε καὶ Κᾶρας, οὓς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀπέστησεν αὐτῶν ὡς Περσεῖ τῷ Μακεδόνι μᾶλλον ἢ σφίσι πολεμοῦσι τῷ Περσεῖ προθυμοτέρων γενομένων, Εὐμένει δὲ παρέσχον ὅσα λοιπὰ ἀφῄρηντο Ἀντίοχον, χωρὶς Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς. τούτων δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀττάλῳ τῷ πατρὶ Εὐμένους ἐτέλουν φόρους, ἐκέλευσαν Εὐμένει συμφέρειν, ὅσοι δ' Ἀντιόχῳ πρῶτον ἐτέλουν, ἀπέλυσαν τῶν φόρων καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν.

VIII

CAP. VIII 45. Ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι διέθεντο τὰ δορίκτητα, Ἀντιόχου δ' ὕστερον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος γίγνεται Σέλευκος ὁ υἱὸς διάδοχος· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὅδε Ἀντίοχον ἐξέλυσε τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμηρείας, ἀντιδοὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Δημήτριον. Ἀντιόχου δ' ἐπανιόντος ἐκ τῆς ὁμηρείας καὶ ὄντος ἔτι περὶ Ἀθήνας, ὁ μὲν Σέλευκος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἀποθνήσκει, τὸν δ' Ἡλιόδωρον Εὐμένης καὶ Ἄτταλος ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν βιαζόμενον

thence into Epirus, crossed to Brundusium, dismissed what was left of his army to their homes, and returned to Rome. CHAP. VII

44. The Rhodians and Eumenes, king of Pergamus, were very proud of their share in the alliance against Antiochus. Eumenes set out for Rome in person and the Rhodians sent envoys. The Senate gave to the Rhodians Lycia and Caria, which they took away from them soon afterward, because in the war between the Romans and Perseus, king of Macedonia, they showed themselves rather favourable to him. They bestowed upon Eumenes all the rest of the territory taken from Antiochus, except the Greek cities in Asia. Of the latter, those that were formerly tributary to Attalus, the father of Eumenes, were ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes, while those which formerly paid to Antiochus were released from tribute altogether and made independent. 45. In this way the Romans disposed of the lands they had gained in the war. Rewards to Eumenes

VIII

AFTERWARD, on the death of Antiochus the Great, his son Seleucus succeeded him, and gave his son Demetrius as a hostage to the Romans in place of his brother Antiochus. When the latter arrived at Athens on his way home, Seleucus was assassinated as the result of a conspiracy of a certain Heliodorus, one of the court officers; but when Heliodorus sought to possess himself of the government he was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus, who installed Antiochus CHAP. VIII B.C. 187 Successors of Antiochus the Great

CAP. VIII ἐκβάλλουσι, καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐς αὐτὴν κατάγουσιν, ἑταιριζόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀπὸ γὰρ τινῶν προσκρουμάτων ἤδη καὶ οἵδε Ῥωμαίους ὑπεβλέποντο. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου Συρίας ἐπεκράτησεν· ὅτῳ παρὰ τῶν Σύρων ἐπώνυμον ἦν ἐπιφανής, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁρπαζομένης ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖος ὤφθη. συνθέμενος δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν Εὐμένει, Συρίας καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐθνῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρχε, σατράπην μὲν ἔχων ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Τίμαρχον, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις Ἡρακλείδην, ἀδελφὰ μὲν ἀλλήλοιν, ἄμφω δὲ αὐτοῦ γενομένω παιδικά. ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα.

46. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἑλὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐνναετὲς παιδίον ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον, ᾧ προσέθηκαν ὄνομα εὐπάτωρ οἱ Σύροι διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἔτρεφε Λυσίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἥσθη φανέντος ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου γεννικοῦ καὶ ταχέως ἀποθανόντος. Δημήτριόν τε τὸν Σελεύκου μὲν υἱὸν Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς ἀδελφιδοῦν, υἱωνὸν δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα τῷδε τῷ παιδίῳ, ὁμηρεύοντα ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἔτος ἄγοντα τρίτον ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν, ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταχθῆναι παρακαλοῦντα ὡς αὐτῷ μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν, οὐ κατῆγον, οὐ συμφέρειν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τελειότερον ἄρχειν Σύρων ἀντὶ παιδὸς ἀτελοῦς. πυνθανόμενοι δ' ἐν Συρίᾳ στρατόν τ' ἐλεφάντων εἶναι καὶ ναῦς πλείονας τῶν ὡρισμένων Ἀντιόχῳ, πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἳ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συγκόψειν ἔμελλον καὶ τὰς ναῦς διαπρήσειν. οἰκτρὰ δὲ ἡ ὄψις ἦν ἀναιρουμένων

therein in order to secure his good-will; for, by reason of certain bickerings, they also had already grown suspicious of the Romans. Thus Antiochus, the son of Antiochus the Great, ascended the throne of Syria. He was called Epiphanes (the Illustrious) by the Syrians, because when the government was seized by usurpers he showed himself to be a true king. Having cemented his friendship and alliance with Eumenes he governed Syria and the neighbouring nations with a firm hand. He appointed Timarchus a satrap of Babylon and Heraclides as treasurer, two brothers, both of whom had been his favourites. He also made an expedition against Artaxias, king of Armenia, and took him prisoner.

Antiochus Epiphanes

B.C. 175

46. Epiphanes died, leaving a son, Antiochus, nine years of age, to whom the Syrians gave the name of Eupator, in commemoration of his father's bravery, and the boy was educated by Lysias. The Senate rejoiced at the premature death of Antiochus, who had given early proof of his spirited nature, and when Demetrius, the son of Seleucus and nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes (grandson of Antiochus the Great and first cousin of this boy), at this time a hostage at Rome, and twenty-two years old, asked that he should be installed in the kingdom as belonging to him rather than to the boy, the Senate would not allow it. They thought that it would be more for their advantage that Syria should be governed by an immature boy than by a full-grown man. Learning that there were many elephants in Syria and more ships than had been allowed to Antiochus in the treaty, they sent ambassadors thither, to kill the elephants and burn the ships. It was a pitiful sight,

B.C. 164

Antiochus Eupator

CAP. VIII θηρίων ἡμέρων τε καὶ σπανίων, καὶ νεῶν ἐμπιπραμένων· καί τις ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Λεπτίνης τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ ἐνεγκών, Γναῖον Ὀκτάουιον τὸν τῶνδε τῶν πρέσβεων ἡγεμόνα, ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, διεχρήσατο.

Καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὀκτάουιον ἔθαπτεν ὁ Λυσίας, 47. Δημήτριος δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐσελθὼν ἐδεῖτο τῆς γοῦν ὁμηρείας μόνης ἀπολυθῆναι, ὡς Ἀντιόχου μὲν ἀντιδοθείς, Ἀντιόχου δ' ἀποθανόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν οὐδὲ τοῦδε, λαθὼν ἐξέπλευσε, καὶ δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν Σύρων ἦρχε, τόν τε Λυσίαν καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διαφθείρας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐκβαλών, καὶ Τίμαρχον ἐπανιστάμενον ἀνελών, καὶ τἆλλα πονηρῶς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἡγούμενον· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ σωτήρ, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ὠνομάσθη. κρατυνάμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Δημήτριος στέφανόν τε Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων, χαριστήριον τῆς ποτὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμηρείας, καὶ Λεπτίνην τὸν ἀνδροφόνον Ὀκταουίου. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν στέφανον ἐδέχοντο, Λεπτίνην δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὡς δή τι τοῦτ' ἔγκλημα τοῖς Σύροις ταμιευόμενοι. Δημήτριος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχῆς Ἀριαράθην ἐκβαλών, Ὀλοφέρνην ἐπὶ χιλίοις ταλάντοις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατήγαγεν, ἀδελφὸν εἶναι δοκοῦντα Ἀριαράθου. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐδόκει μέν, ὡς ἀδελφούς, Ἀριαράθην καὶ Ὀλοφέρνην βασιλεύειν ὁμοῦ.

48. Ἐκπεσόντων δὲ καὶ τῶνδε καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνου μετ' αὐτοὺς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ Μιθριδάτειος πόλεμος ἐπὶ

the killing of these gentle and rare beasts and the burning of the ships, and a certain Leptines of Laodicea was so exasperated by the sight that he stabbed Gnaeus Octavius, the chief of this embassy, while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium, and Lysias buried him. CHAP VIII

47. Demetrius came before the Senate again and asked at all events to be released from acting as a hostage, since he had been given as a substitute for Antiochus, who was now dead. When even this request was not granted he escaped secretly by boat. As the Syrians received him gladly, he ascended the throne after having put Lysias to death and the boy with him. He removed Heraclides from office and killed Timarchus, who rebelled and who had administered the government of Babylon badly in other respects. For this he received the surname of Soter (the Protector), which was first bestowed upon him by the Babylonians. When he was firmly established in the kingdom he sent a crown valued at 10,000 pieces of gold to the Romans as a gift of their former hostage, and also delivered up Leptines, the murderer of Octavius. They accepted the crown, but not Leptines, because they intended to hold the Syrians responsible for that crime. Demetrius further took the government of Cappadocia away from Ariarathes and gave it to Olophernes, who was supposed to be the brother of Ariarathes, receiving 1000 talents therefor. The Romans, however, decided that as brothers both Ariarathes and Olophernes should reign together. B.C. 162 Demetrius Soter B.C. 159

48. These princes were deprived of the kingdom —and their successor, Ariobarzanes, also, a little later —by Mithridates, king of Pontus. The Mithridatic

CAP. VIII τῷδε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἤρξατο συνίστασθαι, μέγιστός τε καὶ πολυτροπώτατος ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς γενόμενος, καὶ παρατείνας ἐς ἔτη μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, ἐν οἷς πολλαὶ μὲν ἀρχαὶ Σύροις ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους ὀλιγοχρόνιοι πάμπαν ἐγένοντο, πολλαὶ δὲ τροπαὶ καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Παρθυαῖοί τε προαποστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς Μεσοποταμίαν ἐς ἑαυτοὺς περιέσπασαν, ἣ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουεν. καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας Τιγράνης ὁ Τιγράνους ἔθνη πολλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ἰδίοις δυνάσταις χρώμενα ἑλών, βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε βασιλέων ἠγεῖτο εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ἐπεστράτευεν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπακούειν. οὐχ ὑποστάντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, ὁ Τιγράνης ἦρχε Συρίας τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην, ὅσα γένη Σύρων μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἦρχε δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ Κιλικίας (καὶ γὰρ ἦδε τοῖς Σελευκίδαις ὑπήκουε), Μαγαδάτην στρατηγὸν ἐπιτάξας ἅπασιν, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

49. Λευκόλλου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Μιθριδάτην διώκοντος ἐς τὸν Τιγράνην ὑποφεύγοντα, ὁ Μαγαδάτης ᾔει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ Τιγράνῃ βοηθήσων, καὶ ἐν τῷδε παραδὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντίοχος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἦρχε τῶν Σύρων ἑκόντων. καὶ αὐτῷ Λεύκολλος μέν, ὁ Τιγράνῃ πρῶτός τε πολεμήσας καὶ τῆς ἐπικτήτου γῆς αὐτὸν ἐξελάσας, οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν ἀρχῆς πατρῴας· Πομπήιος δέ, ὁ ἐπὶ Λευκόλλῳ Μιθριδάτην ἐξελών, Τιγράνῃ μὲν Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν, Ἀντίοχον δὲ ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς, οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἁμαρτόντα, ἔργῳ μὲν ὅτι ἦν

war grew out of this event, among others,—a very great war, full of vicissitudes to many nations and lasting nearly forty years. During this time Syria had many kings, succeeding each other at brief intervals, but all of the royal lineage, and there were many changes and revolts from the dynasty. The Parthians, who had previously revolted from the rule of the Seleucidae, seized Mesopotamia, which had been subject to that house. Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, who had subdued many of the neighbouring nations which had kings of their own, and from these exploits had acquired the title of King of Kings, attacked the Seleucidae because they would not acknowledge his supremacy. Antiochus Pius was not able to withstand him, and Tigranes conquered all the Syrian peoples this side of the Euphrates as far as Egypt. He took Cilicia at the same time (for this was also subject to the Seleucidae) and put his general, Magadates, in command of all these conquests for fourteen years.

CHAP. VIII

Tigranes conquers Syria

B.C. 83

49. When the Roman general, Lucullus, was pursuing Mithridates, who had taken refuge in the territory of Tigranes, Magadates went with his army to Tigranes' assistance. Thereupon Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, entered Syria clandestinely and assumed the government with the consent of the people. Nor did Lucullus, who first made war on Tigranes and wrested his newly acquired territory from him, object to Antiochus exercising his ancestral authority. But Pompey, the successor of Lucullus, when he had overthrown Mithridates, allowed Tigranes to reign in Armenia and expelled Antiochus from the government of Syria, although he had done the Romans no wrong. The real reason

B.C. 69

B.C. 66

Pompey seizes Syria for the Romans

CAP. VIII εὔκολον αὐτῷ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι, πολλὴν ἀρχὴν ἄνοπλον ἀφελέσθαι, λόγῳ δὲ ὅτι τοὺς Σελευκίδας, ὑπὸ Τιγράνους ἐκπεσόντας, οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν ἔτι Συρίας ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίους Τιγράνην νενικηκότας.

50. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Κιλικίας τε καὶ Συρίας τῆς τε μεσογείου καὶ κοίλης καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Συρίας ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου μέχρι Αἰγύπτου καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ὀνόματα, ἁμαχὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατέσχον. ἓν δὲ γένος ἔτι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐνιστάμενον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξεῖλε κατὰ κράτος, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀριστόβουλον ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἁγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς κατέσκαψεν, ἣν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθῃρήκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς αὖθις οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριανὸς αὖθις ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἅπασιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἄλλης περιοικίας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σύροις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐτήσιος, ἑκατοστὴ τοῦ τιμήματος ἑκάστῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τῶνδε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς Σελευκίδαις γενομένων ἐθνῶν τοῖς μὲν . . . ἐπέστησεν οἰκείους βασιλέας ἢ δυνάστας, καθὰ καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς τέσσαρσι δυνάσταις ἐβεβαίωσε τὰς τετραδαρχίας, συμμαχήσασίν οἱ κατὰ Μιθριδάτου. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ τάδε περιῆλθεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ Καίσαρος μάλιστα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κατὰ μέρη.

51. Συρίας δ' εὐθὺς ὁ Πομπήιος Σκαῦρον τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἑαυτῷ γενόμενον ταμίαν ἔταξεν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Φίλιππον ἐπὶ Σκαύρῳ τὸν Μάρκιον, καὶ Μαρκελλῖνον Λέντλον ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, ἄμφω στρατηγικοὺς κατ' ἀξίωσιν. ἀλλὰ τῶνδε μὲν ἑκατέρῳ διετὴς ἐτρίφθη χρόνος,

for this was that it was easy for Pompey, with an army under his command, to annex a large, defenceless empire, but the pretence was that it was unnatural for the Seleucidae, whom Tigranes had dethroned, to govern Syria, rather than the Romans who had conquered Tigranes.

50. In this way the Romans, without fighting, came into possession of Cilicia, inland Syria and Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea. The Jewish nation alone still resisted, and Pompey conquered them, sent their king, Aristobulus, to Rome, and destroyed their greatest, and to them holiest, city, Jerusalem, as Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, had formerly done. It was afterward rebuilt and Vespasian destroyed it again, and Hadrian did the same in our time. On account of these rebellions the poll-tax imposed upon all Jews is heavier than that imposed upon the surrounding peoples. The Syrians and Cilicians also are subject to an annual tax of one hundredth of the assessed value of the property of each man. Pompey put some of the various nations that had become subject to the Seleucidae under kings or chiefs of their own. In like manner he confirmed the four chiefs of the Galatians in Asia, who had cooperated with him in the Mithridatic war, in their tetrarchies. Not long afterwards they too came gradually under the Roman rule, mostly in the time of Augustus.

Also Phoenicia and Palestine

B.C. 63

51. Pompey now at once put Scaurus, who had been his quaestor in the war, in charge of Syria, and the Senate afterwards appointed Marcius Philippus as his successor and Lentulus Marcellinus as the successor of Philippus, both being of praetorian rank. Each of these spent the whole of his two years in

Later history of Syria

CAP. VIII τοὺς γειτονας ἐνοχλοῦντας Ἀραβας ἀμυνομένῳ. καὶ τοῦδε χάριν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένοντο Συρίας στρατηγοὶ τῶν τὰ ἐπώνυμα ἀρξάντων ἐν ἄστει, ἵνα ἔχοιεν ἐξουσίαν καταλόγου τε στρατιᾶς καὶ πολέμου οἷα ὕπατοι. καὶ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶνδε ἐπέμφθη Γαβίνιος μετὰ στρατιᾶς. καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν ὁρμῶντα Μιθριδάτης μὲν ὁ Παρθυαίων βασιλεύς, ἐξελαυνόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπ' Ὁρώδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μετῆγεν ἐξ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ αὐτόν, ὁ ἑνδέκατος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ ὅδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, μετέπεισε χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀντὶ Παρθυαίων ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρέας ὁρμῆσαι. καὶ κατήγαγε μὲν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Γαβίνιος, Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνευ ψηφίσματος ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπαισίῳ νομιζομένῳ· ἦν γάρ τι Σιβύλλειον αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεῦον. ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ μοι δοκεῖ Κράσσος ἄρξαι Σύρων, ὅτῳ πολεμούντι Παρθυαίοις ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὰ γίγνεται. καὶ ἐπὶ Λευκίου Βύβλου μετὰ Κράσσον στρατηγοῦντος Συρίας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐσέβαλον οἱ Παρθυαῖοι. Σάξα δὲ μετὰ Βύβλον ἡγουμένου καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμον, ἀσχολουμένων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὰ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐμφύλια.

IX

CAP. IX 52. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἐντελῶς ἐν τῇ Παρθικῇ συγγραφῇ λέξω· τῆς δὲ βίβλου τῆσδε οὔσης Συριακῆς, ὅπως μὲν ἔσχον Συρίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ

warding off the attacks of the neighbouring Arabs. It was on account of these events in Syria that Rome began to appoint for Syria proconsuls,[1] with power to levy troops and engage in war like consuls. The first of these sent out with an army was Gabinius, and as he was setting out for the war, Mithridates, king of the Parthians, who had been driven out of his kingdom by his brother, Orodes, persuaded him to turn his forces from the Arabs against the Parthians. Then Ptolemy XI., king of Egypt, who likewise had lost his throne, prevailed upon him by a large sum of money to turn his arms from the Parthians against Alexandria. Gabinius overcame the Alexandrians and restored Ptolemy to power, but was himself banished by the Senate for invading Egypt without their authority, and undertaking a war considered ill-omened by the Romans; for it was forbidden by the Sibylline books. I think that Crassus succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria—the same who met with the great disaster when waging war against the Parthians. While Lucius Bibulus was in command of Syria after Crassus, the Parthians made an incursion into that country. While the government was in charge of Saxa, the successor of Bibulus, they even overran the country as far as Ionia, the Romans being then occupied by the civil wars.

CHAP. VIII

B.C. 55

B.C. 55

B.C. 54

B.C. 51

B.C. 40

IX

52. I SHALL deal with these events more particularly in my Parthian history, but as this book is concerned with Syrian affairs, now that I have described how

CHAP IX

Syria at the death of Alexander the Great

[1] Literally, "those who have held the office which gives its name to the year." "In the consulship of so-and-so" was the ordinary Roman way of expressing a date.

CAP. IX συνέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, εἴρηται, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ τὰ Μακεδόνων ἐπιδραμεῖν. οἱ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων Συρίας ἐβασίλευον.

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐπὶ Πέρσαις Σύρων, ὁ καὶ πάντων βασιλεὺς ὅσων εἶδεν· Ἀλεξάνδρου δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ παισὶ τῷ μὲν βραχεῖ πάνυ τῷ δὲ ἔτι κυϊσκομένῳ, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, πόθῳ τοῦ Φιλιππείου γένους, εἵλοντο σφῶν βασιλεύειν Ἀριδαῖον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, καίπερ οὐκ ἔμφρονα νομιζόμενον εἶναι, μετονομάσαντες δὴ Φίλιππον ἀντὶ Ἀριδαίου, τρεφομένων ἔτι τῶν παίδων Ἀλεξάνδρου (ἐφύλαξαν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν κύουσαν), οἱ φίλοι δ' ἐς σατραπείας ἐνείμαντο τὰ ἔθνη, Περδίκκου διανέμοντος αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον τῶν βασιλέων ἀποθανόντων βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ σατράπαι. Σύρων δὴ πρῶτος γίγνεται σατράπης Λαομέδων ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἔκ τε Περδίκκου καὶ ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Περδίκκαν προστατεύσαντος τῶν βασιλέων. Λαομέδοντα δ' ἐπιπλεύσας Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπης ἔπειθε πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐγχειρίσαι οἱ τὴν Συρίαν, προβολήν τε οὖσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπιχείρημα κατὰ Κύπρου. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον συλλαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείρας πρὸς Ἀλκέταν ἔφυγεν ἐς Καρίαν. καί τινα χρόνον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἦρχε Συρίας, καὶ φρουρὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταλιπὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέπλει.

53. Ἀντίγονος δ' ἦν Φρυγίας μὲν καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Παμφυλίας σατράπης, ἐπίσκοπος δ' εἶναι τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας ἐξ Ἀντιπάτρου περῶντος ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπολελειμμένος Εὐμένη τὸν Καπ-

the Romans conquered Syria and brought it to its present condition, it is not inappropriate to give a brief account of the part played by the Macedonians, who reigned over Syria before the Romans. CHAP. IX

After the Persians, Alexander became the sovereign of Syria as well as of all other peoples whom he saw. He died leaving one very young son and another yet unborn, and the Macedonians, who were loyal to the race of Philip, chose Aridaeus, the brother of Alexander, as king during the minority of Alexander's sons (for they even guarded the pregnant wife), although he was considered to be hardly of sound mind, and they changed his name from Aridaeus to Philip. Meanwhile Alexander's friends divided the nations into satrapies, which Perdiccas parcelled among them by the authority of King Philip. Not long afterward, when the true kings died, these satraps became kings. The first satrap of Syria was Laomedon of Mitylene, who derived his authority from Perdiccas and from Antipater, who succeeded the latter as guardian of the kings. To this Laomedon Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, came with a fleet and offered him a large sum of money if he would hand over Syria to him, because it was well situated for defending Egypt and for attacking Cyprus. When Laomedon refused Ptolemy seized him. Laomedon bribed his guards and escaped to Alcetas in Caria. Thus Ptolemy ruled Syria for a while, left a garrison in the cities, and returned to Egypt. B.C. 323

53. Antigonus was satrap of Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Having been left as overseer of all Asia when Antipater went to Europe, he besieged Eumenes, the satrap of Cappadocia, who had been B.C. 321

CAP. IX παδοκίας σατράπην, ψηφισαμένων εἶναι πολέμιον τῶν Μακεδόνων, ἐπολιόρκει. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκφεύγει, καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκρατύνετο ἑαυτῷ. ἀλλ' Εὐμένη μὲν κτείνει καταλαβὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος, καὶ ἐπανιὼν ὑπεδέχθη λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου σατραπεύοντος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. ὑβρίσαντος δέ τινα τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ οὐ κοινώσαντος Ἀντιγόνῳ παρόντι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἤτει λογισμοὺς χρημάτων τε καὶ κτημάτων. ὁ δὲ ἀσθενέστερος ὢν Ἀντίγονου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑπεχώρει. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ τοῦ Σελεύκου Βλίτορά τε, Μεσοποταμίας ἡγούμενον, παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅτι Σέλευκον μεθῆκεν ἀπιόντα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν καὶ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐκ Μήδων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔθνη, καθίστατο ἑαυτῷ, ἤδη καὶ Ἀντιπάτρου τεθνεῶτος. ἐπίφθονός τε εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις σατράπαις ἐγίγνετο, γῆς ἄρχων τοσῆσδε. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Σελεύκῳ παρακαλοῦντι συνέθεντο Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Θρᾴκης σατράπης καὶ Κάσσανδρος ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου, Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἡγούμενος· καὶ ὁμοῦ πρεσβευσάμενοι τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἠξίουν τὴν ἐπίκτητον αὐτῷ γενομένην γῆν τε καὶ χρήματα πρός τε σφᾶς εἶμασθαι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους Μακεδόνας, οἳ τῶν σατραπειῶν ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν. ἐπιχλευάσαντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου οἱ μὲν ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο κοινόν, ὁ δὲ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐξέβαλλε τὰς φρουρὰς ὅσαι ἔτι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς λεγομένης κοίλης τὰ ἔτι ὑπήκοα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀθρόως περιέσπα.

publicly declared an enemy of the Macedonians. Eumenes escaped and brought Media under his power, but was afterwards captured and killed by Antigonus, who on his return was received magnificently by Seleucus, the satrap of Babylon. One day B.C. 316 Seleucus punished one of the governors without consulting Antigonus, who was present, and the latter became angry and demanded accounts of his money and possessions. As Seleucus was inferior to Antigonus in power he fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Thereupon Antigonus removed Blitor, the governor of Mesopotamia, from office, because he allowed Seleucus to escape, and took upon himself the government of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and all the countries from Media to the Hellespont, Antipater having died in the meantime. The other satraps at once became envious of his possession of so large a share of territory; for which reason chiefly Ptolemy, Lysimachus, the satrap of Thrace, and Cassander, the son of Antipater and leader of the Macedonians after his father's death, entered into a league with Seleucus at his request. They sent a joint embassy to Antigonus and demanded that he should share with them and with the other Macedonians who had lost their satrapies his newly acquired lands and money. Antigonus treated their demand with scorn, and they jointly made war against him. He on the other hand prepared to meet them, and drove out all Ptolemy's remaining garrisons in Syria and stripped him of all the possessions that he still retained in Phoenicia and Coele-Syria.

Seleucus Nicator

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54. Χωρῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς Κιλικίους πύλας, Δημήτριον τὸν υἱόν, ἀμφὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότα, ἐν Γάζῃ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τὰς ὁρμὰς Πτολεμαίου τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. τοῦτον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνίκα περὶ τὴν Γάζαν μάχῃ λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ἐς τὸν πατέρα ἐχώρει. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτίκα τὸν Σέλευκον ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα πέμπει, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναληψόμενον· καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χιλίους, καὶ τριακοσίους ἱππέας. καὶ σὺν οὕτως ὀλίγοις ὁ Σέλευκος τήν τε Βαβυλωνίαν, προθύμως αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκδεχομένων, ἀνέλαβε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς μέγα προήγαγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος Πτολεμαῖον ἠμύνετο, καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ Κύπρον ἐνίκα περιφανεῖ, Δημητρίου τοῦ παιδὸς στρατηγοῦντος· ἐφ' ὅτῳ λαμπροτάτῳ γενομένῳ ὁ στρατὸς ἀνεῖπεν ἄμφω βασιλέας, Ἀντίγονόν τε καὶ Δημήτριον, ἤδη καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τεθνεώτων, Ἀριδαίου τε τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἀνεῖπε δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ στρατὸς βασιλέα, ὡς μή τι διὰ τὴν ἧσσαν μειονεκτοίη τῶν νενικηκότων. τοῖσδε μὲν δὴ τυχεῖν ὁμοίων συνηνέχθη κατ' ἐναντίας αἰτίας, εἵποντο δ' εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς οἱ λοιποί, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἅπαντες ἐκ σατραπῶν ἐγίγνοντο.

55. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ καὶ Μηδίας, Νικάτορα κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου Μηδίας σατραπεύειν ἀπολελειμμένον. πολέμους δ' ἐπολέμησε πολλοὺς Μακεδόσι καὶ βαρβάροις, καὶ τούτων Μακεδόσι μὲν δύο μεγίστους, τὸν μὲν ὕστερον Λυσιμάχῳ βασιλεύοντι

54. Then he marched beyond the Cilician gates, CHAP. IX
leaving his son Demetrius, who was about twenty-two years of age, at Gaza with an army to meet Ptolemy, who was coming from Egypt, but the latter defeated the young man badly in a battle near Gaza and compelled him to fly to his father. Ptolemy B.C. 312
immediately sent Seleucus to Babylon to resume the government and gave him 1000 foot-soldiers and 300 horse for the purpose. With this small force Seleucus recovered Babylon, the inhabitants receiving him with enthusiasm, and within a short time he augmented his power greatly. Nevertheless Antigonus warded off the attack of Ptolemy and gained a splendid naval victory over him near Cyprus, in which his son Demetrius was the commander. On account of this very notable exploit the army proclaimed both Antigonus and Demetrius kings, as their own kings (Aridaeus, the son of Philip and Olympias, and the two sons of Alexander) were now dead. Ptolemy's army also saluted him as king lest after his defeat he should be held inferior to the victors. Thus for these men similar consequences followed contrary events. All the others at once followed suit, and all the satraps became kings.

55. In this way Seleucus became king of Babylonia. He also acquired the kingdom of Media, slaying with his own hand in battle Nicator whom Antigonus had left as satrap of that country. He afterwards waged many wars with Macedonians and barbarians. The two principal ones were with Macedonians, the second with Lysimachus, king of Thrace, the first

CAP. IX Θράκης, τὸν δὲ πρότερον Ἀντιγόνῳ περὶ Ἶψον τῆς Φρυγίας, αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦντι καὶ αὐτῷ μαχομένῳ, καίπερ ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότι. πεσόντος δ' Ἀντιγόνου κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ὅσοι βασιλεῖς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἅμα τῷ Σελεύκῳ καθηρήκεσαν, τὴν Ἀντιγόνου γῆν διενέμοντο. καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος τότε τῆς μετ' Εὐφράτην Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς ἀνὰ τὸ μεσόγειον ἄρχειν διέλαχεν. ἐφεδρεύων δὲ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐγγὺς ἔθνεσι, καὶ δυνατὸς ὢν βιάσασθαι καὶ πιθανὸς προσαγαγέσθαι, ἦρξε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας τῆς Σελευκίδος λεγομένης καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Παρθυαίων καὶ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Ταπύρων καὶ τῆς Σογδιανῆς καὶ Ἀραχωσίας καὶ Ὑρκανίας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὅμορα ἔθνη μέχρι Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγεγένητο δορίληπτα, ὡς ὡρίσθαι τῷδε μάλιστα μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ πλέον· ἀπὸ γὰρ Φρυγίας ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄνω πάντα Σελεύκῳ κατήκουεν. καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο. καὶ τῶνδε τὰ μὲν πρὸ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου τελευτῆς, τὰ δὲ μετ' Ἀντίγονον ἐποίησεν.

56. Λέγεται δ' αὐτῷ, στρατιώτῃ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι ὄντι καὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐπομένῳ, χρησμὸν ἐν Διδυμέως γενέσθαι πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπανόδου, "μὴ σπεῦδ' Εὐρώπηνδ'· Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων." καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν ἑστίαν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρῴαν, οὐδενὸς ἅψαντος, ἐκλάμψαι πῦρ μέγα. καὶ ὄναρ αὐτοῦ τὴν

with Antigonus at Ipsus in Phrygia, where Antigonus commanded in person and fought in person although he was above eighty years of age. Antigonus was killed in the battle, and then all the kings who had been in league with Seleucus against him divided his territory among themselves. At this division all Syria from the Euphrates to the sea, also inland Phrygia, fell to the lot of Seleucus. Always lying in wait for the neighbouring nations, strong in arms and persuasive in diplomacy, he acquired Mesopotamia, Armenia, the so-called Seleucid Cappadocia, the Persians, Parthians, Bactrians, Arabs, Tapyri, Sogdiani, Arachotes, Hyrcanians, and all the other adjacent peoples that had been subdued by Alexander, as far as the river Indus, so that he ruled over a wider empire in Asia than any of his predecessors except Alexander. For the whole region from Phrygia to the Indus was subject to Seleucus. He crossed the Indus and waged war with Androcottus, king of the Indians, who dwelt on the banks of that stream, until they came to an understanding with each other and contracted a marriage relationship. Some of these exploits were performed before the death of Antigonus and some afterward.

B.C. 301

Extent of the Empire

56. It is said that while he was still serving under Alexander and following him in the war against the Persians he consulted the Didymaean oracle to inquire about his return to Macedonia and that he received for answer:—

Oracles and prodigies concerning Seleucus

"Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you."

It was said also that in Macedonia a great fire burst forth on his ancestral hearth without anybody lighting it; also that his mother saw in a dream that

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μητέρα ἰδεῖν, ὃν ἂν εὕροι δακτύλιον, δοῦναι φόρημα Σελεύκῳ, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύσειν ἔνθα ἂν ὁ δακτύλιος ἐκπέσῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν ηὗρεν ἄγκυραν ἐν σιδήρῳ κεχαραγμένην, ὁ δὲ τὴν σφραγῖδα τήνδε ἀπώλεσε κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην. λέγεται καὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπιόντα ὕστερον προσκόψαι λίθῳ, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἀνασκαφέντα ἄγκυραν ὀφθῆναι. θορυβουμένων δὲ τῶν μάντεων ὡς ἐπὶ συμβόλῳ κατοχῆς, Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου παραπέμποντα εἰπεῖν ἀσφαλείας τὴν ἄγκυραν, οὐ κατοχῆς εἶναι σύμβολον. καὶ Σελεύκῳ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα καὶ βασιλεύσαντι ἡ σφραγὶς ἄγκυρα ἦν, δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ περιόντος ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἐφορῶντος ἕτερον τῷ Σελεύκῳ σημεῖον περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοιόνδε γενέσθαι. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐπανελθόντι, καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ λίμνας ἐπὶ χρείᾳ τοῦ τὸν Εὐφράτην τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἀρδεύειν περιπλέοντι, ἄνεμος ἐμπεσὼν ἥρπασε τὸ διάδημα, καὶ φερόμενον ἐκρεμάσθη δόνακος ἐν τάφῳ τινὸς ἀρχαίου βασιλέως. καὶ ἐσήμαινε μὲν ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τόδε, ναύτην δέ φασιν ἐκκολυμβήσαντα περιθέσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ διάδημα καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν ἄβροχον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ λαβεῖν τῆς προθυμίας αὐτίκα δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τάλαντον ἀργυρίου· τῶν δὲ μάντεων αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων οἱ μὲν πεισθῆναι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ ἀντειπεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τάδε πάντα ὑπερελθόντες, οὐ ναύτην ὅλως φασὶν ἀλλὰ Σέλευκον ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκκολυμβῆσαι, καὶ περιθέσθαι Σέλευκον αὐτὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἵν' ἄβροχον εἴη. καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐς τέλος ἀμφοῖν

whatever ring she found she should give him to wear, and that he should be king at the place where he should lose the ring. She did find an iron ring with an anchor engraved on it, and he lost it near the Euphrates. It is said also that at a later period, when he was setting out for Babylon, he stumbled against a stone which, when dug up, was seen to be an anchor. When the soothsayers were alarmed at this prodigy, thinking that it portended delay, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who accompanied the expedition, said that an anchor was a sign of safety, not of delay; and for this reason Seleucus, when he became king, used an engraved anchor for his signet-ring. Some say that while Alexander was still alive and looking on, another omen of the future power of Seleucus was made manifest in this wise. After Alexander had returned from India to Babylon and while he was sailing around the Babylonian lagoons with a view to the irrigation of the Assyrian fields from the Euphrates, a wind struck him and carried away his diadem and hung it on a bunch of reeds growing on the tomb of an ancient king. This of itself signified the death of Alexander; but they say that a sailor swam after it, put it on his own head, and, without wetting it, brought it to Alexander, who gave him at once a silver talent as a reward for his zealous loyalty. The soothsayers advised putting the man to death, and some say that Alexander followed their advice, but others that he refused. Some narrators, however, omit the whole of this story and say that it was no sailor at all, but Seleucus who swam after the king's diadem, and that he put it on his own head to avoid wetting it; and the signs turned out true as to both

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B.C. 323

CAP. IX ἀπαντῆσαι. Ἀλέξανδρόν τε γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μεταστῆναι τοῦ βίου, καὶ Σέλευκον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γῆς, ὅτι πλείστης μάλιστα τόνδε τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων, βασιλεῦσαι.

57. Τοσαῦτα μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν Σελεύκῳ προμαντευθέντων ἐπυθόμην· γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταστάντος ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς ἧς δὴ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἡγήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡφαιστίωνι Περδίκκας, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον σατράπης τε τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ σατραπείᾳ. γενομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς πολέμους ἐπιτυχεστάτῳ Νικάτωρ ἐπώνυμον γίγνεται· τῷδε γὰρ ἀρέσκομαι μᾶλλον τοῦ Νικάτορα κτεῖναι. καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄντι εὐρώστῳ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ταῦρον ἄγριον ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρου θυσίᾳ ποτὲ ἐκθορόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις κατειργασμένῳ, προστιθέασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε κέρατα. πόλεις δὲ ᾤκισεν ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἑκκαίδεκα μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, πέντε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ Λαοδικείας, ἐννέα δ' ἐπωνύμους ἑαυτοῦ, τέσσαρας δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, τρεῖς Ἀπαμείας καὶ Στρατονίκειαν μίαν. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέσταται καὶ νῦν Σελεύκειαι μὲν ἥ τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, Λαοδίκεια δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει καὶ ἡ τῆς Συρίας Ἀπάμεια. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ Μακεδονίας ὠνόμαζεν, ἢ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἑαυτοῦ τισιν, ἢ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως· ὅθεν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις πολλὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν πολλὰ δὲ Μακεδονικῶν πολισμάτων ὀνόματα, Βέρροια,

of them in the end, for Alexander departed from life in Babylon and Seleucus became the ruler of a larger part of his dominions than any other of Alexander's successors. CHAP. IX

57. Such are the prophecies I have heard of concerning Seleucus. Directly after the death of Alexander he became the leader of the Companion cavalry, which Hephaestion, and afterwards Perdiccas, commanded during the life of Alexander. After commanding the cavalry he became satrap of Babylon, and after satrap, king. As he was very successful in war he acquired the surname of Nicator. At least that seems to me more probable than that he received it from the killing of Nicator. He was of such a large and powerful frame that once when a wild bull was brought for sacrifice to Alexander and broke loose from his ropes, Seleucus held him alone, with nothing but his hands, for which reason his statues are ornamented with horns. He built cities throughout the entire length of his dominions and named sixteen of them Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine after himself, and four after his wives, that is, three Apamea and one Stratonicea. Of these the two most renowned at the present time are the two Seleucias, one on the sea and the other on the river Tigris, Laodicea in Phoenicia, Antioch under Mount Lebanon, and Apamea in Syria. To the others he gave names from Greece or Macedonia, or from his own exploits, or in honour of Alexander; whence it comes to pass that in Syria and among the barbarous regions of upper Asia many of the towns bear Greek and Macedonian names, such as Berrhoea, Edessa, B.C. 312-280

Cities founded by him

CAP. IX

Ἔδεσσα, Πέρινθος, Μαρώνεια, Καλλίπολις, Ἀχαΐα, Πέλλα, Ὠρωπός, Ἀμφίπολις, Ἀρέθουσα, Ἀστακός, Τεγέα, Χαλκίς, Λάρισα, Ἥραια, Ἀπολλωνία, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παρθυηνῇ Σώτειρα, Καλλιόπη, Χάρις, Ἑκατόμπυλος, Ἀχαΐα, ἐν δ' Ἰνδοῖς Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις Ἀλεξανδρέσχατα. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου νίκαις ἔστι Νικηφόριόν τε ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ Νικόπολις ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας.

58. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς Σελευκείας οἰκίζοντι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, διοσημίαν ἡγήσασθαι κεραυνοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεὸν αὐτοῖς κεραυνὸν ἔθετο, καὶ θρησκεύουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι καὶ νῦν κεραυνόν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἡμέραν ἐπιλέξασθαι τοὺς μάγους κελευομένους, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν, ᾗ τῶν θεμελίων ἄρξασθαι τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἔδει, ψεύσασθαι τὴν ὥραν τοὺς μάγους, οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐπιτείχισμα τοιόνδε σφίσι γενέσθαι. καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὴν δεδομένην ὥραν ἀνέμενεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἕτοιμος, ἀτρεμῶν ἔστε σημήνειεν ὁ Σέλευκος, ἄφνω κατὰ τὴν αἰσιωτέραν ὥραν δόξαντές τινα κελεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀνεπήδησαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν κηρύκων ἐρυκόντων ἔτι ἀνασχέσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξετετέλεστο, Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχοντι, καὶ τοὺς μάγους αὖθις ἀνακρίνοντι περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἄδειαν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον οἱ μάγοι· "τὴν πεπρωμένην ὦ βασιλεῦ μοῖραν, χείρονά τε καὶ κρείσσονα, οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πόλεως ἐναλλάξαι. μοῖρα δέ τις καὶ πόλεών ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τήνδε χρονιωτάτην μὲν ἐδόκει τοῖς θεοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀρχομένην ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὥρας ἧς

Perinthus, Maronea, Callipolis, Achaia, Pella, Oropus, Amphipolis, Arethusa, Astacus, Tegea, Chalcis, Larissa, Heraea, and Apollonia; in Parthia also Sotera, Calliope, Charis, Hecatompylos, Achaia; in India Alexandropolis; in Scythia Alexandreschata. From the victories of Seleucus come the names of Nicephorium in Mesopotamia and of Nicopolis in Armenia very near Cappadocia. CHAP. IX

58. They say that when he was about to build the two Seleucias a portent of thunder preceded the foundation of the one by the sea, for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place, and accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day. They say, also, that when the Magi were ordered to indicate the propitious day and hour for beginning the foundations of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris they falsified the hour because they did not want to have such a stronghold built against themselves. While the king was waiting in his tent for the appointed hour, and the army, in readiness to begin the work, stood quietly till Seleucus should give the signal, suddenly, at the true hour of destiny, they seemed to hear a voice ordering them on. So they sprang to their work with such alacrity that the heralds who tried to stop them were not able to do so. When the work was brought to an end Seleucus, being troubled in his mind, again made inquiry of the Magi concerning his city, and they, having first secured a promise of impunity, replied, "That which is fated, O King, whether it be for better or worse, neither man nor city can change, for there is a fate for cities as well as for men. It pleases the gods that this city shall endure for ages, because it was begun on the hour Seleucia-on-the-Tigris

CAP. IX ἐγένετο· δειμαίνοντες δ' ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπιτείχισμα ἡμῖν ἐσομένην, παρεφέρομεν τὸ πεπρωμένον. τὸ δὲ κρεῖσσον ἦν καὶ μάγων πανουργούντων καὶ βασιλέως ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτό. τοιγάρτοι τὸ δαιμόνιον τὰ αἰσιώτερα τῷ στρατῷ προσέταξεν. καὶ τοῦτο ἔνι σοι καταμαθεῖν ὧδε, ἵνα μή τι καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἔτι τεχνάζειν ὑπονοῇς. αὐτός τε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺ τῷ στρατῷ παρεκάθησο, καὶ τὸ κέλευσμα αὐτὸς ἐδεδώκεις ἀναμένειν· καὶ ὁ εὐπειθέστατος ὢν σοι πρὸς κινδύνους καὶ πόνους οὐκ ἠνέσχετο νῦν οὐδὲ ἀναπαύσεως ἐπιτάγματος, ἀλλ' ἀνέθορεν, οὐδὲ ἀνὰ μέρος ἀλλ' ἀθρόως, ἐπιστάταις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐνόμιζε κεκελεῦσθαι. καὶ ἐκεκέλευστο δή· διόπερ οὐδὲ σοῦ κατερύκοντος αὐτοὺς ἔτι ἐπείθοντο. τί ἂν οὖν βασιλέως ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἴη καρτερώτερον ἄλλο θεοῦ; ὃς τῆς σῆς γνώμης ἐπεκράτησε, καὶ ἡγεμόνευσέ σοι τῆς πόλεως ἀντὶ ἡμῶν, δυσμεναίνων ἡμῖν τε καὶ γένει παντὶ τῷ περιοίκῳ. ποῦ γὰρ ἔτι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἰσχύσει, δυνατωτέρου γένους παρῳκισμένου; ἡ μὲν δὴ πόλις σοι γέγονε σὺν τύχῃ καὶ μεγιστεύσει καὶ χρόνιος ἔσται· σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν, ἐξαμαρτοῦσιν ὑπὸ δέους οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀφαιρέσεως, τὴν συγγνώμην βεβαίου." ταῦτα τῶν μάγων εἰπόντων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥσθη καὶ συνέγνω.

X

CAP. X 59. Τοιάδε μὲν ἐπυθόμην περὶ Σελευκείας· ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, περιὼν ἔτι, τῆς ἄνω γῆς βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ εἴ τῳ

on which it was begun. We feared lest it should be a stronghold against ourselves, and falsified the appointed time. But destiny was stronger than crafty Magi or an unsuspecting king. For that reason the deity announced the more propitious hour to the army. You may know this to be true, so that you need not still suspect us of deception, from the fact that you were presiding over the army yourself, as king, and you had yourself ordered them to wait; but the army, ever obedient to you in facing danger and toil, could not now be restrained, even when you gave them the order to stop, but sprang to their work, not a part of them merely, but all together, and their officers with them, thinking that the order had been given. In fact it had been given. That was the reason why not even you could hold them back. What can be stronger in human affairs than a king, unless it be a god, who overcame your intention and supplanted us in giving you directions about the city, being hostile to us and to all the people round about? What can our resources avail hereafter with a more powerful race settled along side of us? This city of yours has had a fortunate beginning, and it will be great and enduring. We beg that you will confirm your pardon of our fault which we committed from fear of the loss of our own prosperity." The king was pleased with what the Magi said and pardoned them. 59. This is what I have heard about Seleucia. CHAP. IX

X

SELEUCUS, while still living, appointed his son, Antiochus, king of upper Asia in place of himself. If this seems noble and kingly on his part, even CHAP. X B.C. 293

CAP. X

μεγαλόφρον εἶναι τόδε φαίνεται καὶ βασιλικόν, μεγαλοφρονέστερον ἔτι καὶ σοφώτερον ἤνεγκε τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην. ἦρα μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀντίοχος Στρατονίκης τῆς αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου γυναικός, μητρυιᾶς οἱ γενομένης καὶ παῖδα ἤδη τῷ Σελεύκῳ πεποιημένης, συγγιγνώσκων δὲ τὴν ἀθεμιστίαν τοῦ πάθους οὔτε ἐπεχείρει τῷ κακῷ οὔτε προύφερεν, ἀλλ' ἐνόσει καὶ παρεῖτο καὶ ἐκὼν ἐς τὸν θάνατον συνήργει. οὐδ' ὁ περιώνυμος ἰατρὸς Ἐρασίστρατος, ἐπὶ μεγίσταις συντάξεσι Σελεύκῳ συνών, εἶχε τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ πάθους, μέχρι φυλάξας καθαρὸν ἐκ πάντων τὸ σῶμα, εἴκασεν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν νόσον, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐρρωμένη καὶ νοσούσῃ τὸ σῶμα συναίσθεται. λύπας μὲν οὖν καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἄλλας ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἔρωτα δ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τῶν σωφρόνων. οὐδὲν δὲ οὐδ' ὡς τοῦ Ἀντιόχου φράζοντος αὐτῷ λιπαροῦντι μαθεῖν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ, παρεκαθέζετο καὶ ἐφύλασσε τὰς τοῦ σώματος μεταβολάς, ὅπως ἔχοι πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐσιόντων. ὡς δὲ ἠῦρεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων σβεννύμενον ἀεὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ μαραινόμενον ὁμαλῶς, ὅτε δὲ ἡ Στρατονίκη παρίοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισκεψομένη, τὴν μὲν γνώμην ὑπ' αἰδοῦς καὶ συνειδότος τότε μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούμενον καὶ σιωπῶντα, τὸ δὲ σῶμα καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ θαλερώτερόν τε γιγνόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ζωτικώτερον, καὶ αὖθις ἀπιούσης ἀσθενέστερον, ἔφη τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν αὐτῷ. ὑπεραλγήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐκβοήσαντος εἶπεν· "ἔρως ἔστὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ ἔρως γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατος."

Seleucus, Antiochus and Stratonice

nobler and wiser was his behaviour in reference to his son's falling in love, and the restraint which that son showed in regard to his passion; for Antiochus was in love with Stratonice, the wife of Seleucus, his own step-mother, who had already borne a child to Seleucus. Recognizing the wickedness of this passion, Antiochus did nothing wrong, nor did he show his feelings, but he fell sick, drooped, and strove his hardest to die. Nor could the celebrated physician, Erasistratus, who was serving Seleucus at a very high salary, form any diagnosis of his malady. At length, observing that his body was free from all the symptoms of disease, he conjectured that this was some condition of the mind, through which the body is often strengthened or weakened by sympathy; and he knew that, while grief, anger, and other passions disclose themselves, love alone is concealed by the modest. As even then Antiochus would confess nothing when the physican asked him earnestly and in confidence, he took a seat by his side and watched the changes of his body to see how he was affected by each person who entered his room. He found that when others came the patient was all the time weakening and wasting away at a uniform pace, but when Stratonice came to visit him his mind was greatly agitated by the struggles of modesty and conscience, and he remained silent. But his body in spite of himself became more vigorous and lively, and when she went away he became weaker again. So the physician told Seleucus that his son had an incurable disease. The king was overwhelmed with grief and cried aloud. Then the physician added, "His disease is love, love for a woman, but a hopeless love."

CAP. X

60. Σελεύκου δὲ θαυμάσαντος εἴ τινα μὴ δύναιτο πεῖσαι Σέλευκος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύς, ἐπὶ γάμῳ τοιοῦδε παιδός, ἱκεσίᾳ τε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ τοσῇδε βασιλείᾳ, περιιούσῃ μὲν ἐς τόνδε τὸν κάμνοντα βασιλέα, δοθησομένῃ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς σωτηρίας εἰ ἤδη τις ἐθέλοι, καὶ μόνον ἀξιοῦντος μαθεῖν τίς ἔστι τὸ γύναιον, ὁ Ἐρασίστρατος ἔφη· "τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ἐρᾷ." καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος, "εἶτ' ὦ 'γαθέ," ἔφη, "φιλίας μὲν οὕτω καὶ χαρίτων ἔχων ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ σοφίας ἐν ὀλίγοις, οὐ σώσεις μοι νέον ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικόν, φίλου καὶ βασιλέως υἱόν, ἀτυχοῦντα καὶ σωφρονοῦντα καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐπικρύπτοντα καὶ προτιμώμενον αὐτῷ θανάτου, ἀλλ' ὑπερόψει μὲν οὕτως Ἀντιόχου, ὑπερόψει δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Σέλευκον;" ὁ δ' ἀπομαχόμενος εἶπε λόγον ὡς ἄφυκτον, ὅτι μηδ' ἂν σύ, καίπερ ὢν πατήρ, τῆς σῆς Ἀντιόχος εἰ ἦρα γυναικός, μεθῆκας ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα. ἔνθα δὴ πάντας ὤμνυ τοὺς βασιλείους θεοὺς ὁ Σέλευκος, ἢ μὴν ἑκὼν ἂν καὶ χαίρων μεθεῖναι καὶ διήγημα γενέσθαι καλὸν εὐνοίας ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς ἐς παῖδα σώφρονα καὶ ἐγκρατῆ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς συμφορᾶς. πολλά τε ὅμοια ἐπενεγκών, ἤρξατο ἄχθεσθαι ὅτι μὴ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ γίγνοιτο ἰατρὸς ἀτυχοῦντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δέοιτο Ἐρασιστράτου.

61. Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον ὑποφαίνουσαν, οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν, ἀνεκάλυπτε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὅπως αὐτὸ εὕροι κρυπτόμενον

60. Seleucus was astonished that there could be any woman whom he, king of Asia, could not prevail upon to marry such a son as his, by entreaties, by gold, by gifts, by the whole of that great kingdom, the eventual inheritance of the sick prince, which the father would give to him even now, if he wished it, in order to save him. Desiring to learn only one thing more, he asked, "Who is this woman?" Erasistratus replied, "He is in love with my wife." "Well then, my good fellow," rejoined Seleucus, "since you are so bound to us by friendship and favours, and have few equals in goodness and wisdom, will you not save this princely young man for me, the son of your friend and king, unfortunate in love but virtuous, who has concealed his sinful passion and prefers to die rather than confess it? Do you so despise Antiochus? Do you despise his father also?" Erasistratus resisted, and said, as though putting forward an unanswerable argument, "Even you would not give Antiochus your wife if he were in love with her, although you are his father." Then Seleucus swore by all the gods of his royal house that he would willingly and cheerfully give her, and make himself an illustrious example of the kindness of a good father to a chaste son who controlled his passion and did not deserve such suffering. Much more he added of the same sort, and, finally, began to lament that he could not himself be physician to his unhappy boy, but must needs depend on Erasistratus in this matter also. CHAP. X

61. When Erasistratus saw by the king's earnestness that he was not pretending, he told the whole truth. He related how he had discovered the nature of the malady, and how he had detected the secret

CAP. X διηγεῖτο. Σελεύκῳ δὲ ἡσθέντι ἔργον μὲν ἐγένετο πεῖσαι τὸν υἱόν, ἔργον δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν γυναῖκα· ὡς δ' ἔπεισε, τὴν στρατιὰν συναγαγών, αἰσθομένην ἴσως ἤδη τι τούτων, κατελογίζετο μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅτι δὴ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων ἐπὶ μήκιστον προαγάγοι· διὸ καὶ γηρῶντι ἤδη δυσκράτητον εἶναι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. "ἐθέλω δέ," ἔφη, "διελεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμεριμνίαν, καὶ τὸ μέρος ἤδη δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμοῖς φιλτάτοις. δίκαιοι δ' ἐστέ μοι πάντες ἐς πάντα συνεργεῖν, οἳ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ηὐξήθητε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον. φίλτατοι δ' εἰσί μοι καὶ ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι τῶν τε παίδων ὁ τέλειος ἤδη καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παῖδες, ὡς νέοις, γένοιντο ταχέως, καὶ πλέονες φύλακες ὑμῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας εἶεν. ἁρμόζω σφίσιν ἀλλήλους ἐφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πέμπω βασιλέας εἶναι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤδη τῶν ἄνω. καὶ οὐ Περσῶν ὑμῖν ἔθη καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τόνδε τὸν κοινὸν ἅπασιν ἐπιθήσω νόμον, ἀεὶ δίκαιον εἶναι τὸ πρὸς βασιλέως ὁριζόμενον." ὁ μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ ὡς βασιλέα τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μέγιστον καὶ πατέρα ἄριστον ηὐφήμει καὶ ὁ Σέλευκος Στρατονίκῃ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τὰ αὐτὰ προστάξας ἐζεύγνυ τὸν γάμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἔργον ἀοίδιμον τόδε καὶ δυνατώτερον τῶν ἐν πολέμοις αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐργασάμενος.

62. Σατραπεῖαι δὲ ἦσαν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τοσαύτης ἐβασίλευε γῆς. καὶ τὴν

passion. Seleucus was overjoyed, but it was a difficult matter to persuade his son and not less so to persuade his wife; but he succeeded finally. Then he assembled his army, which perhaps by now suspected something, and told them of his exploits and of the extent of his empire, showing that it surpassed that of any of the other successors of Alexander, and saying that as he was now growing old it was hard for him to govern it on account of its size. "I wish," he said, "to divide it, in the interests of your future safety, and to give a part of it now to those who are dearest to me. It is fitting that all of you, who have advanced to such greatness of dominion and power under me since the time of Alexander, should co-operate with me in everything. The dearest to me, and well worthy to reign, are my grown-up son and my wife. As they are young, I pray they may soon have children to aid in guarding the empire. I join them in marriage in your presence and send them to be sovereigns of the upper provinces now. The law which I shall impose upon you is not the customs of the Persians and other nations, but the law which is common to all, that what the king ordains is always right." When he had thus spoken the army shouted that he was the greatest king of all the successors of Alexander and the best father. Seleucus laid the same injunctions on Stratonice and his son, then joined them in marriage, and sent them to their kingdom, showing himself even stronger in this famous act than in his deeds of arms.

Seleucus divides his kingdom

62. Seleucus had seventy-two satraps under him, so extensive was the territory over which he ruled. The greater part he had transferred to his son, but

CAP. X πλείονα τῷ παιδὶ παραδούς, ἦρχε τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ Εὐφράτην μόνων. καὶ πόλεμον τελευταῖον Λυσιμάχῳ περὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πολεμῶν, Λυσιμάχου μὲν ἐκράτει πεσόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπέρα. καὶ ἐς Λυσιμάχειαν ἀναβαίνων κτείνεται. Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτὸν ἐπόμενος ἔκτεινεν, ὅτῳ κεραυνὸς ἐπίκλησις. υἱὸς δ' ἦν ὁ κεραυνος ὅδε Πτολεμαίου τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκπεσόντα Αἰγύπτου διὰ δέος, ὅτι νεωτάτῳ παιδὶ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπενόει δοῦναι, ὁ Σέλευκος οἷα φίλου παῖδα ἀτυχοῦντα ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἔφερβε καὶ ἐπήγετο πάντῃ φονέα ἑαυτοῦ.

63. Καὶ Σέλευκος μὲν οὕτω τελευτᾷ, τρία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας, καὶ βασιλεύσας αὐτῶν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. καί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτῷ συνενεχθῆναι τὸ αὐτὸ λόγιον, "μὴ σπεῦδ' Εὐρώπηνδ'· Ἀσίη τοι πολλὸν ἀμείνων." ἡ γὰρ Λυσιμάχεια τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐστί, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διεπέρα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θανάτου ποτὲ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ λόγιον προαγορευθῆναι "Ἄργος ἀλευόμενος τὸ πεπρωμένον εἰς ἔτος ἥξεις· εἰ δ' Ἄργει πελάσαις, τότε κεν παρὰ μοῖραν ὄλοιο." ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἄργος τὸ Πελοποννήσιον καὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὀρεστείᾳ (ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεάδαι Μακεδόνες) καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ λεγόμενον οἰκίσαι Διομήδην ἀλώμενον, καὶ εἴ τί που γῆς ἄλλο Ἄργος ἐκα-

he continued to reign over the country which lies between the Euphrates and the sea. The last war that he waged was with Lysimachus, for the possession of Phrygia on the Hellespont. Lysimachus was defeated and slain in battle. Then Seleucus crossed the Hellespont in order to possess himself of Lysimacheia, but he was killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus who accompanied him. This Ceraunus was the son of Ptolemy Soter and Euridice, the daughter of Antipater. He had left Egypt from fear, because his father had decided to leave the kingdom to his youngest son. Seleucus had received him as the unfortunate son of his friend, and thus he supported, and took with him everywhere, his own murderer.

CHAP. X

B.C. 281

Death of Seleucus

63. Thus Seleucus died at the age of seventy-three, having reigned forty-two years. It seems to me that the above-mentioned oracle hit the mark in this case too, when it said to him, "Do not hurry back to Europe; Asia will be much better for you," for Lysimacheia is in Europe, and he then crossed over to Europe for the first time after leaving it with the army of Alexander. It is said also that once when he specially consulted an oracle about his death he received this answer:—

B.C. 280

"If you keep away from Argos you will reach your allotted year, but if you approach that place you will die before your time."

There is an Argos in Peloponnesus, another in Amphilochia, another in Orestea (whence come the Macedonian Argeadae), and the one on the Ionian sea, said to have been built by Diomedes during his wanderings,—all these, and every place named Argos in every other country, Seleucus inquired

CAP. X λεῖτο, πάντα ἀνεζήτει καὶ ἐφυλάσσετο· ἀναβαίνοντι δ' ἐς τὴν Λυσιμάχειαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου βωμὸς ἦν ἐν ὄψει μέγας τε καὶ περιφανής, καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας στήσασθαι παραπλέοντας ἐς Κόλχους ἢ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύοντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι τὸν βωμὸν τοὺς περιχώρους Ἄργος καλεῖν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ναῦν διαφθείροντας τὸ ὄνομα ἢ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν, κτείνεται, ταῦτα ἔτι μανθάνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος ὄπισθεν. καὶ Σέλευκον μὲν ἔκαιε Φιλέταιρος ὁ Περγάμου δυναστεύσας, πολλῶν χρημάτων τὸ σῶμα τὸν κεραυνὸν αἰτήσας, καὶ τὰ λείψανα ἔπεμπεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἀπέθετο, καὶ νεὼν αὐτῷ ἐπέστησε καὶ τέμενος περιέθηκε· καὶ τὸ τέμενος Νικατόρειον ἐπικλήζεται.

64. Λυσίμαχον δὲ πυνθάνομαι, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὄντα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, παρατροχάσαι ποτὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτῷ, καὶ καμόντα, τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ βασιλέως ἵππου λαβόμενον, ἔτι συντρέχειν, πληγέντα δὲ ἐς τὸ μέτωπον ἐπὶ τὴν φλέβα τῷ τέλει τοῦ βασιλείου δόρατος αἱμορροεῖν· τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπορίᾳ τελαμῶνος, τῷ διαδήματι αὐτοῦ τὸ τραῦμα περιδῆσαι, καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι μὲν αἵματος τὸ διάδημα, τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μάντιν Ἀρίστανδρον φερομένῳ τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐπειπεῖν ὅτι βασιλεύσει μὲν οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ, βασιλεύσει δ' ἐπιπόνως. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μάλιστα σὺν οἷς ἐσατ-

about and avoided. But while he was advancing from the Hellespont to Lysimacheia a great and splendid altar presented itself to his view, which he was told had been built either by the Argonauts on their way to Colchis, or by the Achaeans who besieged Troy, for which reason the people in the neighbourhood still called it Argos, either by a corruption of the name of the ship *Argo*, or from the native place of the sons of Atreus. As he was still listening to this story, he was killed by Ptolemy, who stabbed him in the back. Philetaerus, the prince of Pergamus, bought the body of Seleucus from Ceraunus for a large sum of money, burned it, and sent the ashes to his son Antiochus. The latter deposited them at Seleucia-by-the-Sea, where he erected a temple to his father, and made a precinct round it. The precinct is called Nicatoreum. CHAP X

64. I have heard that Lysimachus, who was one of the armour-bearers of Alexander, was once running by his side for a long distance, and, being fatigued, took hold of the tail of the king's horse and continued to run; that he was struck in the forehead by the point of the king's spear, which opened one of his veins from which the blood flowed profusely; that Alexander, for want of a bandage, bound up the wound with his own diadem,[1] which was thus saturated with blood; and that Aristandrus, Alexander's soothsayer, when he saw Lysimachus carried away with the diadem on his forehead, said, "That man will be a king, but he will reign with toil and trouble." He reigned nearly forty years, counting those in which

[1] The blue band with white spots, worn round the tiara of the Persian kings, and adopted by Alexander.

CAP. X

ράπευσε, καὶ ἐπιπόνως ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἑβδομηκοντούτης ὢν στρατευόμενος καὶ μαχόμενος ἔπεσεν. εὐθὺς δ' ἐπαναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Σελεύκου, κείμενον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου κύων οἰκεῖος, ἐς πολὺ ὑπερμαχῶν, ἀλύμαντον ἐξ ὀρνέων καὶ θηρίων διεφύλασσε, μέχρι Θώραξ ὁ Φαρσάλιος εὑρὼν ἔθαψεν. οἱ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρόν φασι θάψαι, τὸν αὐτοῦ Λυσιμάχου παῖδα, φυγόντα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους πρὸς Σέλευκον ὅτε Λυσίμαχος Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸν ἕτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀνεῖλεν, ἐρευνησάμενον δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κυνὸς μάλιστα ἀνευρόντα ἤδη διεφθαρμένον. τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ τοὺς Λυσιμαχέας ἐνθέσθαι τῷ σφετέρῳ ἱερῷ, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λυσιμάχειον προσαγορεῦσαι.

XI

CAP. XI

Τοιόνδε μὲν δὴ τέλος ἑκατέρῳ τῶνδε τῶν βασιλέων συνηνέχθη, ἀνδρειοτάτων τε καὶ τὰ σώματα μεγίστων γενομένων, τοῦ μὲν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, τοῦ δὲ ἐς πλέονα τούτων ἔτι ἄλλα τρία, μεμαχημένων ἐκ χειρὸς οἰκείας ἀεὶ μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου.

65. Σελεύκου δ' ἀποθανόντος διάδοχοι, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ἐγένοντο οἵδε, Ἀντίοχος μὲν πρῶτος ὅδε ὁ τῆς μητρυιᾶς ἐρασθείς, ὃς καὶ σωτὴρ ἐπεκλήθη Γαλάτας ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλόντας, ἐξελάσας, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἕτερος, ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν γάμων γενόμενος, ὅτῳ θεὸς ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γίγνεται πρῶτον, ὅτι αὐτοῖς Τίμαρχον τύραννον καθεῖλεν. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν

he was satrap, and he did reign with toil and trouble. CHAP. X
He fell in battle, while still commanding his army and fighting, at the age of seventy. Directly after his death Seleucus was killed, and Lysimachus' dog watched his master's body lying on the ground for a long time, and kept it from being harmed by birds or beasts until Thorax of Pharsalia found and buried it. Others say that he was buried by his own son, Alexander, who fled to Seleucus from fear when Lysimachus put to death his other son, Agathocles; that he searched for the body on that occasion and found it, mainly by the help of the dog, and that it was already partly decomposed. The Lysimacheians deposited the bones in their temple and named the temple itself the Lysimacheum.

Death of Lysimachus

XI

Thus did these two kings, the bravest and most renowned for bodily size, come to their end, one of them at the age of seventy, the other three years older, and both fighting with their own hands until the day of their death. CHAP. XI

65. But after the death of Seleucus, the kingdom of Syria passed in regular succession from father to son as follows: the first was the same Antiochus who fell in love with his stepmother, to whom was given the surname of Soter (the Protector) for driving out the Gauls who had made an incursion into Asia from Europe. The second was another Antiochus, born of this marriage, who received the surname of Theos (the Divine) from the Milesians in the first instance, because he slew their tyrant, Timarchus. This

The successors of Seleucus

CAP. XI τὸν θεὸν ἔκτεινεν ἡ γυνὴ φαρμάκῳ. δύο δὲ εἶχε, Λαοδίκην καὶ Βερενίκην, ἐξ ἔρωτός τε καὶ ἐγγύης, . . . Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλαδέλφου θυγατέρα· καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε Λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὸ Βερενίκης βρέφος. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ φιλαδέλφου, ταῦτα τινύμενος, Λαοδίκην τε ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασεν. καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως τότε ἦρξαν ὡς τεταραγμένης τῆς τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἀρχῆς.

66. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ βασιλεὺς γίγνεται Συρίας Σέλευκος, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τε καὶ Λαοδίκης, ᾧ καλλίνικος ἐπώνυμον. ἐπὶ δὲ Σελεύκῳ δύο παῖδες αὐτοῦ Σελεύκου, καθ' ἡλικίαν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν, Σέλευκός τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος. Σελεύκῳ μὲν δὴ ἀσθενεῖ τε ὄντι καὶ πενομένῳ καὶ δυσπειθῆ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχοντι ἐπεβούλευσαν οἱ φίλοι διὰ φαρμάκων, καὶ ἐς ἔτη δύο μόνα ἐβασίλευσεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὅδε ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας ἐπίκλην, περὶ οὗ μοι πάλαι εἴρηται, Ῥωμαίοις πεπολεμηκότος. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῖν παίδοιν προεῖπον ἀμφοῖν βεβασιλευκότοιν, Σελεύκου τε καὶ Ἀντιόχου, Σελεύκου μὲν ἔτεσι δώδεκα, ἀπράκτως ἅμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφοράν, Ἀντιόχου δὲ δώδεκα οὐ πλήρεσιν, ἐν οἷς Ἀρταξίαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον εἶλε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ ἕκτον Πτολεμαῖον, ὀρφανευόμενον μετ' ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεύοντι περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Ποπίλιος παρὰ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὴς ἦκε, φέρων δέλτον ἐν ᾗ τάδε ἐγέγραπτο, μὴ πολεμεῖν Πτολεμαίοις Ἀντίοχον.

Theos was poisoned by his wife. He had two wives, Laodice and Berenice, the former a love-match, the latter a daughter pledged to him by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Laodice assassinated him and afterward Berenice and her child. Ptolemy, the son of Philadelphus, avenged these crimes by killing Laodice. He invaded Syria and advanced as far as Babylon. The Parthians now began their revolt, taking advantage of the confusion in the house of the Seleucidae. CHAP XI

66. Seleucus, the son of Theos and Laodice, surnamed Callinicus (the Triumphant), succeeded Theos as king of Syria. After Seleucus his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, succeeded in the order of their age. As Seleucus was sickly and poor and unable to command the obedience of the army, he was poisoned by a court conspiracy after reigning only two years. His brother was Antiochus the Great, who went to war with the Romans, of whom I have written above. He reigned thirty-seven years. I have already spoken of his two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus, both of whom ascended the throne. The former reigned twelve years, but feebly and without success by reason of his father's misfortune. Antiochus (Epiphanes) reigned not quite twelve years, in the course of which he captured Artaxias the Armenian and made an expedition into Egypt against Ptolemy VI., who had been left an orphan with one brother. While he was encamped near Alexandria, Popilius came to him as Roman ambassador, bringing an order in writing that he should not attack the Ptolemies. When he had B.C. 246 B.C. 226 B.C. 224 B.C. 187 B.C. 175 B.C 168

CAP. XI

ἀναγνόντι δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι βουλεύσεσθαι, κύκλον τῇ ῥάβδῳ περιέγραψεν ὁ Ποπίλιος, καὶ εἶπεν· "ἐνταῦθα βουλεύου." ὁ μὲν δὴ καταπλαγεὶς ἀνέζευξε, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐλυμαίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, καὶ φθίνων ἐτελεύτησε, παιδίον ἐνναετὲς ἀπολιπών, Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐπάτορα, ὥς μοι καὶ περὶ τοῦδε εἴρηται.

67. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, ὃς ὠμήρευεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῆς ὁμηρείας ἐκφυγὼν ἐβασίλευσε, σωτὴρ καὶ ὅδε πρὸς τῶν Σύρων, δεύτερος ἐπὶ τῷ Σελεύκου τοῦ νικάτορος παιδὶ ὀνομασθείς. ἐπανίσταται δὲ αὐτῷ τις Ἀλέξανδρος, ψευδόμενος εἶναι τοῦ Σελευκείου γένους· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς κατὰ μῖσος Δημητρίου συνελάμβανεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ Δημήτριος μὲν διὰ Πτολεμαῖον ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐτελεύτησε· τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξέβαλε Δημήτριος ὁ Δημητρίου τοῦδε τοῦ σωτῆρος υἱός, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὡς νόθον τοῦ γένους ἄνδρα νικήσας, νικάτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν Σύρων ὠνομάσθη, δεύτερος καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον. ἐπί τε Παρθυαίους καὶ ὅδε μετὰ Σέλευκον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ γενόμενος αἰχμάλωτος δίαιταν εἶχεν ἐν Φραάτου βασιλέως, καὶ Ῥοδογούνην ἔζευξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ βασιλεύς.

68. Παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναρχίαν τήνδε δοῦλος τῶν βασιλέων Διόδοτος παιδίον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ νόθου καὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίου θυγατρός, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἤγαγεν. καὶ τὸ παιδίον κτείνας αὐτὸς ἐπετόλμησε τῇ ἀρχῇ, Τρύφων ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μετονομασθείς. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ αἰχμαλώτου,

read it he replied that he would think about it. Popilius drew a circle around him with his staff and said, "Think about it here." He was terrified and withdrew from the country, and robbed the temple of Venus of Elymais; he then died of a wasting disease, leaving a son nine years of age, the Antiochus Eupator already mentioned. CHAP. XI B.C. 164

67. I have also spoken of Demetrius, his successor, who had been a hostage in Rome and who escaped and became king. He also was called Soter by the Syrians, being the second who bore that title after the son of Seleucus Nicator. Against him a certain Alexander took up arms, falsely pretending to be of the family of the Seleucidae, to whom Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave aid because he hated Demetrius. The latter was deprived of his kingdom by this means and died. His son, Demetrius, drove out Alexander, and for his victory over this bastard of the family he was surnamed Nicator by the Syrians, the next who bore that title after Seleucus. Following the example of Seleucus he made an expedition against the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by them and lived in the palace of King Phraates, who gave him his sister, Rhodoguna, in marriage. B.C. 162 Demetrius Soter

68. While the country was without a government Diodotus, a slave of the royal house, placed on the throne a young boy named Alexander, a son of Alexander the Bastard and of Ptolemy's daughter. Afterwards he put the boy to death and undertook the government himself and assumed the name of Trypho. But Antiochus, the brother of the captive Demetrius, learning in Rhodes of his capti- Palace conspiracies

CAP. XI πυθόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ περὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, κτείνει κατιὼν ἐς τὰ πατρῷα σὺν πόνῳ πολλῷ. καὶ στρατεύει καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ τὸν Φραάτην, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτῶν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Φραάτης αὐτὸν ἔδεισε καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐξέπεμψεν· ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος καὶ ὡς συνέβαλέ τε τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, καὶ ἡσσώμενος ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανελθόντα ἡ γυνὴ Κλεοπάτρα, δολοφονήσασα διὰ ζῆλον τοῦ γάμου Ῥοδογούνης, δι' ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δημητρίου προὐγεγάμητο. καὶ παῖδες ἦσαν αὐτῇ δύο μὲν ἐκ Δημητρίου, Σέλευκός τε καὶ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ γρυπὸς ἐπίκλησις, ἐκ δὲ Ἀντιόχου Ἀντίοχος, ὅτῳ Κυζικηνὸς ἐπώνυμον. τούτων τὸν μὲν γρυπὸν ἐς Ἀθήνας, τὸν δὲ Κυζικηνὸν ἐς Κύζικον ἐπεπόμφει τρέφεσθαι.

69. Σέλευκον δ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ Δημητρίῳ τὸ διάδημα ἐπιθέμενον ἐπιτοξεύσασα ἔκτεινεν, εἴτε δείσασα περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δολοφονήσεως, εἴτε καὶ μανιώδει πρὸς πάντας μίσει. μετὰ δὲ Σέλευκον ὁ γρυπὸς ἐγένετο βασιλεύς, καὶ τὴν μητέρα οἱ φάρμακον κεράσασαν πιεῖν ἠνάγκασεν. ἡ μὲν δὴ δίκην ποτὲ ἔδωκεν, ἄξιος δὲ ἄρα τῆς μητρὸς ἦν καὶ ὁ γρυπος· ἐπεβούλευε γὰρ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καίπερ ὄντι ὁμομητρίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν ἐπολέμησέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῖς Σύροις ἐγένετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ τόνδε Σέλευκος ὁ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ γρυποῦ παῖς, ἐπιστρατεύσας ὄντι περ θείῳ, παρείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν. βίαιος δὲ καὶ τυραννικώτατος ὢν ἐν Ἑστίᾳ Μόψου τῆς Κιλικίας κατεπρήσθη κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον. καὶ αὐτὸν διεδέξατο Ἀντίοχος ὁ

vity, came home and, with great difficulty, put Trypho to death. Then he too marched with an army against Phraates and demanded his brother. Phraates was afraid of him and sent Demetrius back. Antiochus nevertheless fought with the Parthians, was beaten, and committed suicide. When Demetrius returned to his kingdom he, too, was killed by the craft of his wife, Cleopatra, who was jealous on account of his marriage with Rhodoguna, for which reason also she had previously married his brother Antiochus. She had borne two sons to Demetrius, named Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus (the Hook-nosed); and to Antiochus one son, named Antiochus Cyzicenus. She had sent Grypus to Athens and Cyzicenus to Cyzicus to be educated. CHAP XI

69. As soon as Seleucus assumed the diadem after the death of his father Demetrius his mother shot him dead with an arrow, either fearing lest he should avenge his father's murder or moved by an insane hatred for everybody. After Seleucus, Grypus became king, and he compelled his mother to drink poison that she had mixed for himself. So justice evertook her at last; but Grypus himself proved to be worthy of such a mother. For he laid a plot against Cyzicenus, his half-brother, but the latter found it out, made war on him, drove him out of the kingdom, and became king of Syria in his stead. Then Seleucus, the son of Grypus, made war on his uncle and took the government away from him. The new sovereign was violent and tyrannical and was burned to death in the gymnasium at the city of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. Antiochus, the son of

CAP. XI υἱὸς τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ· ὃν ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ οἱ μὲν Σύροι νομίζουσι περισωθῆναι δι' εὐσέβειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐσεβῆ παρωνόμασαν (ἑταίρα δ' αὐτὸν ἔσωσεν, ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ κάλλους), ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἐπὶ γέλωτι αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὸ ὄνομα οἱ Σύροι· ἔγημε γὰρ οὗτος ὁ εὐσεβὴς Σελήνην, ἣ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγεγάμητο τῷ Κυζικηνῷ καὶ τῷ γρυπῷ θείῳ γενομένῳ. τοιγάρτοι αὐτὸν θεοῦ μετιόντος ἐξήλασε τῆς ἀρχῆς Τιγράνης.

70. Καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκείνου τὸν ἐκ τῆς Σελήνης αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τε τραφέντα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐπίκλην, Πομπήιος ἀφείλετο τὴν Σύρων ἀρχήν, ὥς μοι λέλεκται, ὄντα μὲν ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἐκ Σελεύκου Σύρων βασιλέα (ἐξαίρω γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα ὡς νόθους, καὶ τὸν δοῦλον αὐτῶν Διόδοτον), βασιλεύσαντα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ταῖς Πομπηίου ἐπὶ ἓν μόνον ἔτος. ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῶν Σελευκιδῶν ἐς τριάκοντα ἐπὶ διακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοὺς διίκετο· καὶ εἴ τις ἐπισκοποίη τὸν ἐς Ῥωμαίους χρόνον ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, προσθετέον ἐπὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις τριάκοντα ἔτεσι τὰ Τιγράνους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ Μακεδόνων τῶν Συρίας βεβασιλευκότων εἶχον εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συγγραφῇ.

Cyzicenus, succeeded him. The Syrians think that he escaped a plot of his cousin Seleucus on account of his piety, for which reason they gave him the name of Antiochus Pius. He was really saved by a prostitute who fell in love with him for his beauty. I think that the Syrians must have given him this title by way of a joke, for this Pius married Selene, who had been the wife of his father, Cyzicenus, and of his uncle, Grypus. For this reason the divine vengeance pursued him and he was expelled from his kingdom by Tigranes. CHAP. XI

70. The son of Pius and Selene, who was brought up in Asia and was for that reason called Asiaticus, was deprived of the government of Syria by Pompey, as I have already mentioned. He was the seventeenth king of Syria, reckoning from Seleucus (for I leave out Alexander and his son as being illegitimate, and also their slave, Diodotus), and he reigned only one year, while Pompey was busy elsewhere. The dynasty of the Seleucidae lasted 230 years. To compute the time from Alexander the Great to the beginning of the Roman domination there must be added fourteen years of the rule of Tigranes. End of the Seleucidae

So much, in the way of digression, concerning the Macedonian kings of Syria.

BOOK XII

THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

Μ′

ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΕΙΟΣ

I

CAP. I

1. Θρᾷκας Ἕλληνες ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς ἐς Ἴλιον μετὰ Ῥήσου στρατεύσαντας, Ῥήσου νυκτὸς ὑπὸ Διομήδους ἀναιρεθέντος ὃν τρόπον Ὅμηρος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι φράζει, φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου τὸ στόμα, ᾗ στενώτατός ἐστιν ἐς Θρᾴκην ὁ διάπλους, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐπιτυχόντας πλοίων τῇδε καταμεῖναι καὶ τῆς γῆς κρατῆσαι Βεβρυκίας λεγομένης, οἱ δὲ περάσαντας ὑπὲρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐς τὴν Θρᾳκῶν τῶν Βιθυνῶν λεγομένων παρὰ Βιθύαν ποταμὸν οἰκῆσαι, καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντας ἐς Βεβρυκίαν αὖθις ἐπανελθεῖν, καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἀντὶ Βεβρυκίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρ᾽ ὃν ᾤκουν, ὀνομάσαι, ἢ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἀλόγως σὺν χρόνῳ παρατραπῆναι, οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τῆς Βιθυνίας παρὰ τὴν Βεβρυκίαν διαφερούσης. ὧδε μὲν ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ Βίθυν ἄρξαι πρῶτον αὐτῶν, παῖδα Διός τε καὶ Θρᾴκης, οὓς ἐπωνύμους ἑκατέρᾳ γῇ γενέσθαι.

2. Τάδε μὲν οὖν μοι προλελέχθω περὶ Βιθυνίας· τῶν δὲ πρὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῆς βασιλέων, ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφεξῆς γενομένων, ὅτου μοι μάλιστα μνημονεῦσαι προσήκει τὰ Ῥωμαίων

BOOK XII

THE MITHRIDATIC WARS

I

CHAP. I

1. The Greeks think that the Thracians who marched to the Trojan war with Rhesus, who was killed by Diomedes in the night-time in the manner described in Homer's poems,[1] fled to the outlet of the Euxine sea at the place where the crossing to Thrace is shortest. Some say that as they found no ships they remained there and possessed themselves of the country called Bebrycia. Others say that they crossed over to the country beyond Byzantium called Thracian Bithynia and settled along the river Bithya, but were forced by hunger to return to Bebrycia, to which they gave the name of Bithynia from the river where they had previously dwelt; or perhaps the name was changed by them insensibly with the lapse of time, as there is not much difference between Bithynia and Bebrycia. So some think. Others say that their first ruler was Bithys, the son of Zeus and Thrace, and that the two countries received their names from them.

2. So much by way of preface concerning Bithynia. Of the forty-nine kings who successively ruled the country before the Romans, the one most worthy of my mention, in writing Roman history, is Prusias,

[1] *Iliad* x. 482–497.

CAP. I συγγράφοντι, Προυσίας ἦν ὁ κυνηγὸς ἐπίκλησιν, ᾧ Περσεὺς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἠγγύησεν. καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον Περσέως καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐς χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰόντων, ὁ Προυσίας οὐδετέροις συνεμάχει. Περσέως δ' ἁλόντος ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς εἶμά τε Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἀμπεχόμενος, ὃ καλοῦσι τήβεννον, καὶ ὑποδήματα ἔχων Ἰταλικά, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξυρημένος καὶ πῖλον ἐπικείμενος, ᾧ τρόπῳ τινὲς προΐασι τῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἐλευθερωθέντων, αἰσχρὸς ὢν καὶ τἆλλα ὀφθῆναι καὶ βραχύς. ἐντυχὼν δ' αὐτοῖς ἔφη ῥωμαϊστὶ τῷ ῥήματι "Ῥωμαίων εἰμὶ λίβερτος," ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀπελεύθερος. γέλωτα δὲ παρασχὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπέμφθη, καὶ φανεὶς κἀνταῦθα γελοῖος ἔτυχε συγγνώμης.

3. Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀττάλῳ τι χαλεπήνας, τῷ Βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον, τὴν γῆν ἐδῄου τὴν Ἀσιάδα. μαθοῦσα δ' ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ προσέπεμπε τῷ Προυσίᾳ μὴ πολεμεῖν Ἀττάλῳ, φίλῳ Ῥωμαίων ὄντι καὶ συμμάχῳ. καὶ δυσπειθῶς ἔτι ἔχοντι οἱ πρέσβεις μετ' ἀνατάσεως προσέτασσον πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου λεγομένοις, καὶ ἥκειν μετὰ χιλίων ἱππέων ἔς τι μεθόριον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις, ἔνθα καὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον ἔφασαν περιμένειν μετὰ τοσῶνδε ἑτέρων. ὁ δ' ὡς ὀλίγων τῶν σὺν Ἀττάλῳ καταφρονήσας, καὶ ἐλπίσας αὐτὸν ἐνεδρεύσειν, προύπεμπε τοὺς πρέσβεις ὡς μετὰ χιλίων ἑπόμενος, πάντα δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ὡς ἐς μάχην. Ἀττάλου δὲ καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων αἰσθομένων τε καὶ διαφυγόντων ᾗ δυνατὸς αὐτῶν

surnamed the Hunter, to whom Perseus, king of Macedonia, gave his sister in marriage. When Perseus and the Romans, not long afterward, went to war with each other, Prusias did not take sides with either of them. When Perseus was taken prisoner Prusias went to meet the Roman generals, wearing a Roman garment, of the kind called *tebennus*,[1] and Italian shoes, with his head shaved and wearing on it a *pilleus*, as slaves sometimes do who have been made free in their masters' wills. He was, moreover, a small and ugly man. When he met them he said in the Latin tongue, "I am the *libertus* of the Romans," which means "freedman." They laughed at him and sent him to Rome, and as he appeared equally ridiculous there he obtained pardon.

CHAP. I

Prusias king of Bithynia

3. Some time later, being incensed against Attalus, king of the Asiatic country about Pergamus, Prusias ravaged his territory. When the Roman Senate learned of this they sent word to Prusias that he must not attack Attalus, who was their friend and ally. As he was slow in obeying, the ambassadors sternly commanded him to obey the orders of the Senate and to go with 1000 horse to a place on the frontier to negotiate a treaty with Attalus, who, they said, was awaiting him there with an equal number. Despising the handful of men with Attalus and hoping to ensnare him, Prusias sent the ambassadors in advance to say that he was following with 1000 men, but actually put his whole army in motion and advanced as if to battle. When Attalus and the ambassadors learned of this they took to promiscuous

B.C. 154

His attack upon Attalus

[1] Possibly equivalent to the *paludamentum*.

CAP. I ἐγίγνετο ἕκαστος, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπολειφθέντων ἥπτετο, καὶ χωρίον τι Νικηφόριον ἐξελὼν κατέσκαπτε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ νεὼς ἐνεπίμπρη, Ἄτταλόν τε ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον συμφυγόντα ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι καὶ τῶνδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πυθόμενοι πρέσβεις ἑτέρους ἔπεμπον, οἳ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευον Ἀττάλῳ τὰς βλάβας ἀποτῖσαι. τότε οὖν καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Προυσίας ὑπήκουσε καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ποινὴν δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ὁρισάντων αὐτὸν ἐσενεγκεῖν Ἀττάλῳ ναῦς καταφράκτους εἴκοσιν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀργυρίου σὺν χρόνῳ τάλαντα πεντακόσια, τάς τε ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ συνέφερεν.

4. Ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ διὰ μίσους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπὶ ὠμότητι χαλεπῇ, Νικομήδης υἱὸς ἦν, πάνυ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς ἀρέσκων· ὅπερ ὁ Προυσίας ὑφορώμενος ἐς Ῥώμην αὐτὸν βιοῦν μετεστήσατο. καὶ μαθὼν εὐδοκιμοῦντα κἀκεῖ, προσέταξε τῆς βουλῆς δεηθῆναι τῶν ἔτι ὀφειλομένων Ἀττάλῳ χρημάτων αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι. Μηνᾶν τε αὐτῷ συμπρεσβεύσοντα ἔπεμπε· καὶ εἴρητο τῷ Μηνᾷ, εἰ μὲν ἐπιτύχοι τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν χρημάτων, ἔτι φείδεσθαι τοῦ Νικομήδους, εἰ δὲ ἀποτύχοι, κτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ. κερκούρους τέ τινας ἐς τοῦτο συνέπεμψεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δισχιλίους στρατιώτας. ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ζημίας οὐκ ἀφεθείσης τῷ Προυσίᾳ (Ἀνδρόνικος γὰρ ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ὑπὸ Ἀττάλου τὴν ζημίαν ἀπέφαινεν ἐλάττονα τῆς ἁρπαγῆς), τὸν δὲ Νικομήδη λόγου καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὁρῶν, ἠπόρητο, καὶ οὔτε κτείνειν αὐτὸν ὑφίστατο οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἐπανιέναι διὰ δέος. ὅμως δ' αὐτῷ βραδύνοντι συνεὶς ὁ νεανί-

flight. Prusias seized the beasts of burden belonging to the Romans that had been left behind, captured and destroyed the stronghold of Nicephorium, burned the temples in it, and besieged Attalus, who had fled to Pergamus. When these things became known in Rome a fresh embassy was sent, ordering Prusias to make compensation to Attalus for the damage done to him. Then Prusias became alarmed, obeyed the order, and retired. The ambassadors decided that as a penalty he must transfer to Attalus twenty decked ships at once, and pay him 500 talents of silver within a certain time. Accordingly he gave up the ships and began to make the payments at the prescribed time. CHAP I

4. Prusias was hated by his subjects on account of his extreme cruelty, while his son, Nicomedes, was very popular among the Bithynians. Thus the latter fell under the suspicion of Prusias, who sent him to live in Rome. Learning that he was much esteemed there also, Prusias directed him to petition the Senate to release him from the payment of the money still due to Attalus. He sent Menas as his fellow-ambassador, and told him if he should secure a remission of the payments to spare Nicomedes, but if not, to kill him at Rome. For this purpose he sent a number of small boats with him and 2000 soldiers. As the fine imposed on Prusias was not remitted (for Andronicus, who had been sent by Attalus to argue on the other side, showed that it was less in amount than the plunder), Menas, seeing that Nicomedes was an estimable and attractive young man, was at a loss to know what to do. He could not bear to kill him and he feared to go back himself to Bithynia. However the young man noticed His son Nicomedes B.C. 148

CAP. I σκος ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐθέλοντι κἀκείνῳ. συνθέμενοι δ' ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Προυσίᾳ, τὸν Ἀττάλου πρεσβευτὴν Ἀνδρόνικον ἐς τὸ ἔργον προσέλαβον, ἵνα τὸν Ἄτταλον πείσειε τὸν Νικομήδη καταγαγεῖν ἐς Βιθυνίαν. ἀναμείναντες δ' ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇ Βερνίκῃ, πολισματίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου, νυκτὸς ἐσβάντες ἐς ναῦν ἅ τε δέοι ποιεῖν συνετίθεντο, καὶ διελύθησαν ἔτι νυκτός.

5. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Νικομήδης μὲν ἐξέβαινε τῆς νεὼς πορφύραν τε βασιλικὴν ἠμφιεσμένος καὶ διάδημα ἐπικείμενος, Ἀνδρόνικος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπαντιάσας τε καὶ βασιλέα προσειπὼν παρέπεμπε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ὧν εἶχε πεντακοσίων. Μηνᾶς δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος τότε πρῶτον ἠσθῆσθαι Νικομήδους παρόντος, ἐς τοὺς δισχιλίους διαδραμὼν ἐδυσφόρει. προϊὼν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ, "δύο," ἔφη, "βασιλέοιν, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος, ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν τὸ σφέτερον εὖ διατίθεσθαι καὶ τοῦ γενησομένου καλῶς τεκμαίρεσθαι, ὡς ἐν τῷδε τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας βεβαιουμένης, ἣν καλῶς προϊδώμεθα πότερος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατήσει. ὁ μὲν δὴ γέρων ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ νέος· καὶ Βιθυνοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀποστρέφονται, τὸν δὲ αἱροῦνται. Ῥωμαίων τε οἱ δυνατοὶ τὸν νεανίαν ἀγαπῶσι· καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος αὐτὸν ἤδη δορυφορῶν ὑποδείκνυσι τὴν Ἀττάλου συμμαχίαν, ἀρχήν τε μεγάλην ἔχοντος καὶ Βιθυνοῖς γειτονεύοντος καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῷ Προυσίᾳ πεπολεμωμένου." λέγων δὲ ταῦθ' ἅμα καὶ τὴν ὠμότητα τοῦ Προυσίου παρεγύμνου, καὶ ὅσα πονηρὰ πράξειεν ἐς ἅπαντας, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βιθυνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθος. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνους εἶδε τὴν Προυσίου μοχθηρίαν

his delay and sought a conference with him, which was just what he wanted. They formed a plot against Prusias and secured the co-operation of Andronicus, the legate of Attalus, that he should persuade Attalus to take back Nicomedes to Bithynia. They met by agreement at Bernice, a small town in Epirus, where they entered into a ship by night to confer as to what should be done, and separated before daylight.

CHAP. I

Conspiracy against Prusias

5. In the morning Nicomedes came out of the ship clad in the royal purple and wearing a diadem on his head. Andronicus met him, saluted him as king, and formed an escort for him with 500 soldiers that he had with him. Menas, pretending that he had then for the first time learned that Nicomedes was present, rushed to his 2000 men and spoke to them with assumed trepidation. "Since," he went on, "we have two kings, one in the country, and the other marching against it, we must look out for our own interests, and form a careful judgment of the future, because our safety lies in foreseeing correctly which of them will be the stronger. One of them is an old man, the other is young. The Bithynians are averse to Prusias; they are attached to Nicomedes. The leading Romans are fond of the young man, and Andronicus has already furnished him a guard, which suggests that Nicomedes is in alliance with Attalus, who rules an extensive dominion alongside the Bithynians and is an old enemy of Prusias." At the same time he exposed the cruelty of Prusias and his outrageous conduct toward everybody, and also the general hatred in which he was held by the Bithynians. When he saw that the soldiers also abhorred the wickedness of Prusias he led them forthwith to Nico-

CAP. 1 ἀποστρεφομένους, ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Νικομήδην αὐτίκα, καὶ προσειπὼν καὶ ὅδε βασιλεα δεύτερος ἐπὶ Ἀνδρονίκῳ μετὰ τῶν δισχιλίων ἐδορυφόρει.

6. Ἄτταλος τε τὸν νεανίαν προθύμως ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ τὸν Προυσίαν ἐκέλευσε τῷ παιδὶ πόλεις τέ τινας ἐς ἐνοίκησιν καὶ χώραν ἐς ἐφόδια δοῦναι. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα δώσειν ἔφη τὴν Ἀττάλου βασιλείαν ἅπασαν, ἣν δὴ καὶ πρότερον Νικομήδει περιποιῶν ἐς Ἀσίαν ἐσβαλεῖν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην τοὺς Νικομήδους καὶ Ἀττάλου κατηγορήσοντάς τε καὶ προκαλεσομένους ἐς κρίσιν. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν, καὶ προσιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Βιθυνοὶ κατ' ὀλίγους προσετιθεντο. Προυσίας δ' ἅπασιν ἀπιστῶν, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐλπίζων αὐτὸν ἐξαιρήσεσθαι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, Διήγυλιν τὸν Θρᾷκα, κηδεστὴν ὄντα οἱ, πεντακοσίους Θρᾷκας αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν τοῖσδε μόνοις τὸ σῶμα ἐπέτρεψεν, ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ καταφυγών· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐν ἄστει οὔτε αὐτίκα ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν τοὺς τοῦ Προυσίου πρέσβεις, χαριζόμενος Ἀττάλῳ· ἐπαγαγών τέ ποτε, ψηφισαμένης τῆς βουλῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι τε καὶ πέμψαι πρέσβεις οἳ διαλύσουσι τὸν πόλεμον, εἵλετο τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν ὁ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ποτε λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἀσχήμονας ἐπέκειτο ὠτειλάς, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πόδας διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ ῥεύματος, ὁ δ' ἠλιθιώτατος ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, ὥστε Κάτωνα τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐπισκώπτοντα εἰπεῖν τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην μήτε νοῦν ἔχειν μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλήν.

7. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις ἐς Βιθυνίαν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ προσέτασσον αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλῦσαι,

medes and saluted him as king, just as Andronicus had done before, and formed a guard for him with his 2000 men. CHAP. I

6. Attalus received the young man warmly and ordered Prusias to assign certain towns for his son's occupation, and territory to furnish him supplies. Prusias replied that he would presently give him the whole kingdom of Attalus, to win which for Nicomedes he had invaded Asia before. After giving this answer he made a formal accusation at Rome against Nicomedes and Attalus and cited them to trial. The forces of Attalus at once made an incursion into Bithynia, the inhabitants of which gradually took sides with the invaders. Prusias, distrusting everybody and hoping that the Romans would rescue him from the toils of the conspiracy, asked and obtained from his son-in-law, Diegylis, the Thracian, 500 men, and with these alone as a body-guard he took refuge in the citadel of Nicaea. The urban praetor at Rome, in order to favour Attalus, delayed introducing the ambassadors of Prusias to the Senate. When finally he did introduce them, and the Senate voted that the praetor himself should choose legates and send them to settle the difficulty, he selected three men, one of whom had once been struck on the head with a stone, from which he was badly scarred; another was lame from gout, and the third was considered an utter fool; wherefore Cato made the sarcastic remark concerning this embassy, that it had no sense, no feet, and no head.

7. The legates proceeded to Bithynia and ordered that war be discontinued. Nicomedes and Attalus

CAP. I Νικομήδους δὲ καὶ Ἀττάλου συγχωρεῖν ὑποκρινομένων οἱ Βιθυνοὶ διδαχθέντες ἔλεγον οὐκ εἶναι δυνατοὶ φέρειν ἔτι τὴν ὠμότητα τὴν Προυσίου, φανεροὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενόμενοι δυσχεραίνοντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, ὡς οὔπω Ῥωμαίων τάδε πυθομένων, ἐπανῆεσαν ἄπρακτοι· Προυσίας δ' ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπέγνω, οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύων οὐδενὸς ἐς ἄμυναν ἐπεφρόντικει, μετῆλθεν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ὡς κρατυνούμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι πολεμήσων. οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες αὐτὸν τὰς πύλας ἀνέῳξαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικομήδης ἐσῄει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸν δὲ Προυσίαν ἐς ἱερὸν Διὸς καταφυγόντα συνεκέντησάν τινες ἐπιπεμφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Νικομήδους. οὕτω Νικομήδης ἀντὶ Προυσίου Βιθυνῶν ἐβασίλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν χρόνῳ τελευτήσαντα Νικομήδης ὁ υἱός, ᾧ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπίκλησις ἦν, διεδέξατο, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς πατρῴαν ψηφισαμένων.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ Βιθυνῶν ὧδε εἶχε· καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδὴ πάντα προμαθεῖν, υἱωνὸς τοῦδε ἕτερος Νικομήδης Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν.

II

CAP. II 8. Καππαδοκίας δὲ πρὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων οἵτινες ἦρχον, οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε ἰδίαν ἀρχήν, εἴτε Δαρείου κατήκουον· Ἀλέξανδρος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ φόρῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἐπειγόμενος ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον. φαίνεται γὰρ καὶ Ἀμισόν, ἐν Πόντῳ πόλιν Ἀττικοῦ γένους, ἐπὶ δημοκρατίαν ὡς πάτριόν σφισι πολιτείαν ἀναγα-

pretended to acquiesce, but the Bithynians said, as they had been instructed, that they could no longer endure the cruelty of Prusias, after they had so openly complained against him. On the ground, therefore, that these complaints were not yet known at Rome the legates returned, leaving the business unfinished. But Prusias, despairing of assistance even from the Romans (in reliance upon whom he had neglected to provide means for his own defence) retired to Nicomedia in order to strengthen the city and resist the invaders. The inhabitants, however, betrayed him and opened the gates, and Nicomedes entered with his army. Prusias fled to the temple of Zeus, where he was stabbed by some of the emissaries of Nicomedes. In this way Nicomedes succeeded Prusias as king of the Bithynians. At his death his son, Nicomedes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him, the Senate confirming his ancestral authority.

CHAP I

Death of Prusias

B.C. 149

Such was the course of events in Bithynia. To anticipate the sequel, another Nicomedes, grandson of this one, left the kingdom to the Romans in his will.

II

8. Who were the rulers of Cappadocia before the Macedonians I am not able to say exactly—whether it had a government of its own or was subject to Darius. But I think that Alexander left the rulers whom he found there, on condition that they should pay tribute, because he was in a hurry to march against Darius. For he appears even to have restored to Amisus, a city of Pontus, of Attic origin, its original

CHAP. II

Cappadocia in ancient times

CAP. II γών. Ἱερώνυμος δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιψαῦσαι τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Παμφυλίας καὶ Κιλικίας ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον τραπέσθαι. Περδίκκας δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς Μακεδόνων ἦρχεν, Ἀριαράθην Καππαδοκίας ἡγούμενον, εἴτε ἀφιστάμενον εἴτε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ περιποιούμενος Μακεδόσιν, εἶλε καὶ ἐκρέμασε, καὶ ἐπέστησε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Εὐμένη τὸν Καρδιανόν. Εὐμένους δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὅτε αὐτὸν οἱ Μακεδόνες εἵλοντο εἶναι πολέμιον, Ἀντίπατρος ἐπὶ τῷ Περδίκκᾳ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενομένης γῆς ἐπιτροπεύων, Νικάνορα ἔπεμψε Καππαδοκῶν σατραπεύειν.

9. Μακεδόνων δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐς ἀλλήλους στασιασάντων, Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἦρχε Συρίας Λαομέδοντα ἐκβαλών, Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτῷ συνῆν, ἀνὴρ γένους βασιλείου Περσικοῦ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξε πεδίον σπεῖραι χρυσίῳ, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐκθερίσαντα τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐς τὸν Πόντον οἴχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷδε συλλαβὼν ἐβούλετο ἀποκτεῖναι, ὁ δ' ἐξέφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἕξ, καὶ φραξάμενός τι χωρίον τῆς Καππαδοκίας, πολλῶν οἱ προσιόντων ἐν τῇδε τῇ Μακεδόνων ἀσχολίᾳ, Καππαδοκίας τε αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐθνῶν κατέσχεν, ἐπί τε μέγα τὴν ἀρχὴν προαγαγὼν παισὶ παρέδωκεν. οἱ δ' ἦρχον, ἕτερος μεθ' ἕτερον, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν ἕκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Μιθριδάτην, ὃς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμησεν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους ὄντες οἱ Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Πόντου βασιλεῖς

democratic form of government. Yet Hieronymus says that he never even came into contact with those nations at all, but that he went after Darius by another road, along the sea-coast of Pamphylia and Cilicia. But Perdiccas, who ruled the Macedonians after Alexander, captured and hanged Ariarathes, the governor of Cappadocia, either because he had revolted or in order to bring that country under Macedonian rule, and placed Eumenes of Cardia over these peoples. Eumenes was afterwards adjudged an enemy of Macedonia and put to death, and Antipater, who succeeded Perdiccas as overseer of the territory of Alexander, appointed Nicanor satrap of Cappadocia. CHAP. II

9. Not long afterwards dissensions broke out among the Macedonians, and Antigonus, having expelled Laomedon from Syria, assumed the government himself, having with him Mithridates, a scion of the royal house of Persia. Antigonus had a dream that he had sowed a field with gold, and that Mithridates reaped it and carried the crop off to Pontus. He accordingly arrested him, intending to put him to death, but Mithridates escaped with six horsemen, fortified himself in a stronghold of Cappadocia, where many joined him in consequence of the embarrassment of the Macedonian power, and possessed himself of the whole of Cappadocia and of the neighbouring countries along the Euxine. This great power, which he had built up, he left to his children. They reigned one after another until the sixth Mithridates in succession from the founder of the house, and he went to war with the Romans. Since the kings both of Cappadocia and of Pontus were of this line, I judge that at some time or other

The first Mithridates B.C. 175–136

CAP. II

ἔσθ' ὅτε μοι δοκοῦσι διελεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, καί οἱ μὲν τοῦ Πόντου κατασχεῖν οἱ δὲ Καππαδοκίας.

10. Ὁ γέ τοι Ῥωμαίοις πρῶτος ἐν φιλίᾳ γενόμενος καὶ ναῦς τινὰς ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους καὶ συμμαχίαν ὀλίγην παρασχών, βασιλεὺς Πόντου, Μιθριδάτης ὁ εὐεργέτης ἐπίκλησιν, ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐπέδραμεν. καὶ διαδέχεται Μιθριδάτης υἱός, ᾧ Διόνυσος καὶ εὐπάτωρ ἐπώνυμα ἦν. Ῥωμαῖοι δ' αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι Καππαδοκίας ἐκέλευσαν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, καταφυγόντι τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ δόξαντι ἄρα γνησιωτέρῳ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς τὴν Καππαδοκῶν ἀρχήν, ἣ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πολλῆς οὔσης ὑφορώμενοί τε καὶ ἐς πλέονα διαιροῦντες ἀφανῶς. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἤνεγκε, Νικομήδει δὲ τῷ Νικομήδους τοῦ Προυσίου, Βιθυνίας ὡς πατρῴας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδειχθέντι βασιλεύειν, Σωκράτη τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτῳ χρηστὸς ἐπώνυμον ἦν, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπέμψε· καὶ τὴν Βιθυνῶν ἀρχὴν ὁ Σωκράτης ἐς αὐτὸν περιέσπασεν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μιθράας καὶ Βαγώας Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ τόνδε τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατηγμένον ἐς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐκβαλόντες, Ἀριαράθην κατήγαγον ἐς αὐτήν.

11. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Νικομήδην ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐπανῆγον ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκάτερον, πρέσβεις τέ τινας αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο συνέπεμψαν, ὧν Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος ἡγεῖτο· καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν κάθοδον ἐπέστειλαν Λευκίῳ τε Κασσίῳ, τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίας ἡγουμένῳ, στρατιὰν ἔχοντι ὀλίγην, καὶ τῷδε τῷ εὐπάτορι Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀλλ' ὁ

they divided the government, some ruling one country and some the other. CHAP. II

10. At any rate a king of Pontus, the Mithridates surnamed Euergetes (the Benefactor), who was the first of them to be a friend of the Roman people, and who sent some ships and a small force of auxiliaries to aid them against the Carthaginians, invaded Cappadocia as though it were a foreign country. He was succeeded by his son, Mithridates, surnamed Dionysus, and also Eupator. The Romans ordered him to restore Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, who had fled to them and who seemed to have a better title to the government of that country than Mithridates; or perhaps they distrusted the great empire of Mithridates, and sought covertly to divide it into several parts. Mithridates obeyed the order, but he sent against Nicomedes (the son of Nicomedes, son of Prusias), whom the Romans had declared king of Bithynia, as his ancestral realm, Socrates, surnamed Chrestus (the Good), Nicomedes' own brother, with an army. Socrates annexed the kingdom of Bithynia. Simultaneously Mithraas and Bagoas drove out this Ariobarzanes, whom the Romans had confirmed as king of Cappadocia, and installed Ariarathes in his place.

Mithridates Euergetes B.C. 156–120

Mithridates Eupator B.C. 120–63

B.C. 92

B.C. 90

11. The Romans decided to restore Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes at the same time, each to his own kingdom, and sent thither for this purpose an embassy, of which Manius Aquilius was the chief, and ordered Lucius Cassius, who was in charge of the Asiatic country around Pergamus and had a small army under his command, to co-operate in their mission. Similar orders were sent to Mithridates Eupator himself. But the latter, being angry with

His first difficulty with the Romans

CAP. II μὲν αὐτῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἕνεκα Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιμεμφόμενος, καὶ Φρυγίαν ἔναγχος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφηρημένος, ὡς διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γραφῆς δεδήλωται, οὐ συνέπραττε· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Μάνιος τῷ τε Κασσίου στρατῷ, καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἀγείραντες Γαλατῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν, Νικομήδη τε κατήγαγον ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν. εὐθύς τε ἀνέπειθον ἄμφω, γείτονας ὄντας Μιθριδάτου, τὴν γῆν τὴν Μιθριδάτου κατατρέχειν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον ἐρεθίζειν, ὡς Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦσι συμμαχησόντων. οἱ δὲ ὤκνουν μὲν ὁμοίως ἑκάτερος γείτονος πολέμου τοσοῦδε κατάρξαι, τὴν Μιθριδάτου δύναμιν δεδιότες· ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων, ὁ Νικομήδης πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπικουρίας τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ὡμολογηκὼς χρήματα δώσειν καὶ ἔτι ὀφείλων, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν ἑπομένων Ῥωμαίων δεδανεισμένος καὶ ὀχλούμενος, ἄκων ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Μιθριδάτου γῆν καὶ ἐληλάτησεν ἐπὶ πόλιν Ἄμαστριν, οὐδενος οὔτε κωλύοντος αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαντῶντος. ὁ γάρ τοι Μιθριδάτης ἑτοίμην ἔχων δύναμιν ὅμως ὑπεχώρει, πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια διδοὺς ἐγκλήματα τῷ πολέμῳ γενέσθαι.

12. Ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ τοῦ Νικομήδους μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων, Πελοπίδαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγούς τε καὶ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πολεμησείοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῇσδε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτίους γεγονότας, ὑποκρινόμενος δέ, καὶ πλείονας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐπρεπεστέρας αἰτίας τοῦ γενησομένου πολέμου πορίζων, ἀνεμίμνησκε φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἰδίας τε καὶ πατρῴας. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ὁ Πελοπίδας ἔφη Φρυ-

the Romans on account of their interference in Cappadocia itself, and having been recently despoiled of Phrygia by them (as related in my Hellenic history), did not co-operate. Nevertheless Cassius and Manius, with the army of the former, and a large force collected from the Galatians and Phrygians, restored Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia. They urged them at the same time, as they were neighbours of Mithridates, to make incursions into his territory and stir up a war, promising them the assistance of the Romans. Both of them hesitated to begin so important a war on their own border, because they feared the power of Mithridates. When the ambassadors insisted, Nicomedes, who had agreed to pay a large sum of money to the generals and ambassadors for restoring him to power, which he still owed, together with other large sums which he had borrowed on interest from the Romans in their suites, and for which they were dunning him, reluctantly made an attack on the territory of Mithridates and plundered it as far as the city of Amastris, meeting no resistance. For Mithridates, although he had his forces in readiness, retreated because he wanted to have good and sufficient cause for war. CHAP. II B.C. 88

12. Nicomedes returned with large booty and Mithridates sent Pelopidas to the Roman generals and ambassadors. He was not ignorant that they wanted to bring on a war, and that they had incited this attack upon him, but he dissembled in order to procure more and clearer causes for the coming war; for which reason he reminded them of his own and his father's friendship and alliance. "In return for this," said Pelopidas, "Phrygia and Cappadocia have He sends an ambassador to them

CAP. II γίαν ἀφῃρῆσθαι καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὴν μὲν ἀεὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναληφθεῖσαν, Φρυγίαν δὲ ἐπινίκιον ἐπὶ Ἀριστονίκῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου στρατηγοῦ δοθεῖσάν τε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐωνημένην. "νῦν δ'," ἔφη, "καὶ Νικομήδη τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου διακλείοντα περιορᾶτε, καὶ τὴν γῆν μέχρι Ἀμάστριδος ἐπιτρέχοντα, καὶ λείαν ἄγοντα ὅσην ἴστε ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἀσθενῶς οὐδὲ ἀνετοίμως ἔχοντος πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ ἐμοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἀναμένοντος ὑμᾶς ἐν ὄψει μάρτυρας τῶν γιγνομένων γενέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένεσθέ τε καὶ εἴδετε, παρακαλεῖ Μιθριδάτης, φίλος ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ σύμμαχος, φίλους ὄντας ὑμᾶς καὶ συμμάχους (ὧδε γὰρ αἱ συνθῆκαι λέγουσιν), ἐπικουρεῖν ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις ὑπὸ Νικομήδους, ἢ κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἀδικοῦντα."

13. Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε, Νικομήδους δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῷ παρόντες ἔφασαν· "Νικομήδει μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ Μιθριδάτης ἐπιβουλεύων Σωκράτη μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπῆγεν, ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἄρχειν. καὶ ὧδε Μιθριδάτης ἐς Νικομήδην ἔπραξεν, ὃν ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, Βιθυνῶν ἐστήσασθε βασιλεύειν· ὃ καὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν οὐκ ἐς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὑμᾶς γεγονέναι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ κεκελευκότων ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν, τὰ πολλὰ Χερρονήσου περιέσπασεν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἔστω τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς ὕβρεώς τε καὶ δυσμενείας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπειθείας ἔργα· ἡ παρασκευὴ δὲ ὅση, καὶ πᾶσα ἕτοιμος ὡς ἐπὶ μέγαν δὴ καὶ ἐγνωσμένον πόλεμον ἤδη, τοῦ τε ἰδίου

been wrested from him. Of these Cappadocia always belonged to his ancestors and was recovered by his own father, while Phrygia was given to him by your own general as a reward for his victory over Aristonicus; nevertheless he paid a large sum of money to that same general for it. But now you allow Nicomedes even to close the mouth of the Euxine, to overrun the country as far as Amastris, and to carry off plunder in quantities of which you are well aware. My king was not weak, he was not unprepared to defend himself, but he waited in order that you might be eye-witnesses of these transactions. Since you have seen all this, Mithridates, who is your friend and ally, calls upon you as friends and allies (for so the treaty reads) to defend us against the aggression of Nicomedes, or to restrain the aggressor." CHAP. II

His dispute with Nicomedes

13. When Pelopidas had finished speaking the ambassadors of Nicomedes, who were there to answer him, said: "Mithridates plotted against Nicomedes long ago and put Socrates on the throne by force and arms, though Socrates was of a quiet disposition and thought it right that his elder brother should reign. This was the act of Mithridates to Nicomedes, whom you, Romans, had established on the throne of Bithynia—a blow that was evidently aimed as much at you as at us. In like manner after you had forbidden the Asiatic kings even to set foot in Europe, he seized the greater part of Chersonesus. Let these acts stand as examples of his arrogance, his hostility, his disobedience towards yourselves. Look at his great preparations. He stands in complete readiness, as for a great and predetermined war, not merely with his own army, but also with a

CAP. II στρατοῦ καὶ συμμάχων Θρακῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα πλησίον ἔθνη. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀρμένιον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιγαμία γέγονε, καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Συρίαν περιπέμπει προσεταιριζόμενος τοὺς βασιλέας. νῆές τε εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κατάφρακτοι τριακόσιαι, καὶ ἑτέρας προσαπεργάζεται· ἐπί τε πρῳρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον περιέπεμψεν. ἅπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ Νικομήδει που, τοσάδε ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, Μιθριδάτης, ἐργάζεται, δυσμεναίνων μὲν ἐξ οὗ Φρυγίαν αὐτὸν πανούργως πριάμενον, καὶ δεκάσαντα τῶν ὑμετέρων τινὰ στρατηγῶν, ἀποθέσθαι προσετάξατε, τῆς οὐ δικαίας κτήσεως καταγνόντες, χαλεπαίνων δ' ἐπὶ Καππαδοκίᾳ, δεδομένῃ καὶ τῇδε πρὸς ὑμῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, δεδιὼς δ' αὐξομένους ὑμᾶς, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενος ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς προφάσει καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰ δύναιτο, ἐπιθέσθαι. σωφρόνων δ' ἐστὶ μὴ περιμένειν ὅτε πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογήσει, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς λόγους ἀφορᾶν μηδὲ φιλίας ὄνομα ἐπίπλαστον ὑποκρινομένῳ τοὺς ἀληθεῖς καὶ βεβαίους ἐκδοῦναι φίλους, μηδὲ τὴν σφετέραν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας κρίσιν ὑπεριδεῖν ἀκυρουμένην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροῦ."

14. Ὧδε μὲν καὶ οἱ Νικομήδους ἔλεξαν· ἐπελθὼν δὲ αὖθις ὁ Πελοπίδας ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνέδριον περὶ μὲν τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, εἴ τι Νικομήδης ἐπιμέμφοιτο, δικάσαι Ῥωμαίους ἠξίου, τὰ δὲ νῦν (ἐν ὄψει γὰρ ὑμῶν γέγονε, τῆς τε γῆς τῆς Μιθριδάτου δῃουμένης καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀποκεκλεισμένης καὶ λείας τοσῆσδε ἐλαυνομένης) οὐ λόγων ἔφη χρήζειν οὐδὲ κρίσεως, "ἀλλ' αὖθις

great force of allies, Thracians, Scythians, and all the other neighbouring peoples. He has even formed a marriage alliance with Armenia, and is sending to Egypt and Syria to make friends with the kings of those countries. He has 300 decked ships of war and is still adding to the number. He has sent to Phoenicia and Egypt for look-out men and steersmen. These things, that Mithridates is collecting in such quantities, are not, we think, designed against Nicomedes, Romans, but against you. He is angry with you because, when he had bought Phrygia by a corrupt bargain from one of your generals, you ordered him to give up his ill-gotten gains. He is angry on account of Cappadocia, which was given by you to Ariobarzanes. He fears your increasing power. He is making preparations under pretence that they are intended for us, but he means to attack you if he can. If you are wise, you will not wait till he declares war against you, but will look at his deeds rather than his words, and not give up true and tried friends to a hypocrite who offers you the fictitious name of friendship, nor allow your decision concerning our kingdom to be annulled by one who is equally the foe of both of us."

CHAP II

14. After the ambassadors of Nicomedes had thus spoken Pelopidas again addressed the Roman assembly, saying that if Nicomedes was complaining of bygones, he accepted the decision of the Romans, but as to the present matters which had transpired under their eyes, the ravaging of Mithridates' territory, the closing of the sea, and the carrying away of such vast plunder, there was no need of discussion or adjudication. "We call upon you,

Duplicity of the Roman Legates

CAP. II ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν ἢ κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα ἢ Μιθριδάτῃ συμμαχεῖν ἀδικουμένῳ, ἢ τελευταῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲ κωλύειν ἀμυνόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀμφοῖν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ πόνου." τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πελοπίδου παλιλλογήσαντος, ἔγνωστο μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἐπικουρεῖν Νικομήδει, καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἠκροῶντο· τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα ὅμως ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελοπίδου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου φιλίαν ἐνσύνθηκον ἔτι οὖσαν, αἰδούμενοι ἠπόρουν ἀποκρίσεως ἐπὶ πολύ, μέχρι ἐπιστήσαντες μετὰ σοφίας ὧδε ἀπεκρίναντο. "οὔτε Μιθριδάτην ἄν τι βουλοίμεθα πάσχειν ἄχαρι πρὸς Νικομήδους, οὔτε Νικομήδους ἀνεξόμεθα πολεμουμένου· οὐ γὰρ ἡγούμεθα Ῥωμαίοις συμφέρειν βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδη." ταῦτα δ' εἰπόντες τὸν Πελοπίδαν, βουλόμενον διελέγχειν τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου.

III

CAP. III 15. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐμφανῶς ἤδη πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀδικούμενος, ἔπεμπε σὺν πολλῇ χειρὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριαράθην βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦρχεν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀριαράθης, Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐκβαλών. Πελοπίδας δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς αὖθις ἐλθὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε. "ἃ μὲν ἠδικημένος πρὸς ὑμῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ἔφερε, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν ἀφῃρημένος ἔναγχος, ἠκούσατε· ἃ δὲ Νικομήδης αὐτὸν ἔβλαπτεν, ὁρῶντες ὑπερείδετε. φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ

Romans, again," he said, "either to prevent such outrages, or to assist Mithridates, who is their victim, or at all events to stand aside, allow him to defend himself, and not help either party." While Pelopidas was repeating his demand, though it had been determined by the Roman generals long before to help Nicomedes, they made a pretence of listening to the argument on the other side. Yet the words of Pelopidas and the alliance with Mithridates, which was still in force, put them to shame, and they were at a loss for some time what answer to make. Finally, after a pause, they made this artful reply, "We would not wish that Mithridates suffer harm at the hands of Nicomedes, nor can we allow war to be made against Nicomedes, because we do not think that it would be for the interest of Rome that he should be weakened." Having delivered this response they dismissed Pelopidas from the assembly, although he wanted to show the insufficiency of their answer. CHAP. II

III

15. Mithridates, having been denied justice by the Romans in this public manner, sent his son Ariarathes with a large force to seize the kingdom of Cappadocia. Ariarathes speedily overpowered it and drove out Ariobarzanes. Then Pelopidas returned to the Roman generals and said: "How patiently King Mithridates bore injury from you when he was deprived of Phrygia and Cappadocia not long ago you have been told already, O Romans. What injuries Nicomedes inflicted upon him you have seen —and have not heeded. And when we appealed to your friendship and alliance you answered as though CHAP. III

Mithridates seizes Cappadocia

He sends another embassy

CAP. III ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἐγκαλουμένοις ἀπεκρίνασθε μὴ νομίζειν συμφέρειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι βλάπτεσθαι Νικομήδη οἷά περ αὐτὸν ἀδικούμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν αἴτιοι τῷ κοινῷ Ῥωμαίων τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν γεγονότος· διὰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ὧδε μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπερορῶντας ὧδε δὲ σοφίζοντας ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ πρεσβεύσεται καθ' ὑμῶν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν βουλήν, ἐφ' ἣν ὑμῖν ἀπολογησομένοις ἐπαγγέλλει παρεῖναι, φθάνειν δὲ μηδέν, μηδ' ἐξάρχειν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοσοῦδε πολέμου, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι Μιθριδάτης βασιλεύει μὲν τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἣ δισμυρίων ἐστὶ σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, προσκέκτηται δὲ πολλὰ περίχωρα, καὶ Κόλχους, ἔθνος ἀρειμανές, Ἑλλήνων τε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου κατῳκισμένους, καὶ βαρβάρων τοὺς ὄντας ὑπὲρ αὐτούς. φίλοις δ' ἐς πᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον ἑτοίμοις χρῆται Σκύθαις τε καὶ Ταύροις καὶ Βαστέρναις καὶ Θραξὶ καὶ Σαρμάταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τάναΐν τε καὶ Ἴστρον καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔτι τὴν Μαιώτιδα. Τιγράνης δ' ὁ Ἀρμένιος αὐτῷ κηδεστής ἐστι, καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὁ Παρθυαῖος φίλος. νεῶν τε πλῆθος ἔχει, τὸ μὲν ἕτοιμον τὸ δὲ γιγνόμενον ἔτι, καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς πάντα ἀξιόλογον.

16. Οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο δ' ὑμῖν ἔναγχος οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Συρίᾳ βασιλέων· οὓς οὐ μόνον εἰκός ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ πόλεμος γένοιτο, προσθήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νεόκτητον ὑμῖν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πολλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅσα τὴν ὑμετέραν πλεονεξίαν οὐ φέροντα πολεμεῖ νῦν ὑμῖν πόλεμον ἄσπειστον. ὃν οὔπω διαθέσθαι δυνηθέντες ἐπιχειρεῖτε Μιθρι-

we were not the accusers but the accused, saying that you did not consider it to your interest that harm should come to Nicomedes, as though he were the injured one. You therefore are accountable to the Roman republic for what has taken place in Cappadocia. Mithridates has done what he has done because you disdained us and answered us with quibbles. He intends to send an embassy to your Senate to complain of you. He summons you to defend yourselves there in person, and before that to do nothing, and not to begin a war of such magnitude without the decree of Rome itself. You should bear in mind that Mithridates is ruling his ancestral domain, which is 20,000 stades long, and that he has acquired many neighbouring nations, the Colchians, a very warlike people, the Greeks bordering on the Euxine, and the barbarian tribes beyond them He has allies also ready to obey his every command, Scythians, Taurians, Bastarnae, Thracians, Sarmatians, and all those who dwell in the region of the Don and Danube and the sea of Azof. Tigranes of Armenia is his son-in-law and Arsaces of Parthia his ally. He has a large number of ships, some in readiness and others building, and war material of all kinds in abundance. CHAP. III

16. "The Bithynians were not wrong in what they told you lately about the kings of Egypt and Syria. Not only are these likely to help us if war breaks out, but also your newly acquired provinces of Asia, and Greece, and Africa, and a considerable part of Italy itself, which even now wages implacable war against you because it cannot endure your greed. And although you are not yet able to bring that war to an end,

CAP. III δάτῃ, Νικομήδην αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην παρὰ μέρος ἐπιπέμποντες· καὶ φατὲ μὲν εἶναι φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ ὑποκρίνεσθε οὕτω, χρῆσθε δὲ ὡς πολεμίῳ. φέρετε οὖν, καὶ νῦν, εἴ τι πρὸς τῶν γεγονότων ἐς μετάνοιαν ἠρέθισθε, ἢ Νικομήδη κωλύσατε τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικεῖν φίλους (καὶ τάδε πράξασιν ὑμῖν ὑπέχομαι συμμαχήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην), ἢ τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν λύσατε, ἢ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ κρίσιν ἴωμεν."

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Πελοπίδας ὧδε ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ φορτικώτερον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἡγούμενοι, Μιθριδάτην μὲν ἐκέλευον ἀπέχεσθαι Νικομήδους καὶ Καππαδοκίας (αὐτοὶ γὰρ αὖθις Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς αὐτὴν κατάξειν), Πελοπίδαν δ' εὐθὺς ἐξιέναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ μηκέτι πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς κελευομένοις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμμένοι. οὕτω μὲν ἀπεκρίναντο, καὶ ἀπιόντι φυλακὴν συνέπεμψαν, ἵνα μή τινας ἐπιτρίψειε παροδεύων.

17. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες, οὐκ ἀναμείναντες περὶ τοσοῦδε πολέμου τὴν βουλὴν ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιγνώμονα γενέσθαι, στρατιὰν ἤγειρον ἔκ τε Βιθυνίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Παφλαγονίας καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅ τε ἴδιος στρατός, ὅσον εἶχε Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος, ἕτοιμος ἦν ἤδη, καὶ τὰ συμμαχικὰ πάντα συνεληλύθει, διελόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐστρατοπέδευον, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐν μέσῳ Βιθυνίας τε καὶ Γαλατίας, Μάνιος δὲ ᾗ διαβατὸν ἦν ἐς Βιθυνίαν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, Ὄππιος δὲ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Καππαδοκίας, ἱππέας ἔχων ἕκαστος αὐτῶν καὶ πεζοὺς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακισμυρίους.

you attack Mithridates and set Nicomedes and Ario- CHAP III
barzanes on him by turns, and you say, forsooth, that you are his friends and allies. You pretend to be so, and yet you treat him as an enemy. Come now, if at last the consequences of your acts have put you in a better frame of mind, either restrain Nicomedes from injuring your friends (in which case I promise that King Mithridates shall help you to put down the rebellion in Italy), or throw off the mask of friendship for us, or let us go to Rome and settle the dispute there."

So spake Pelopidas. The Romans considered his speech insolent and ordered Mithridates to let Nicomedes and Cappadocia alone (saying that they intended to restore Ariobarzanes to the latter). They also ordered Pelopidas to leave their camp immediately, and not to return unless the king obeyed their commands. Having given this answer they sent him away under guard lest he should inveigle some persons on the road.

17. After they had finished speaking they did not First Mithridatic War wait to hear what the Senate and people of Rome would decide about such a great war, but began to collect forces from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the Galatians of Asia. As soon as Lucius Cassius, the Governor of Asia, had his own army in readiness and all the allied forces were assembled, they took the field in three divisions, Cassius on the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, Manius on Mithridates' line of march to Bithynia, and Oppius, the third general, among the mountains of Cappadocia. Each of these had about 40,000 men, horse

CAP. III

ἦν δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλος αὐτοῖς, οὓς περὶ Βυζάντιον Μινούκιός τε Ῥοῦφος καὶ Γάιος Ποπίλιος ἡγοῦντο, τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου φυλάσσοντες. παρῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Νικομήδης, ἄρχων ἑτέρων πεντακισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἑξακισχιλίων. τοσόσδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως στρατὸς ἀγήγερτο· Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ τὸ μὲν οἰκεῖον ἦν μυριάδες πεζῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακισμύριοι, καὶ νῆες κατάφρακτοι τριακόσιαι, δίκροτα δὲ ἑκατόν, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ τούτων κατὰ λόγον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ Νεοπτόλεμός τε καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἀλλήλων ἀδελφώ, καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτὸς παρεγίγνετο. συμμαχικὰ δὲ ἦγον αὐτῷ Ἀρκαθίας μέν, αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου παῖς, ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας μυρίους ἱππέας, καὶ Δορύλαος . . . ἐν φάλαγγι τattομένους, Κρατερὸς δ' ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἅρματα. τοσαύτη μὲν ἦν ἑκατέροις ἡ παρασκευή, ὅτε πρῶτον ἤεσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Μιθριδάτης, ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας.

18. Ἐν δὲ πεδίῳ πλατεῖ παρὰ τὸν Ἀμνειον ποταμὸν κατιδόντες ἀλλήλους ὅ τε Νικομήδης καὶ οἱ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγοὶ παρέταττον ἐς μάχην, Νικομήδης μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος τοὺς εὐζώνους μόνους, καὶ οὓς Ἀρκαθίας εἶχεν ἱππέας καί τινα τῶν ἁρμάτων· ἡ γὰρ φάλαγξ ἔτι προσήει. ἐς δέ τινα γηλοφον τοῦ πεδίου πετρώδη προλαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν ὀλίγους, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν πολὺ πλειόνων ὄντων. ὡς δὲ ἐξωθουμένους εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γηλόφου, δείσας ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος περὶ τῇ κυκλώσει προσεβοήθει

and foot together. They had also a fleet under command of Minucius Rufus and Gaius Popilius at Byzantium, guarding the mouth of the Euxine. Nicomedes too was present with another 50,000 foot and 6000 horse under his command. Such was the total strength of the forces brought together. Mithridates had in his own army 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse, 300 ships with decks, 100 with two banks of oars each, and other equipment in proportion. He had for generals Neoptolemus and Archelaus, two brothers, and the king took charge of the greater number in person. Of the allied forces Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, led 10,000 horse from Armenia Minor, and Dorylaus commanded the phalanx. Craterus had charge of 130 war chariots. So great were the preparations on either side when the Romans and Mithridates first came in conflict with each other, about the 173d Olympiad. CHAP III B.C. 88

18. When Nicomedes and the generals of Mithridates came in sight of each other in a wide plain bordered by the river Amnias they drew up their forces for battle. Nicomedes had his entire army with him; Neoptolemus and Archelaus had only their light infantry and the cavalry of Arcathias and a few chariots; for the phalanx had not yet come up. They sent forward a small force to seize a rocky hill in the plain lest they should be surrounded by the Bithynians, who were much more numerous. But when they saw these men driven from the hill Neoptolemus, in fear of being surrounded, advanced with haste to their assistance, at the same time calling on Arcathias for help. When Nicomedes perceived the movement he sought to meet it by a

CAP. III μετὰ σπουδῆς, καλῶν ἅμα καὶ τὸν Ἀρκαθίαν. Νικομήδης δ' ὁρῶν ἀντιπαρήει· καὶ γίγνεται πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγὼν καὶ φόνος. βιασαμένου δὲ τοῦ Νικομηδους ἔφευγον οἱ Μιθριδάτειοι, ἕως ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μετελθὼν ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τοὺς διώκοντας. οἱ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεστράφησαν. ὁ δ' ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανελθεῖν οἱ περὶ Νεοπτόλεμον. ὡς δὲ εἴκασεν αὐτάρκως ἔχειν, ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἅρματα ἐμπίπτοντα μετὰ ῥύμης διέκοπτε καὶ διέτεμνε τοὺς μὲν ἀθρόως ἐς δύο τοὺς δ' ἐς μέρη πολλά. τό τε γιγνόμενον ἐξέπληττε τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ Νικομήδους, ὅτε ἴδοιεν ἡμιτόμους ἄνδρας ἔτι ἔμπνους, ἢ ἐς πολλὰ διερριμμένους, ἢ τῶν δρεπάνων ἁπηρτημένους. ἀηδίᾳ τε μᾶλλον ὄψεως ἢ μάχης ἥσσῃ τὴν τάξιν ὑπὸ φόβου συνέχεαν. ταραχθεῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Ἀρκαθίας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἀναστρέφοντες ἐπέκειντο ὄπισθεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠμύνοντο, ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιστρεφόμενοι· ὡς δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπεπτώκει, Νικομήδης μὲν ἔφευγε μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐς Παφλαγονίαν, οὐδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθούσης πω τῆς Μιθριδατείου φάλαγγος, ἑάλω δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων. οὓς πάντας ὁ Μιθριδάτης φιλανθρωπευσάμενός τε καὶ ἐφόδια δοὺς ἀπέλυσεν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπιέναι, δόξαν ἐμποιῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις φιλανθρωπίας.

19. Ἔργον δὴ τόδε πρῶτον τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεπεπλήγεσαν, ὡς οὐκ εὐβουλίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ προπε-

similar one. Thereupon a severe and bloody struggle ensued. Nicomedes prevailed, and Mithridates' troops fled until Archelaus, coming across from the right flank, fell upon the pursuers, who were compelled to turn their attention to him. He yielded little by little in order that the forces of Neoptolemus might have a chance to rally. When he judged that they had done so sufficiently he advanced again. At the same time the scythe-bearing chariots were driven at great speed against the Bithynians, cutting some of them in two instantaneously, and tearing others to pieces. The army of Nicomedes was terrified at seeing men cut in halves and still breathing, or mangled in fragments, or hanging on the scythes. Overcome rather by the hideousness of the spectacle than by loss of the fight, fear disordered their ranks. While they were thus thrown into confusion Archelaus attacked them in front, and Neoptolemus and Arcathias, who had turned about, assailed them in the rear. They fought a long time facing both ways. But after the greater part of his men had fallen, Nicomedes fled with the remainder into Paphlagonia, although the phalanx of Mithridates had not come into the engagement at all. His camp was captured, together with his money, of which there was a considerable amount, and many prisoners. All these Mithridates treated kindly and sent to their homes with supplies for the journey, thus gaining a reputation for clemency among his enemies.

CHAP. III

The Romans badly defeated

19. This first engagement of the Mithridatic war alarmed even the Roman generals, because they had kindled so great a strife precipitately, without good

Retreat of the Roman army

CAP. III τῶς, ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, τοσόνδε πόλεμον ἄψαντες. ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ πολὺ πλειόνων ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, καὶ οὐδεμιᾷ συντυχίᾳ χωρίων ἢ πολεμίου σφάλματος, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ στρατοῦ. Νικομήδης μὲν οὖν Μανίῳ παρεστρατοπέδευε, Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Σκορόβαν ὄρος ἀνήει, ὃ τέλος ἐστὶ Βιθυνῶν καὶ τῆς Ποντικῆς χώρας. πρόδρομοί τε αὐτοῦ, Σαυροματῶν ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς, ὀκτακοσίοις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Νικομήδους ἐντυχόντες αἱροῦσι καὶ τούτων τινάς· οὓς πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἐφοδίοις μεθῆκεν ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπιέναι. Μάνιον δ' ὑποφεύγοντα Νεοπτόλεμός τε καὶ Νεμάνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος ἀμφὶ τὸ πρῶτον Πάχιον χωρίον ἑβδόμης ὥρας καταλαβόντες, οἰχομένου πρὸς Κάσσιον Νικομήδους, ἠνάγκασαν ἐς μάχην ἱππέας ἔχοντα τετρακισχιλίους καὶ πεζοὺς ἔτι τούτων δεκαπλασίονας. κτείναντες δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ μυρίους, ἐζώγρησαν ἐς τριακοσίους· οὓς ὁμοίως ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς αὐτὸν ἀναχθέντας ἀπέλυσε, καταδημοκοπῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Μανίου δ' ἐλήφθη καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φεύγων αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν νυκτὸς γενομένης ἐπέρασέ τε καὶ ἐς Πέργαμον ἐσώθη. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Νικομήδης, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις παρῆσαν, ἐς Λεόντων κεφαλήν, ὃ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐστὶν ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον, μετεστρατοπέδευον· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἶχον, οὐ πάλαι συνειλεγμένον, χειροτεχνῶν ἢ γεωργῶν ἢ ἰδιωτῶν, ἐγύμναζον, καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας αὐτοῖς προσκατέλεγον. ὀκνούντων δὲ ἑκατέρων ἀπέγνωσαν πολεμεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἀπολέμοις, καὶ διαλύσαντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρουν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς Ἀπάμειαν σὺν τῷ

judgment, and without any public decree. A small number of soldiers had overcome a much larger one, not by having a better position, or through any blunder of the enemy, but by good generalship and the bravery of the rank and file. Nicomedes now encamped alongside of Manius. Mithridates ascended Mount Scoroba, which lies on the boundary between Bithynia and Pontus. A hundred Sarmatian horse of his advance-guard came upon 800 of the Nicomedean cavalry and took some of them prisoners. Mithridates dismissed these also to their homes and furnished them with supplies. Neoptolemus, and Nemanes the Armenian, overtook Manius on his retreat at the stronghold of Protopachium about the seventh hour, Nicomedes having gone away to join Cassius, and compelled him to fight. He had 4000 horse and ten times that number of foot. They killed 10,000 of his men and took about 300 prisoners. When they were brought to Mithridates he released them in like manner, thus making himself popular among his enemies. The camp of Manius was also captured, and he himself fled to the river Sangarius, crossed it by night, and escaped to Pergamus. Cassius and Nicomedes and all the Roman ambassadors who were with the army decamped to a place called the Lion's Head, a very powerful stronghold in Phrygia, where they began to drill their newly collected mob of artisans, rustics, and other raw recruits, and made new levies among the Phrygians. Finding both alike inefficient they abandoned the idea of fighting with such unwarlike men, dismissed them and retreated; Cassius with his own army to Apamea, Nicomedes to

CHAP. III

CAP. III

ἑαυτοῦ στρατῷ, Νικομήδης δὲ ἐς Πέργαμον, Μάνιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥόδου. ὧν, ὅσοι τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου κατεῖχον, πυθόμενοι διελύθησαν, καὶ τάς τε κλεῖς τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παρέδοσαν.

20. Ὁ δὲ ὁρμῇ τῇδε μιᾷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην τοῦ Νικομήδους ὑπολαβὼν ἐπῆει, καὶ καθίστατο τὰς πόλεις. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πανδοκεῖον κατέλυσεν, αἰσιούμενος ἄρα, ἔνθαπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεπαύσατο, καὶ Μιθριδάτην σταθμεῦσαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ Φρυγίας τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν, ἃ Ῥωμαίοις νεόκτητα ἦν, ἐπέτρεχε, καὶ ἐς τὰ περίοικα περιπέμπων ὑπηγάγετο Λυκίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὰ μέχρι Ἰωνίας. Λαοδικεῦσι δὲ ἔτι ἀντέχουσι, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λύκον ποταμόν (Ῥωμαίων γάρ τις στρατηγὸς Κόιντος Ὄππιος, ἱππέας ἔχων καὶ μισθοφόρους τινάς, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμὼν ἐφύλαττεν αὐτήν), κήρυκα ἐπιπέμψας ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς Μιθριδάτης ὑπέχεται Λαοδικεῦσιν ἄδειαν, εἰ τὸν Ὄππιον αὐτῷ προσαγάγοιεν. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους Ὀππίου μεθῆκαν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι, αὐτὸν δ' ἤγαγον τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τὸν Ὄππιον, ἡγουμένων αὐτῷ τῶν ῥαβδοφόρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐδὲν διαθεὶς ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ λελυμένον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἄρα Ῥωμαίων αἰχμάλωτον στρατηγόν.

21. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον, τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μάλιστα αἴτιον, ἑλὼν δεδεμένον ἐπὶ ὄνου περιήγετο, κηρύσσοντα τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὅτι Μάνιος

Pergamus, and Manius toward Rhodes. When those who were guarding the mouth of the Euxine learned these facts they also scattered and delivered the straits and all the ships they had to Mithridates. CHAP III

20. Having thus subverted the whole dominion of Nicomedes at one blow, Mithridates took possession of it and put the cities in order. Then he invaded Phrygia and lodged at an inn which had been occupied by Alexander the Great, thinking it a happy omen that, where Alexander had once stopped, there Mithridates too should pitch his camp. He overran the rest of Phrygia, together with Mysia and those parts of Asia which had been lately acquired by the Romans. Then he sent his officers to the adjoining provinces and subjugated Lycia, Pamphylia, and the adjoining country as far as Ionia. To the Laodiceans on the river Lycus, who were still resisting (for the Roman general, Quintus Oppius, had got through with his cavalry and certain mercenaries to the town and was defending it), he made this proclamation by herald before the walls, "King Mithridates promises that the Laodiceans shall suffer no injury if they will deliver Oppius to him." Upon this announcement they dismissed the mercenaries unharmed, but led Oppius himself to Mithridates with his lictors marching in front of him by way of ridicule. Mithridates did him no harm, but took him around with him unbound exhibiting a Roman general as his prisoner. Roman generals captured

21. Not long afterward he captured Manius Aquilius, the prime instigator of this embassy and this war. Mithridates led him around, bound on an ass, and proclaiming himself as Manius to all who saw

CAP. III εἴη, μέχρι ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ κατεχώνευσε χρυσίον, δωροδοκίαν ἄρα Ῥωμαίοις ὀνειδίζων. σατράπας δὲ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστήσας, ἐς Μαγνησίαν καὶ Ἔφεσον καὶ Μιτυλήνην παρῆλθεν, ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἁπάντων δεχομένων, Ἐφεσίων δὲ καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων εἰκόνας τὰς παρὰ σφίσι καθαιρούντων, ἐφ' ᾧ δίκην ἔδοσαν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον. ἐπανιὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας Στρατονίκειαν εἶλε καὶ ἐζημίωσε χρήμασι, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήγαγεν. παρθένον τε εὔμορφον ἰδὼν ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεδέξατο· καὶ εἴ τῳ σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πυθέσθαι, Μονίμη Φιλοποίμενος ἦν. Μάγνησι δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσι καὶ Λυκίοις ἔτι ἀντέχουσι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπολέμει.

IV

CAP. IV 22. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην· Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἐξ οὗ τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ ὁρμῆς τε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐσβολῆς ἐπύθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καίπερ ἀσχολούμενοι στάσεσιν ἀτρύτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ οἰκείῳ πολέμῳ χαλεπῷ, τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀφισταμένης σχεδὸν ἁπάσης ἀνὰ μέρος. κληρουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἔλαχε μὲν Κορνήλιος Σύλλας ἄρχειν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ ἐσενεγκεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο πραθῆναι ὅσα Νουμᾶς Πομπίλιος βασιλεὺς ἐς θυσίας θεῶν διετέτακτο. τοσήδε μὲν ἦν τότε πάντων ἀπορία καὶ ἐς πάντα φιλοτιμία. καί τινα αὐτῶν ἔφθασε

him. Finally, at Pergamus, Mithridates poured molten gold down his throat, thus rebuking the Romans for their bribe-taking. After appointing satraps over the various nations he proceeded to Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mitylene, all of which received him gladly. The Ephesians even overthrew the Roman statues which had been erected in their cities—for which they paid the penalty not long afterward. On his return from Ionia Mithridates took the city of Stratonicea, imposed a fine on it, and placed a garrison in it. Seeing a pretty girl there he added her to his list of wives. Her name, if anybody wishes to know it, was Monima, the daughter of Philopoemen. Against those Magnesians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians who still opposed him he directed his generals to make war. CHAP III

IV

22. Such was the state of affairs with Mithridates. As soon as his outbreak and invasion of Asia were known at Rome they declared war against him, although they were occupied with endless dissensions in the city and a formidable internal war, almost all parts of Italy having seceded one after another. When the consuls cast lots, the government of Asia and the Mithridatic war fell to Cornelius Sulla. As they had no money to defray his expenses they voted to sell the treasures that King Numa Pompilius had set apart for sacrifices to the gods; so limited were their means at that time, and so unlimited their ambition. A part of these treasures, sold hastily, CHAP IV

CAP. IV πραθῆναι καὶ συνενεγκεῖν χρυσίου λίτρας[1] ἐνακισχιλίας, ἃς μόνας ἐς τηλικοῦτον πόλεμον ἔδοσαν.

Σύλλαν μὲν οὖν ἐς πολὺ αἱ στάσεις κατέσχον, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις συγγέγραπται· ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπί τε Ῥοδίους ναῦς πλείονας συνεπήγνυτο, καὶ σατράπαις ἅπασι καὶ πόλεων ἄρχουσι δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔγραφε, τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν φυλάξαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, κτείναντάς τε ἀτάφους ἀπορρῖψαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς μερίσασθαι πρὸς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην. ἐπεκήρυξε δὲ καὶ ζημίαν τοῖς καταθάπτουσιν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐπικρύπτουσι, καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσιν ἢ τοὺς κρυπτομένους ἀναιροῦσι, θεράπουσι μὲν ἐπὶ δεσπότας ἐλευθερίαν, χρήσταις δ' ἐπὶ δανειστὰς ἥμισυ τοῦ χρέους. τάδε μὲν δὴ δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέστελλεν ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης συμφορῶν ἰδέαι ποικίλαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἦσαν, ὧν ἔνια τοιάδε ἦν.

23. Ἐφέσιοι τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταφυγόντας, συμπλεκομένους τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἐξέλκοντες ἔκτεινον. Περγαμηνοὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον συμφυγόντας, οὐκ ἀφισταμένους, ἐτόξευον τοῖς ξοάνοις συμπλεκομένους. Ἀδραμυττηνοὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀνήρουν, καὶ τὰ βρέφη κατεπόντουν. Καύνιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ

[1] Here probably equivalent to the Roman libra (nearly 12 oz. avoirdupois).

brought 9000 pounds' weight of gold, and this was all they had to spend on so great a war.

Mithridates orders a massacre of Romans in Asia

Sulla was detained a long time by the civil wars, as I have stated in my history of the same. In the meantime Mithridates built a large number of ships for an attack on Rhodes, and wrote secretly to all his satraps and city governors that on the thirtieth day thereafter they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their freedmen of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with King Mithridates. He threatened to punish any who should bury the dead or conceal the living, and proclaimed rewards to informers and to those who should kill persons in hiding. To slaves, who killed or betrayed their masters he offered freedom, to debtors, who did the same to their creditors, the remission of half of their debt. These secret orders Mithridates sent to all the cities at the same time. When the appointed day came disasters of the most varied kinds occurred throughout Asia, among which were the following:

Frightful scenes at Ephesus and other cities

23. The Ephesians tore away the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis, and were clasping the images of the goddess, and slew them. The Pergameans shot with arrows those who had fled to the temple of Aesculapius, while they were still clinging to his statues. The people of Adramyttium followed into the sea those who sought to escape by swimming, and killed them and drowned their children. The Caunii, who had been made subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been lately

CAP. IV γενόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀφεθέντες οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ, τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς ἐς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν καταφυγόντας ἕλκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑστίας, τὰ βρέφη σφῶν πρῶτα ἔκτεινον ἐν ὄψει τῶν μητέρων, αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπ' ἐκείνοις. Τραλλιανοὶ δ' αὐθένται τοῦ κακοῦ φυλαξάμενοι γενέσθαι, Παφλαγόνα Θεόφιλον, ἄγριον ἄνδρα, ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐμισθώσαντο, καὶ ὁ Θεόφιλος αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας νεὼν ἥπτετο τοῦ φόνου, καὶ τινῶν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι συμπλεκομένων τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέκοπτεν. τοιαύταις μὲν τύχαις οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὄντες Ἰταλοὶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι συνεφέροντο, ἄνδρες τε ὁμοῦ καὶ βρέφη καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτῶν, ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ. ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μᾶλλον ἢ μίσει Ῥωμαίων τοιάδε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν δίκην ἔδοσαν διπλῆν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπίστως ἐξυβρίσαντος ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ ὕστερον Κορνηλίῳ Σύλλᾳ· Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐς μὲν Κῶ κατέπλευσε, Κῴων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως δεχομένων, καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, σὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μάμμης Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κῷ καταλελειμμένον, παραλαβὼν ἔτρεφε βασιλικῶς, ἔκ τε τῶν Κλεοπάτρας θησαυρῶν γάζαν πολλὴν καὶ τέχνην καὶ λίθους καὶ κόσμους γυναικείους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμψεν.

24. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ῥόδιοι τά τε τείχη σφῶν καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἐκρατύναντο, καὶ μηχανὰς ἅπασιν ἐφίστανον· καί τινες αὐτοῖς Τελμισέων τε καὶ Λυκίων συνέμαχουν. ὅσοι τε ἐξ Ἀσίας Ἰταλοὶ

liberated by the Romans, pursued the Italians who had taken refuge about the statue of Vesta in the senate-house, tore them from the shrine, first killed the children before their mothers' eyes, and then killed the mothers themselves and their husbands after them. The citizens of Tralles, in order to avoid the appearance of blood-guiltiness, hired a savage monster named Theophilus, of Paphlagonia, to do the work. He conducted the victims to the temple of Concord, and there murdered them, chopping off the hands of some who were embracing the sacred images. Such was the awful fate that befell the Romans and Italians in Asia, men, women, and children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were of Italian blood; by which it was made very plain that it was quite as much hatred of the Romans as fear of Mithridates that impelled the Asiatics to commit these atrocities. But they paid a double penalty for their crime—one at the hands of Mithridates himself, who ill-treated them perfidiously not long afterward, and the other at the hands of Cornelius Sulla. In the meantime Mithridates crossed over to the island of Cos, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants and where he received, and afterwards brought up in a royal way, a son of Alexander, the reigning sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his grandmother, Cleopatra, together with a large sum of money. From the treasures of Cleopatra he sent vast wealth, works of art, precious stones, women's ornaments, and a great deal of money to Pontus.

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24. While these things were going on the Rhodians strengthened their walls and their harbours and erected engines of war everywhere, being joined by some recruits from Telmessus and Lycia. All the

CAP. IV διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐς Ῥόδον ἅπαντες ἐχώρουν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατος. ἐπιπλέοντος δὲ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὰ προάστεια καθῄρουν, ἵνα μηδὲν εἴη χρήσιμα τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ταῖς μὲν ἐκ μετώπου ταῖς δὲ πλαγίοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πεντήρους περιπλέων ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ κέρως, καὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἐπιταχύναντας περικυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας, μέχρι δείσαντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι περὶ τῇ κυκλώσει ὑπεχώρουν κατ' ὀλίγον· εἶτ' ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα κατέφυγον, καὶ κλείθροις αὐτὸν διαλαβόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀπεμάχοντο. ὁ δὲ τῇ πόλει παραστρατοπεδεύων καὶ συνεχῶς τῶν λιμένων πειρώμενος καὶ ἀποτυγχάνων, ἀνέμενε τὸ πεζὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ παραγενέσθαι. κἀν τούτῳ βραχεῖαι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Ῥόδιοι πλεονεκτοῦντες ἀνεθάρσουν κατ' ὀλίγον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὡς, εἴ πῃ καιρὸν εὕροιεν, ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

25. Ὀλκάδος δὲ βασιλικῆς ἱστίῳ παραπλεούσης, Ῥοδία δίκροτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνήχθη· καὶ ταῖσδε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἑκατέρων ἐπιβοηθούντων ναυμαχία γίγνεται καρτερά, Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἐπιβαρύνοντος ὀργῇ καὶ πλήθεσι νεῶν, Ῥοδίων δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ σκάφη σὺν ἐμπειρίᾳ περιπλεόντων τε καὶ ἀνατιτρώντων, ὥστε καὶ τριήρη αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀναδησάμενοι καὶ ἀκροστόλια πολλὰ καὶ σκῦλα ἐς τὸν λιμένα

Italians who escaped from Asia collected at Rhodes, among them Lucius Cassius, the pro-consul of the province. When Mithridates approached with his fleet, the inhabitants destroyed the suburbs in order that they might not be of service to the enemy. Then they put to sea for a naval engagement with some of their ships ranged for an attack in front and some on the flank. Mithridates, who was sailing round in a quinquereme, ordered his ships to extend their wing out to sea and to quicken the rowing in order to surround the enemy, for they were fewer in number. The Rhodians were apprehensive of being surrounded and retired slowly. Finally they turned about and took refuge in the harbour, closed the gates, and fought Mithridates from the walls. He encamped near the city and continually tried to gain entrance to the harbour, but failing to do so he waited for the arrival of his infantry from Asia. In the meantime there was continual skirmishing going on with the soldiers on the walls. As the Rhodians had the best of it in these affairs, they gradually plucked up courage and kept their ships in readiness, in order to attack the enemy whenever they should discover an opportunity.

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Mithridates attacks Rhodes

25. As one of the king's merchantmen was moving near them under sail a Rhodian two-bank ship advanced against it. Many on both sides hastened to the rescue and a severe naval engagement took place. Mithridates outweighed his antagonists both in fury and in the multitude of his fleet, but the Rhodians circled around and rammed his ships with such skill that they took one of his triremes in tow with its crew and returned to the harbour with a large number of figure-heads and spoils. Another time,

He is defeated at sea

CAP. IV φέροντες ἐπανελθεῖν. πεντήρους δὲ σφῶν εἰλημμένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐπὶ ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἓξ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσαις ἀνέπλεον, καὶ Δαμαγόρας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁ ναύαρχος ἐπέπλει. πέντε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπιπέμψαντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, μέχρι μὲν ἐς δύσιν ὁ Δαμαγόρας ὑπεχώρει, συσκοτάζοντος δ' ἤδη ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐς ἀπόπλουν ἐπιστρεφομέναις ἐμβαλὼν δύο κατεπόντωσε, δύο δ' ἄλλας ἐς Λυκίαν συνεδίωξε, καὶ τὴν νύκτα πελαγίσας ἐπανῆλθεν. τοῦτο Ῥοδίοις καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τέλος ἦν τῆς ναυμαχίας, παρὰ δόξαν Ῥοδίοις τε διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος γενόμενον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ περιπλέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπισπέρχοντι, Χία συμμαχὶς ἐμβαλοῦσα ἐκ θορύβου κατέσεισε· καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐδὲν τότε φροντίζειν ὑποκρινάμενος, τὸν κυβερνήτην ὕστερον ἐκόλασε καὶ τὸν πρῳρέα, καὶ Χίοις ἐμήνισε πᾶσιν.

26. Τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πεζοῦ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραπλέοντος ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων καὶ τριήρων, πνεῦμα Καυνικὸν ἐμπεσὸν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐς Ῥόδον παρήνεγκε· καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τάχιστα ἐπαναχθέντες, ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἔτι καὶ διεσπαρμέναις ἐμβαλόντες, ἀνεδήσαντό τινας καὶ διέτρησαν ἑτέρας καὶ ἐνέπρησαν ἄλλας, καὶ ἄνδρας αἰχμαλώτους εἷλον ἐς τετρακοσίους. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐς ἑτέραν ναυμαχίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πολιορκίαν ἡτοιμάζετο, σαμβύκην δέ τινα, μηχάνημα μέγιστον, ἐπὶ δύο νεῶν φερόμενον ἐποίει.

when one of their quinqueremes had been taken by the enemy, the Rhodians, not knowing this fact, sent out six of their swiftest ships to look for it, under command of their admiral, Damagoras. Mithridates despatched twenty-five of his against them, and Damagoras retired before them until sunset. When it began to grow dark and the king's ships turned round to sail back, Damagoras fell upon them, sank two, drove two others to Lycia, and having passed the night out at sea returned home. This was the result of the naval engagement, as unexpected to the Rhodians on account of the smallness of their force as to Mithridates on account of the largeness of his. In this engagement, while the king was sailing about in his ship and urging on his men, an allied ship from Chios ran against his in the confusion with a severe shock. The king pretended not to mind it at the time, but later he punished the pilot and the look-out man, and conceived a hatred for all Chians. CHAP. IV

He makes an assault by land

26. About the same time the land forces of Mithridates set sail in merchant vessels and triremes, and a storm, blowing from Caunus, drove them towards Rhodes. The Rhodians promptly sailed out to meet them, fell upon them while they were still scattered and suffering from the effects of the tempest, captured some, rammed others, and burned others, and took about 400 prisoners. Thereupon Mithridates prepared for another naval engagement and siege at the same time. He built a *sambuca*,[1] an immense machine for scaling walls, and mounted it on two

[1] A kind of bridge, used for crossing from either the ships or the towers of the besiegers on to the enemy's walls.

CAP. IV αὐτομόλων δ' αὐτῷ λύφον ὑποδειξάντων ἐπιβατόν, ᾗ Ἀταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν καὶ κολοβὸν τειχίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀναδοὺς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου, καὶ τότε ἀθρόως, μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι μάλιστα μεγάλης, τοὺς μὲν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐμπίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τείχη βιάζεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ σιγῆς βαθείας προσεπέλαζον, Ῥοδίων δ' οἱ προφύλακες αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων ἐπύρσευσαν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, νομίσασα τοῦτο εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου πυρσόν, ἐκ βαθείας σιωπῆς ἠλάλαξαν ὁμοῦ πάντες, οἵ τε κλιμακοφόροι καὶ ὁ στόλος ὁ νηίτης. Ῥοδίων δ' αὐτοῖς ἀκαταπλήκτως ἀντανακραγόντων, καὶ ἀθρόως ἀναδραμόντων ἐς τὰ τείχη, οἱ βασιλικοὶ νυκτὸς μὲν οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν, ἡμέρας δ' ἀπεκρούσθησαν.

27. Ἡ σαμβύκη δ' ἐπαχθεῖσα τοῦ τείχους ᾗ τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐφόβει μάλιστα, βέλη τε πολλὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ κριοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια ἀφιεῖσα. στρατιῶταί τε σκάφεσι πολλοῖς αὐτῇ μετὰ κλιμάκων παρέθεον ὡς ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ τάδε εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενον, ἕως τό τε μηχάνημα ὑπὸ βάρους ἐνεδίδου, καὶ φάσμα τῆς Ἴσιδος ἔδοξε πῦρ ἀφιέναι πολὺ κατ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπογνοὺς καὶ τῆσδε τῆς πείρας ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου, Πατάροις δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας ἔκοπτε Λητοῦς ἄλσος ἱερὸν ἐς μηχανάς, μέχρι φοβήσαντος αὐτὸν ἐνυπνίου τῆς τε ὕλης ἐφείσατο, καὶ

ships. Some deserters showed him a hill that was easy to climb, where the temple of Zeus Atabyrius was situated, surrounded by a low wall. He placed a part of his army in ships by night, distributed scaling ladders to others, and commanded both parties to move silently until they should see a fire signal given from Mount Atabyrius; and then to make the greatest possible uproar, and some to attack the harbour and others the wall. Accordingly they approached in profound silence. The Rhodian sentries detected what was going on and lighted a fire. The army of Mithridates, thinking that this was the fire signal from Atabyrius, broke the silence with a loud shout, the scaling party and the naval contingent shouting all together. The Rhodians, not at all dismayed, answered the shout and rushed to the walls in crowds. The king's forces did not even attack that night, and the next day they were beaten off. CHAP. IV

He is beaten off

27. The Rhodians were most dismayed by the *sambuca,* which was moved against the wall where the temple of Isis stands. It was operating simultaneously with weapons of various kinds, both rams and projectiles. Soldiers with ladders in numerous small boats passed alongside of it, ready to mount the wall by its help. Nevertheless the Rhodians awaited its attack with firmness, until the *sambuca* began to collapse of its own weight, and an apparition of Isis was seen hurling a great mass of fire down upon it. Mithridates despaired of this undertaking too and retired from Rhodes. He then laid siege to Patara and began to cut down a grove dedicated to Latona, to get material for his machines, until he was warned in a dream to spare the sacred trees. Leaving Pelop-

CAP. IV Πελοπίδαν Λυκίοις πολεμεῖν ἐπιστήσας, Ἀρχέλαον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, προσεταιριούμενον ἢ βιασόμενον αὐτῆς ὅσα δύναιτο. αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ πολλὰ μεθεὶς ἐστρατολόγει καὶ ὡπλοποίει, καὶ τῇ Στρατονικίδι γυναικὶ διετέρπετο, καὶ δίκας ἐδίκαζε τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἢ νεωτερίζουσιν ἢ ὅλως ῥωμαΐζουσιν.

V

CAP. V 28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ σίτῳ καὶ στόλῳ πολλῷ, Δῆλόν τε ἀφισταμένην ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐχειρώσατο βίᾳ καὶ κράτει. κτείνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς δισμυρίους ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ πλέονες ἦσαν Ἰταλοί, τὰ χωρία προσεποιεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτούς, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κομπάζων περὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἐς μέγα ἐπαίρων, ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο· τά τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Δήλου δι' Ἀριστίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, συμπέμψας φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἷς ὁ Ἀριστίων συγχρώμενος ἐτυράννησε τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν ὡς ῥωμαΐζοντας, τοὺς δ' ἀνέπεμψεν ἐς Μιθριδάτην, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι σοφίαν τὴν Ἐπικούρειον ἠσκηκώς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅδε μόνος Ἀθήνησιν, οὐδὲ Κριτίας ἔτι πρὸ τούτου, καὶ

idas to continue the war against the Lycians he sent Archelaus to Greece to gain allies by persuasion or force according as he could. After this Mithridates committed most of his tasks to his generals, and applied himself to raising troops, making arms, and enjoying himself with his wife from Stratoniceia. He also held a court to try those who were accused of conspiring against him, or of inciting revolution, or of favouring the Romans in any way. CHAP. IV

V

28. While Mithridates was thus occupied the following events took place in Greece. Archelaus, sailing thither with abundant supplies and a large fleet, conquered by force of arms Delos and other strongholds which had revolted from the Athenians. He slew 20,000 men in these places, most of whom were Italians, and handed the strongholds over to the Athenians. In this way, and by boasting generally about Mithridates and extravagantly praising him, he brought the Athenians into alliance with him. Archelaus also sent them the sacred treasure of Delos by the hands of Aristion, an Athenian citizen, attended by about 2000 soldiers to guard the money. These soldiers Aristion made use of to make himself master of his fatherland, putting some to death immediately on the charge of favouring the Romans and sending others to Mithridates. And these things he did although he had studied Epicurean philosophy. Nor was he alone in this, for not only at Athens Critias[1] before him and those CHAP. V B.C. 87 Athens sides with Mithridates

[1] One of the most extreme of the so-called Thirty Tyrants, who ruled Athens from September 404 to May 403 B.C. He was a friend and pupil of Socrates.

CAP. V ὅσοι τῷ Κριτίᾳ συμφιλοσοφοῦντες ἐτυράννησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τῶν πυθαγορισάντων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν λεγομένων ὅσοι πραγμάτων ἐλάβοντο, ἐδυνάστευσάν τε καὶ ἐτυράννησαν ὠμότερον τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν τυράννων, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἄπορον ποιῆσαι καὶ ὕποπτον, εἴτε δι' ἀρετήν, εἴτε πενίας καὶ ἀπραξίας τὴν σοφίαν ἔθεντο παραμύθιον, ὧν γε καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ ἰδιωτεύοντες καὶ πενόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἐκ τῶνδε σοφίαν περικείμενοι, τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν ἢ ἄρχουσι λοιδοροῦνται πικρῶς, οὐχ ὑπεροψίας πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς δόξαν σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ ζηλοτυπίας ἐς αὐτὰ προφέροντες. ὑπερορῶσι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ βλασφημούμενοι πολὺ σοφώτερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡγήσαιτο ἄν τις ἐς Ἀριστίωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰρημένα, αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῷ λόγῳ γενόμενον·

29. Ἀρχελάῳ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λάκωνες προσετίθεντο, καὶ Βοιωτία πᾶσα χωρίς γε Θεσπιέων, οὓς περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου Μητροφάνης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς Εὔβοιαν καὶ Δημητριάδα καὶ Μαγνησίαν, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένας τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ἐλεηλάτει. καὶ Βρύττιος ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ διεναυμάχησέ τε αὐτῷ, καὶ καταποντώσας τι πλοῖον καὶ ἡμιολίαν ἔκτεινε πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐφορῶντος τοῦ Μητροφάνους. ὁ δὲ καταπλαγεὶς ἔφευγεν. καὶ αὐτὸν αἰσίῳ ἀνέμῳ χρώμενον ὁ Βρέττιος οὐ καταλαβὼν Σκίαθον ἐξεῖλεν, ἣ τῆς λείας τοῖς βαρβάροις ταμιεῖον ἦν, καὶ δούλους τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐκρέμασε,

of his fellow-philosophers who set up a tyranny, but also in Italy, some of the Pythagoreans, and in other parts of the Grecian world some of those known as the Seven Wise Men, who undertook to manage public affairs, governed more cruelly, and made themselves greater tyrants than ordinary despots; whence arose doubt and suspicion concerning other philosophers, whether they were attracted to philosophy by virtue, or adopted it as a consolation for poverty or lack of occupation. For we see many of them now, obscure and poverty-stricken, wearing the garb of philosophy as a matter of necessity, and railing bitterly at the rich and powerful, thus winning themselves a reputation, not for despising riches and power, but for envying them. Those whom they speak ill of shew far greater wisdom in despising such men. These things the reader should consider as spoken against the philosopher Aristion, who is the cause of this digression. CHAP V

29. Archelaus brought over to the side of Mithridates the Achaeans, the Lacedaemonians, and all of Boeotia except Thespiae, to which he laid close siege. At the same time Metrophanes, who had been sent by Mithridates with another army, ravaged Euboea and the territory of Demetrias and Magnesia, which states refused to espouse his cause. Bruttius advanced against him with a small force from Macedonia, had a naval fight with him, sank one small ship and one hemiolia, and killed all who were in them while Metrophanes was looking on. The latter fled in terror and, as he had a favourable wind, Bruttius could not overtake him, but stormed Sciathos, which was a storehouse of plunder for the barbarians, crucified some of them who were Other Greek cities follow her example

CAP. V καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἀπέτεμε τὰς χεῖρας. ἐπί τε Βοιωτίαν τραπείς, ἑτέρων οἱ χιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθόντων, ἀμφὶ Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι τρισὶν ἡμέραις συνεπλέκετο, ἴσου καὶ ἀγχωμάλου παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ ἔργου γιγνομένου. Λακώνων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι προσιόντων, ὁ Βρύττιος ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ γενομένοις οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀξιόμαχος ἔτι ἔσεσθαι ἀνεζεύγνυεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας κατέσχεν.

30. Σύλλας δ' ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αἱρεθεὶς εἶναι, τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας σὺν τέλεσι πέντε καὶ σπείραις τισὶ καὶ ἴλαις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περαιωθεὶς χρήματα μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ συμμάχους καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας συνέλεγεν, ὡς δ' ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν ἐδόκει, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον. παροδεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτία τε ἀθρόως μετεχώρει, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἄστυ αἱ Θῆβαι, μάλα κουφόνως ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων ἑλόμενοι τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ὀξύτερον ἔτι, πρὶν ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου πρὸς Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐχώρει, καὶ μέρος τι στρατοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ περιπέμψας Ἀριστίωνα πολιορκεῖν, αὐτός, ἔνθαπερ ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθε, κατακεκλεισμένων ἐς τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων. ὕψος δ' ἦν τὰ τείχη πήχεων τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα, καὶ εἴργαστο ἐκ λίθου μεγάλου τε καὶ τετραγώνου, Περίκλειον ἔργον, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους στρατηγῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τιθέ-

slaves, and cut off the hands of the freemen. Then he turned against Boeotia, having received reinforcements of 1000 horse and foot from Macedonia. Near Chaeronea he was engaged in a fight of three days' duration with Archelaus and Aristion, the battle being evenly contested throughout. But when the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans came to the aid of Archelaus and Aristion, Bruttius thought that he was not a match for all of them together and withdrew to the Piraeus, until Archelaus came up with his fleet and seized that place also.

Cornelius Sulla marches against Mithridates

30. Sulla, who had been appointed general of the Mithridatic war by the Romans, now for the first time passed over to Greece with five legions and a few cohorts and troops of horse and straightway called for money, reinforcements and provisions from Aetolia and Thessaly. As soon as he considered himself strong enough he crossed over to Attica to attack Archelaus. As he was passing through the country all Boeotia joined him except a few, and among others the great city of Thebes, which had very lightly taken sides with Mithridates against the Romans, but now even more nimbly changed from Archelaus to Sulla before coming to a trial of strength. When Sulla reached Attica he detached part of his army to lay siege to Aristion in Athens, and himself went down to attack the Piraeus, where the enemy, under Archelaus, were shut up within the walls. The height of the walls was about forty cubits and they were built of large square stones. They were the work of Pericles in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and as he rested his hope of victory on the Piraeus he made them as strong as

He besieges the Piraeus

CAP. V

μενος, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐκρατύνατο. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὖσι τοῖς τείχεσιν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγε τὰς κλίμακας, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρα πολλὰ δ' ἀντέπασχεν, ἰσχυρῶς τῶν Καππαδοκῶν αὐτὸν ἀμυνομένων, ἔστε κάμνων ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Μέγαρα ἀνεχώρει, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ συνεπήγνυτο, καὶ χῶμα αὐτῷ προσχοῦν ἐπενόει. τέχναι μὲν δὴ καὶ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα αὐτῷ καὶ σίδηρος καὶ καταπέλται, καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο, ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐκομίζετο, ὕλην δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἔκοπτε, καὶ μηχανὰς εἰργάζετο μεγίστας. τά τε μακρὰ σκέλη καθῆρει, λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ γῆν ἐς τὸ χῶμα μεταβάλλων.

31. Δύο δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Ἀττικοὶ θεράποντες, αἱρούμενοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἃ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καταφυγήν, εἴ τι γίγνοιτο, προορώμενοι, πεσσοῖς ἐκ μολύβδου πεποιημένοις ἐγγράφοντες ἀεὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἠφίεσαν ἀπὸ σφενδόνης. καὶ τοῦδε γιγνομένου τε συνεχῶς καὶ ἐς γνῶσιν ἐλθόντος, Σύλλας τοῖς ἐσφενδονημένοις προσέχων ηὗρε γεγραμμένον ὅτι τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐκ μετώπου πεζοὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐκδραμοῦνται καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν ἐς τὰ πλάγια Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλοῦσιν. κρύψας οὖν τινὰ στρατιὰν ἀποχρῶσαν, ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν πολεμίων ἡ ἐκδρομή, δόξασα δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιος εἶναι, ὁ δὲ αἰφνιδιώτερον αὐτοῖς τοὺς κεκρυμμένους ἐπαφεὶς ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑτέρους περιέωσεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πείρας ἐκείνης τέλος ἦν· αἱρομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ μέγα ἄνω τοῖς χώμασι πύργους ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, καὶ πλεῖστα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὄργανα ἐτίθει, τάς τε δυνάμεις ἐκ

possible. Notwithstanding the height of the walls Sulla planted his ladders against them at once. After inflicting and receiving much damage (for the Cappadocians bravely repelled his attack), he retired exhausted to Eleusis and Megara, where he built engines for a new attack upon the Piraeus and formed a plan for besieging it with a mound. Appliances and apparatus of all kinds, iron, catapults, and everything of that sort were supplied by Thebes. His wood he cut in the grove of the Academy, where he constructed enormous engines. He also demolished the Long Walls, and used the stones, timber, and earth for building the mound. CHAP. V

31. Two Athenian slaves in the Piraeus—either because they favoured the Romans or were looking out for their own safety in an emergency—wrote down everything that took place there, inscribed on leaden balls, and shot them at the Romans with slings. After being done continually this was observed, and Sulla, who gave his attention to the missives, found one which said, "To-morrow the infantry will make a sally in front upon your workers, and the cavalry will attack the Roman army on both flanks." Sulla placed an adequate force in ambush and when the enemy dashed out with the thought that their movement would completely surprise him he gave them a greater surprise with his concealed force, killing many and driving others into the sea. This was the end of that enterprise; but when the mounds began to rise Archelaus erected opposing towers and placed a great number of engines on them.

CAP. V Χαλκίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων μετεπέμπετο, καὶ τοὺς ἑρέτας καθώπλιζεν, ὡς ὄντος οἱ τοῦ κινδύνου περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ἐγίγνετο μὲν δὴ πλείων οὖσα τῆς Σύλλα στρατιᾶς ἡ Ἀρχελάου καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πολὺ πλείων, νυκτὸς δὲ μέσης ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐκθορὼν μετὰ λαμπτήρων ἐνέπρησε τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χελωνῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανήματα, ἡμέραις δὲ δέκα μάλιστα ἄλλα ὁ Σύλλας ἐργασάμενος ἐπέστησεν αὖθις ἔνθα καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἦν. καὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἀρχέλαος πύργον ἀνθίστη κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος.

32. Καταπλευσάσης δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ Μιθριδάτου στρατιᾶς ἑτέρας, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Δρομιχαίτης, ἐξῆγεν ἅπαντας ἐς μάχην. ἀναμίξας δ' αὐτοῖς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτὸ παρέταττεν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ τειχοφύλακες ἐφικνοῖντο τῶν πολεμίων· ἕτεροι δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς πύλαις αὐτῷ πυρφόροι καιρὸν ἐκδρομῆς ἐπετήρουν. ἀγχωμάλου δ' ἐς πολὺ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ἐνέκλινον ἑκατεροι παρὰ μέρος, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι, μέχρι Ἀρχέλαος αὐτοὺς ἐπισχὼν ἐπανήγαγεν ἐς τὴν μάχην. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καταπλαγέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετ' αὐτοὺς ἔφευγον, ἔστε καὶ τούσδε Μουρήνας ὑπαντήσας ἐπέστρεφεν. ἄλλο δ' ἀπὸ ξυλείας τέλος ἐπανιόν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄτιμοι, σπουδῇ τὸν ἀγῶνα εὑρόντες ἐπέπιπτον τοῖς Μιθριδατείοις πάνυ καρτερῶς, μέχρι κτεῖναι μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς δισχιλίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς τὰ τείχη συνελάσαι. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέφων αὖθις, καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν ἐς πολὺ παραμένων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθεὶς ἀνιμήθη διὰ καλῳδίων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν

He also sent for reinforcements from Chalcis and the other islands and armed his oarsmen, knowing that everything was at stake. And so his army, which was superior in number to that of Sulla before, now became much more so by these reinforcements, and at midnight he made a sally with torches and burned one of the pent-houses and the machines as well; but Sulla made new ones in about ten days' time and put them in the places of the former ones. Against these Archelaus established a tower on that part of the wall. CHAP. V

32. Having received from Mithridates by sea a new army under command of Dromichaetes, Archelaus led all his troops out to battle. He distributed archers and slingers among them and ranged them close under the walls so that the defenders of the walls could reach the enemy with their missiles. Others were stationed around the gates with torches[1] to watch their opportunity to make a sally. The battle remained doubtful a long time and each side yielded in turn, the barbarians first, until Archelaus rallied them and led them back. The Romans were so dismayed by this that they were put to flight next, until Murena ran up and rallied them. Just then another legion, which had returned from gathering wood, together with the soldiers who had been disgraced, finding a hot fight in progress, made a powerful charge on Mithridates' troops, killed about 2000 of them and drove the rest inside the walls. Archelaus tried to rally them again and stood his ground so long that he was shut out and had to be pulled up by ropes. In consideration of their splendid behaviour Sulla removed the stigma Archelaus makes a sally

[1] For the intention, see chapter 35.

CAP. V ἀτίμους περιφανῶς ἀγωνισαμένους ἐξέλυσε τῆς ἀτιμίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐδωρήσατο πολλοῖς.

33. Καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος ἤδη στρατόπεδον ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι θέμενος, τάφρον ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἔτεμνε βαθεῖαν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἱππέας εὐμαρῶς ἐπιτρέχειν οἱ. καὶ τάδε αὐτῷ πονουμένῳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐγίγνοντό τινες ἀγῶνες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν τάφρον οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐπεξιόντων θαμινὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ λίθοις καὶ βέλεσι καὶ μολυβδαίναις χρωμένων. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας νεῶν δεόμενος μετεπέμψατο μὲν ἐκ Ῥόδου. καὶ Ῥοδίων οὐ δυνηθέντων διαπλεῦσαι θαλασσοκρατοῦντος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Λεύκολλον, ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον περιφανῆ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Σύλλᾳ γενόμενον, ἐκέλευεν ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Συρίαν λαθόντα διαπλεῦσαι, παρά τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ πόλεων, ὅσαι ναυτικαί, στόλον τινὰ ἀγείραντα τὸ Ῥοδίων ναυτικὸν παραπέμψαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πολεμίας οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐδὲν ἐνδοιάσας, ἐς κελήτιον ἐνέβη, καὶ ναῦν ἐκ νεώς, ἵνα λάθοι, διαμείβων ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐφέρετο·

34. Οἱ δὲ προδιδόντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, πεσσοῖς πάλιν ἐγγράψαντες ὅτι πέμψοι τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς Ἀρχέλαος ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄστυ λιμῷ πιεζόμενον πυροὺς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν φερομένους, ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐνεδρεύσας ἐκράτησε τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν φερόντων. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ καὶ Μουνάτιος περὶ Χαλκίδα Νεοπτόλεμον ἕτερον στρατηγὸν κατατρώσας, ἔκτεινε μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ἔλαβε δὲ αἰχμαλώτους ἔτι πλείονας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον

from those who had been disgraced and gave large rewards to the others. CHAP. V

33. Now winter came on and Sulla established his camp at Eleusis and protected it by a deep ditch, extending from the high ground to the sea, so that the enemy's horse could not readily reach him. While he was prosecuting this work fighting took place daily, now at the ditch, now at the walls of the enemy, who frequently came out and assailed the Romans with stones, javelins, and leaden balls. Sulla, being in need of ships, sent to Rhodes to obtain them, but the Rhodians were not able to send them because Mithridates controlled the sea. He then ordered Lucullus, a distinguished Roman who later succeeded Sulla as commander in this war, to proceed secretly to Alexandria and Syria, and procure a fleet from those kings and cities that were skilled in nautical affairs, and to escort with it the Rhodian naval contingent also. Lucullus did not hesitate, although the enemy were in possession of the sea. He embarked in a fast sailing vessel and, by changing from one ship to another in order to conceal his movements, arrived at Alexandria.

Sulla sends Lucullus to procure ships

34. Meanwhile the traitors in the Piraeus threw another message over the walls, saying that Archelaus would on that very night send a convoy of soldiers with wheat to the city of Athens, which was suffering from hunger. Sulla laid a trap for them and captured both the provisions and the soldiers. On the same day, near Chalcis, Munatius wounded Neoptolemus, another general of Mithridates, killed about 1500 of his men, and took a still larger number prisoners. Not long after, by night, while the guards

B.C. 86

Hard fighting on the walls

CAP. V τῷ Πειραιεῖ νυκτός, ἔτι κοιμωμένων τῶν φυλάκων, Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς μηχανῶν κλίμακας ἐπενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπέβησαν, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἔκτειναν. ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπεπήδων ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ τεῖχος καταλιπόντες ὡς εἰλημμένον ἅπαν, οἱ δ' ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἔκτειναν τε τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐπιβάντων καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔξω κατεκρήμνισαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκδραμόντες ὀλίγου τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν πύργων ἐνέπρησαν, εἰ μὴ Σύλλας ἐπιδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, νυκτός τε ὅλης καὶ δι' ἡμέρας ἐπιπόνως ἀγωνισάμενος, περιέσωσεν. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ δ' Ἀρχελάου πύργον ἕτερον μέγαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄντικρυς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ πύργου στήσαντος ἐπυργομάχουν ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἑκατέρωθεν πυκνὰ καὶ θαμινὰ πάντα ἀφιέντες, ἕως ὁ Σύλλας ἐκ καταπελτῶν, ἀνὰ εἴκοσιν ὁμοῦ μολυβδαίνας βαρυτάτας ἀφιέντων, ἔκτεινέ τε πολλούς, καὶ τὸν πύργον Ἀρχελάου κατέσεισε καὶ δυσάρμοστον ἐποίησεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου διὰ δέος ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ὑπαχθῆναι.

35. Πιεζομένων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ τῶν ἐν ἄστει, πεσσοὶ πάλιν ἐμήνυον ὅτι πέμψοι νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ τροφάς. καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὑπονοῶν τι περὶ τὸν σῖτον γίγνεσθαι μήνυμα καὶ προδοσίαν, ἅμα τὸν σῖτον ἔπεμπε, καί τινας ἐφίστη ταῖς πύλαις μετὰ πυρὸς ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκδραμουμένους, εἰ Σύλλας γίγνοιτο περὶ τὸν σῖτον. καὶ συνέπεσεν ἄμφω, Σύλλᾳ μὲν ἐλεῖν τοὺς σιταγωγοῦντας, Ἀρχελάῳ δ' ἐμπρῆσαί τινα τῶν μηχανημάτων. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ

on the walls of the Piraeus were asleep, the Romans brought up some ladders by means of the appliances which they had near at hand, mounted the walls, and killed the guards at that place. Thereupon some of the barbarians abandoned their posts and fled to the harbour, thinking that all the walls had been captured. Others offered a brave resistance and slew the leader of the assailing party and hurled the remainder over the wall. Still others darted out through the gates and almost burned one of the two Roman towers, and would have burned it had not Sulla ridden up from the camp and saved it by a hard fight lasting all that night and the next day. Then the barbarians retired. But Archelaus planted another great tower on the wall opposite the Roman tower and the men on the towers assailed each other, discharging all kinds of missiles constantly until Sulla, by means of his catapults, each of which discharged twenty of the heaviest leaden balls at one volley, had killed a large number of the enemy, and had so shaken the tower of Archelaus that it became insecure, and Archelaus was compelled, by fear of its destruction, to draw it back with all speed. CHAP. V

35. Meanwhile famine pressed more and more on the city of Athens, and the leaden balls gave the further information that provisions would be sent thither by night. Archelaus suspected that some traitor was giving information to the enemy about his convoys. Accordingly, at the same time that he sent it, he stationed a force at the gates with torches to make an assault on the Roman works if Sulla should attack the provision train. Both these things happened, Sulla capturing the train and Archelaus burning some of the Roman engines. At Famine in Athens

CAP. V

Ἀρκαθίας ὁ Μιθριδάτου υἱός, μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλών, οὐ δυσχερῶς ὀλίγων ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἐκράτησε, καὶ Μακεδονίαν πᾶσαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ σατράπαις ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐχώρει, μέχρι νοσήσας περὶ τὸ Τίσαιον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ τῷ μὲν ἄστει πονουμένῳ σφόδρα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ πολλὰ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπετείχιζε φρούρια, τοῦ μὴ διαδιδράσκειν ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖσθαι·

36. Τῷ δὲ Πειραιεῖ, τὸ χῶμα ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρας, τὰ μηχανήματα ἐπῆγεν. Ἀρχελάου δὲ τὸ χῶμα ὑπορύττοντος καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφέροντός τε καὶ ἐς πολὺ διαλανθάνοντος, τὸ χῶμα ὑφίζανεν ἄφνω· καὶ ταχείας αἰσθήσεως γενομένης οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ μηχανήματα ὑφεῖλκον καὶ τὸ χῶμα ἀνεπλήρουν. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἐς τὰ τείχη τεκμαιρόμενοι διώρυττον· ἀλλήλοις τε συμπίπτοντες κάτω ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασιν ἐκ χειρός, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν ἐν σκότῳ, διεμάχοντο. ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τῶν χωμάτων μηχανήμασι πολλοῖς τὸ τεῖχος ἐκριοκόπει, μέχρι μέρος αὐτοῦ καταβαλών, καὶ τὸν πλησιάζοντα πύργον ἐπειγόμενος ἐμπρῆσαι, πολλὰ μὲν ἠφίει πυρφόρα τοξεύματα ἐς αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ εὐτολμοτάτους ἀνέπεμπεν ἐπὶ κλιμάκων. σπουδῆς δὲ πολλῆς γιγνομένης ἑκατέρωθεν ὅ τε πύργος ἐνεπίμπρατο, καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ὀλίγον ὁ Σύλλας καταβαλὼν εὐθὺς ἐπέστησε φυλακεῖον· τά τε ὑπορωρυγμένα τοῦ τείχους θεμέλια, ξύλοις ἀνηρτημένα καὶ θείου καὶ στυππίου καὶ πίσσης

the same time Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, with another army invaded Macedonia and without difficulty overcame the small Roman force there, subjugated the whole country, appointed satraps to govern it, and himself advanced against Sulla, but was taken sick and died near Tisaeum. In the meantime the famine in Athens became very severe, and Sulla built forts around it to prevent anybody from going out, so that, by reason of their numbers, the hunger should be more severe upon those who were thus shut in. CHAP. V

36. When Sulla had raised his mound to the proper height, he advanced his engines against the Piraeus. But Archelaus undermined the mound and carried away the earth, the Romans for a long time suspecting nothing. Suddenly the mound sank down. Quickly understanding the state of things, the Romans withdrew their engines and filled up the mound, and, following the enemy's example, began in like manner to dig a tunnel to a spot which they calculated to be just under the walls The diggers met each other underground, and fought there with swords and spears as well as they could in the darkness. While this was going on, Sulla pounded the wall with rams erected on the tops of the mounds until part of it fell down. Then he hastened to burn the neighbouring tower, and discharged a large number of fire-bearing missiles against it, and ordered his bravest soldiers to mount the ladders. Both sides fought bravely, but the tower was burned. Another small part of the wall was thrown down also, over against which Sulla at once stationed a guard-post. Having now undermined a section of the wall, so that it was only sustained by wooden beams, he placed a large quantity of sulphur, hemp, and pitch Battles underground

CAP. V γέμοντα, αὐτίκα πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη. τῶν δ' ἄλλο παρ' ἄλλο κατεπιπτε καὶ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας αὐτοῖς συγκατέφερεν. ὅ τε θόρυβος οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα αἰφνίδιος καὶ πολὺς ὢν πάντῃ τοὺς τειχοφύλακας ἐτάραττεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ σφίσιν αὐτίκα πεσούμενον· ὅθεν ἐς πάντα συνεχῶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι τήν τε γνώμην ὕποπτον εἶχον ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καὶ ἀσθενῶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεμάχοντο.

37. Καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσιν ἐπικείμενος ἀπαύστως, καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τὸ ἀεὶ πονοῦν ἐναλλάσσων, ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἀκμῆτας ἐπῆγε σὺν κλίμακι καὶ βοῇ καὶ παρακελεύσει, προτρέπων ἅμα καὶ ἀπειλῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν ὡς ἐν τῷδε τῷ βραχεῖ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοῖς κριθησομένου. ἀντεπῆγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἑτέρους ἀντὶ τῶν τεθορυβημένων, ἀνακαινίζων καὶ ὅδε τὸ ἔργον ἀεί, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἅμα καὶ ἐποτρύνων ἅπαντας ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ σφίσιν ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας οὔσης. πολλῆς δὲ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἑκατέρωθεν αὖθις ἅπασιν ἐγγενομένης φερεπονώτατος ἦν· καὶ ὁ φόνος ἴσος καὶ ὅμοιος ἐξ ἑκατέρων, ἕως ὁ Σύλλας ἔξωθεν ἐπιών, καὶ μᾶλλόν τι κάμνων, ἀνεκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ θαυμάσας πολλοὺς ἀπῆγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος αὐτίκα νυκτὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους ᾠκοδόμει, μηνοειδῆ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἔνδοθεν. οἷς ἔτι νεοδμήτοις ὁ Σύλλας αὖθις ἐπεχείρει παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νομίσας ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὑγρὰ ἔτι ὄντα ῥᾳδίως κατερείψειν. κάμνων

under it, and set fire to the whole at once. The walls fell—now here, now there—carrying the defenders down with them. This great and unexpected crash demoralized the forces guarding the walls everywhere, as each one expected that the ground would sink under him next. Fear and loss of confidence kept them turning this way and that way, so that they offered only a feeble resistance to the enemy.

Sulla repulsed from the Piraeus

37. Against the forces thus demoralized Sulla kept up an unceasing fight, constantly relieving those of his troops who were worn out, bringing up fresh soldiers with ladders, one division after another, with shouts and cheers, urging them forward with threats and encouragement at the same time, and telling them that this brief moment was the crisis of the whole struggle. Archelaus, on the other hand, also brought up new forces in place of the discouraged ones. He, too, supported the attack continually with fresh troops, cheering and urging them on, and telling them that their salvation would soon be secured. A high degree of zeal and courage was again excited in both armies, and Archelaus surpassed all others in endurance, while the casualties were approximately equal on both sides. Finally Sulla, being the attacking party and the more exhausted, sounded a retreat and led his forces back, praising many of his men for their bravery. Archelaus forthwith repaired the damage to his wall by night, protecting many parts of it with lunettes inside. Sulla attacked these in turn with his whole army while they were still newly-built, thinking that as they were still moist and weak he could easily demolish them, but as he had to work in a narrow space and was

CAP. V δὲ ὡς ἐν στενῷ, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἄνωθεν ἔκ τε μετώπου καὶ τῶν κεραιῶν ὡς ἐν μηνοειδέσι χωρίοις, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τῷ Πειραιεῖ πάμπαν ἀπείχε τῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν, ὡς λιμῷ παραστησόμενος αὐτούς, καθίστατο·

VI

CAP. VI 38. Αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μᾶλλόν τι πεπιεσμένους, καὶ κτήνη πάντα καταθύσαντας, δέρματά τε καὶ βύρσας ἕψοντας καὶ λιχμωμένους τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἁπτομένους, ἐκέλευσε τῷ στρατῷ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύειν, ἵνα μηδὲ καθ' ἕνα τις ἐκφεύγοι λανθάνων. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ, κλίμακας ἐπῆγεν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυττεν. τροπῆς δ' ὡς ἐν ἀσθενέσιν ἀνδράσιν αὐτίκα γενομένης, ἐσέπεσεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις σφαγὴ πολλὴ ἦν καὶ ἀνηλεής· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποφεύγειν ἐδύναντο δι' ἀτροφίαν, οὔτε παιδίων ἢ γυναικῶν ἔλεος ἦν, τοῦ Σύλλα τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς ἐπὶ ταχείᾳ δὴ καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους ἀλόγῳ μεταβολῇ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκράτῳ φιλονεικίᾳ. ὅθεν οἱ πλέονες, αἰσθανόμενοι τοῦ κηρύγματος, ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγων δ' ἦν ἀσθενὴς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν δρόμος· καὶ Ἀριστίων αὐτοῖς συνέφυγεν, ἐμπρήσας τὸ ᾠδεῖον, ἵνα μὴ ἑτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐμπιπράναι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀπεῖπε, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἔδωκε τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ

exposed to missiles from above, both in front and flank, as usually happens in attacking crescent-shaped fortifications, he was again worn out. Then he abandoned all idea of taking the Piraeus by assault and established a siege around it in order to reduce it by famine. CHAP. V

VI

38. But when he discovered that the defenders of Athens were very severely pressed by hunger, that they had devoured all their cattle, boiled the hides and skins, and licked what they could get therefrom, and that some had even partaken of human flesh, Sulla directed his soldiers to encircle the city with a ditch so that the inhabitants might not escape secretly, even one by one. This done, he brought up his ladders and at the same time began to break through the wall. The feeble defenders were soon put to flight, and the Romans rushed into the city. A great and pitiless slaughter ensued in Athens. The inhabitants, for want of nourishment, were too weak to fly, and Sulla ordered an indiscriminate massacre, not sparing women or children. He was angry that they had so suddenly joined the barbarians without cause, and had displayed such violent animosity toward himself. Most of the Athenians when they heard the order given rushed upon the swords of the slayers voluntarily. A few had taken their feeble course to the Acropolis, among them Arisition, who had burned the Odeum, so that Sulla might not have the timber in it at hand for storming the Acropolis. Sulla forbade the burning of the city, but allowed the soldiers to plunder it. In many CHAP. VI Athens taken Slaughter of the inhabitants

CAP. VI ἕτοιμοι σάρκες ἀνθρώπων ἐς τροφὴν ἐν πολλοῖς οἰκήμασιν ηὑρέθησαν. τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ὁ Σύλλας τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἀπέδοτο, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅσοι νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀναιρεθῆναι, πύμπαν οὖσιν ὀλίγοις, τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ἔφη διδόναι, ψῆφον δὲ καὶ χειροτονίαν τῶνδε μὲν ὡς οἱ πεπολεμηκότων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκγόνοις καὶ ταῦτα διδόναι.

39. Ὧδε μὲν ἄδην εἶχον αἱ Ἀθῆναι κακῶν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῇ μὲν ἀκροπόλει φρουρὰν ἐπέστησεν, ἣ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότας λιμῷ καὶ δίψει πιεσθέντας ἐξεῖλεν οὐ μετὰ πολύ. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δορυφορήσαντας ἢ ἀρχήν τινα ἄρξαντας, ἢ ὁτιοῦν ἄλλο πράξαντας παρ' ἃ πρότερον ἀλούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς διετέτακτο, ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις συνέγνω, καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἅπασιν ἀγχοῦ τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁρισθέντων. συνηνέχθη δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως χρυσίου μὲν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα λίτρας μάλιστα, ἀργύρου δ' ἐς ἑξακοσίας. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐγένετο·

40. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτίκα τοῦ ἄστεος ληφθέντος, οὐ περιμένων ἔτι τὸν Πειραιᾶ διὰ πολιορκίας ἐξελεῖν, κριοὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀκόντια ἐπῆγεν, ἄνδρας τε πολλοὺς οἳ διώρυσσον ὑπὸ χελώναις τὰ τείχη, καὶ σπείρας αἳ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἀκοντίζουσαί τε καὶ τοξεύουσαι θαμινὰ ἀνέκοπτον. καὶ κατήρειψέ τι τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς, ὑγροτέρου καὶ ἀσθενεστέρου ἔτι ὄντος ἅτε νεοδμήτου. ὑπιδομένου δὲ τοῦτο ἔτι πρότερον Ἀρχελάου, καὶ προοικοδομήσαντος ἔνδοθεν ὅμοια

houses they found human flesh prepared for food. The next day Sulla sold the slaves. To the freemen who had escaped the slaughter of the previous night, a very small number, he promised their liberty but took away their rights as voters and electors because they had made war upon him, though he granted their offspring these privileges also. CHAP VI

39. In this way did Athens have her fill of horrors. Sulla stationed a guard around the Acropolis, to whom Aristion and his company were soon compelled by hunger and thirst to surrender. He inflicted the penalty of death on Aristion and his body-guard, and upon all who exercised any authority or who had done anything whatever contrary to the rules laid down for them after the first capture of Greece by the Romans. The rest he pardoned and gave to all of them substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans. About forty pounds of gold and 600 pounds of silver was obtained from the Acropolis—but these events at the Acropolis took place somewhat later.

40. As soon as Athens was taken Sulla, not waiting any longer to reduce the Piraeus by siege, brought up rams, projectiles and missiles, and a large force of men, who dug through the walls under the shelter of pent-houses, and cohorts who hurled javelins and shot arrows in vast numbers at the defenders on the walls in order to drive them back. He knocked down a part of the newly built lunette, which was still moist and weak. Archelaus had anticipated this from the first and had built several others like it

Sulla returns to the Piraeus

CAP. VI πολλά, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ διηνεκὲς ἐμπίπτοντι ἐς ἕτερον ὅμοιον ἐξ ἑτέρου, ὁρμῇ δ' ἀπαύστῳ καὶ στρατοῦ μεταβολῇ πυκνῇ χρώμενος, καὶ περιθέων αὐτούς, καὶ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐν τῷδε ἔτι λοιπῷ τῆς ὅλης ἐλπίδος καὶ κέρδους τῶν προπεπονημένων ὄντος· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ ὄντι τοῦτο σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τέλος εἶναι πόνων, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸ ὡς μέγα δὴ καὶ λαμπρόν, τοιῶνδε τειχῶν κρατῆσαι, φιλοτιμούμενοι, προσέκειντο βιαίως, μέχρι καταπλαγεὶς αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ὡς μανιώδη καὶ ἄλογον ἐξέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τείχη, ἐς δέ τι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνέδραμεν ὀχυρώτατόν τε καὶ θαλάσσῃ περίκλυστον, ᾧ ναῦς οὐκ ἔχων ὁ Σύλλας οὐδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδύνατο.

41. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀνεζεύγνυ, καὶ συνῆγεν ἐς Θερμοπύλας τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ παντός, ὃν ἔχων ἦλθε, καὶ τοῦ σὺν Δρομιχαίτῃ παραγεγονότος. συνῆγε δὲ καὶ τὸ σὺν Ἀρκαθίᾳ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλόν, ἀκραιφνέστατον δὴ καὶ πλῆρες ὂν τόδε μάλιστα, καὶ οὓς αὐτίκα ἄλλους ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέστειλεν· οὐ γὰρ διέλιπεν ἐπιπέμπων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα σὺν ἐπείξει συνῆγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Πειραιᾶ τοῦ ἄστεος μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσαντά οἱ κατεπίμπρη, φειδόμενος οὔτε τῆς ὁπλοθήκης οὔτε τῶν νεωσοίκων οὔτε τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν ἀοιδίμων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ᾔει διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας καὶ ὅδε. ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν ἐκ

inside, so that Sulla came upon one wall after another, and found his task endless. But he pushed on with tireless energy, he relieved his men often, he was ubiquitous among them, urging them on and showing them that their entire hope of reward for their past labours depended on accomplishing this small remainder. The soldiers, too, believing that this would in fact be the end of their toils, and spurred to their work by the love of glory and the thought that it would be a splendid achievement to conquer such walls as these, pressed forward vigorously. Finally, Archelaus, dumbfounded at seeing them rush recklessly to the assault like maniacs, abandoned the walls to them and mounted hurriedly to that part of the Piraeus which was most strongly fortified and enclosed on all sides by the sea. As Sulla had no ships he could not even attack it. CHAP VI

He drives out Archelaus

41. Thence Archelaus withdrew to Thessaly by way of Boeotia and gathered what was left of his entire forces together at Thermopylae, both his own and those brought by Dromichaetes. He also united under his command the army that had invaded Macedonia under Arcathias, the son of King Mithridates, which was fresh and at nearly its full strength, and the recently arrived recruits from Mithridates, who never ceased sending reinforcements. While Archelaus was hastily gathering his forces Sulla burned the Piraeus, which had given him more trouble than the city of Athens, not sparing the Arsenal, or the navy yard, or any other of its famous buildings. Then he marched against Archelaus, proceeding also by way of Boeotia. As they neared each other the forces of Archelaus were just crossing from Ther-

CAP. VI Θερμοπυλῶν ἄρτι μετεχώρουν ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα, Θρᾷκές τε ὄντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Καππαδόκαι Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Φρύγες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ νεόκτητα γένοιτο, πάντες ἐς δώδεκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν· καὶ στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἑκάστῳ, αὐτοκράτωρ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν. Σύλλας δ' ἦγεν Ἰταλιώτας, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Μακεδόνων ὅσοι ἄρτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου μετετίθεντο, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο περίοικον, οὐδ' ἐς τριτημόριον τὰ πάντα τῶν πολεμίων.

42. Ἀντικαταστάντες δ' ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέλαος ἐξέταττεν ἐς μάχην ἀεὶ προκαλούμενος, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐβράδυνε, τὰ χωρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχθρῶν περισκοπούμενος. ἀναχωροῦντι δ' ἐς Χαλκίδα τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρακολουθῶν καιρὸν ἐπετήρει καὶ τόπον. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν εἶδε περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν ἀποκρημνοις στρατοπεδευόμενον, ἔνθα μὴ κρατοῦσιν ἀποχώρησις οὐδεμία ἦν, πεδίον αὐτὸς εὐρὺ πλησίον καταλαβὼν εὐθὺς ἐπῆγεν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην Ἀρχέλαον· ἐν ᾧ σφίσι μὲν ὕπτιον καὶ εὐπετὲς ἐς δίωξιν καὶ ἀναχώρησιν ἦν πεδίον, Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ κρημνοὶ περιέκειντο, οἳ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἴων ἐν οὐδενὶ κοινὸν ὅλου τοῦ στρατοῦ γενέσθαι, συστῆναι διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν οὐκ ἔχοντος· τραπεῖσί τε αὐτοῖς ἄπορος διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐγίγνετο ἡ φυγή. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῖσδε λογισμοῖς τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ μάλιστα πιστεύων, ἐπήει ὡς οὐδὲν ἐσομένου χρησίμου τοῦ πλήθους Ἀρχελάῳ· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐγνώκει

mopylae into Phocis, consisting of Thracian, Pontic, Scythian, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Galatian, and Phrygian troops, and others from Mithridates' newly acquired territory, in all about 120,000 men, each nationality having its own general, but Archelaus being in supreme command over all. Sulla's forces were Italians and some Greeks and Macedonians, who had lately deserted Archelaus and come over to him, and a few others from the surrounding country, but they were in all not one-third the number of the enemy. CHAP. VI

42. When they had taken position opposite each other, Archelaus repeatedly led out his forces and offered battle, but Sulla hesitated on account of the ground and the numbers of the enemy. When however Archelaus retreated toward Chalcis he followed him closely, watching for a favourable time and place. When he saw the enemy encamped in a rocky region near Chaeronea, where there was no chance of escape for the vanquished, he took possession of a broad plain near by and led on his forces, intending to compel Archelaus to fight whether he wanted to or not, and where the slope of the plain favoured the Romans either in advancing or retreating, while Archelaus was hedged in by rocks which would in no case allow his whole army to act in concert, as he could not bring them together by reason of the unevenness of the ground; and if they were routed their flight would be impeded by the rocks. Relying for these reasons chiefly on the difficulty of his adversary's position, Sulla moved forward, judging that the enemy's superiority in numbers would not be of any service to him. Archelaus had not intended coming to an engagement at Battle of Chaerone.. B.C. 86

CAP. VI μὲν αὐτῷ τότε συμπλέκεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἀμελῶς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐπιόντος δὲ ἤδη τῆς δυσχωρίας ὀψὲ καὶ μόγις ᾐσθάνετο, καὶ προύπεμπέ τινας ἱππέας ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ. τραπέντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρημνοὺς καταρριφθέντων, ἐξήκοντα αὖθις ἔπεμψεν ἅρματα, εἰ δύναιτο μετὰ ῥύμης κόψαι καὶ διαρρῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων. διαστάντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὰ μὲν ἅρματα ὑπὸ τῆς φορᾶς ἐς τοὺς ὀπίσω παρενεχθέντα τε καὶ δυσεπίστροφα ὄντα πρὸς τῶν ὑστάτων περιστάντων αὐτὰ καὶ ἐσακοντιζόντων διεφθείρετο·

43. Ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος εὐσταθῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, τάχα οἱ καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐς τοῦτο συλλαμβανόντων, ἐξῆγε σὺν ἐπείξει καὶ διέτασσε μετὰ σπουδῆς τοσόνδε πλῆθος οὐ προεγνωκότων ἀνδρῶν, ἐν στενωτάτῳ μάλιστα γεγονὼς διὰ τὸν Σύλλαν ἤδη πλησιάζοντα. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας πρώτους ἐπαγαγὼν μετὰ δρόμου πολλοῦ, διέτεμε τὴν φάλαγγα Ῥωμαίων ἐς δύο, καὶ εὐμαρῶς ἑκατέρους ἐκυκλοῦτο διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα. οἱ δ' ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς πάντας ἐπιστρεφόμενοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐπόνουν οἱ περὶ Γάλβαν τε καὶ Ὀρτήσιον, καθ' οὓς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐτέτακτο, τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἐν ὄψει στρατηγοῦ σὺν προθυμίᾳ σφοδρᾷ ἐπικειμένων, μέχρι τοῦ Σύλλα μεταχωροῦντος ἐς αὐτοὺς σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων στρατηγικῶν ὄντων καὶ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ πλείονος αἰρομένου τεκμηράμενος εἶναι Σύλλαν τὸν ἐπιόντα,

that time, for which reason he had been careless in choosing the place for his camp. Now that the Romans were advancing he perceived gradually and too late the badness of his position, and sent forward a detachment of horse to prevent the movement. The detachment was put to flight and shattered among the rocks. He next charged with sixty chariots, hoping to sever and break in pieces the formation of the legions by the shock. The Romans opened their ranks and the chariots were carried through by their own momentum to the rear, and being difficult to turn were surrounded and destroyed by the javelins of the rear guard. CHAP. VI

43. Although Archelaus might even so have offered a steady resistance from his fortified camp, where the crags would perhaps have helped him, he hastily led out his vast multitude of men who had not expected to fight here, and drew them up hurriedly, finding himself in a very confined position owing to the fact that Sulla was already approaching. He first made a powerful charge with his horse, cut the Roman formation in two, and, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, completely surrounded both parts. The Romans turned their faces to the enemy on all sides and fought bravely. The divisions of Galba and Hortensius suffered most, since Archelaus led the battle against them in person, and the barbarians fighting under the eye of the commander were spurred by emulation to the highest pitch of valour. But Sulla moved to their aid with a large body of horse and Archelaus, feeling sure that it was Sulla who was approaching, for he saw the standards of the commander-in-chief, and a great cloud of dust arising, abandoned the attempt

CAP. VI λύσας τὴν κύκλωσιν ἐς τάξιν ἀνεχώρει. ὁ δὲ τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸ ἄριστον ἄγων, καὶ δύο νενικηκὼς σπείρας ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ προσλαβών, αἳ ἐτετάχατο ἐφεδρεύειν, οὕπω τὸν κύκλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐξελίξασιν, οὐδ' ἐς μέτωπον εὐσταθῶς διατεταγμένοις, ἐνέβαλε, καὶ θορυβήσας ἔκοψέ τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντας ἐδίωκεν. ἀρξαμένης δ' ἐνταῦθα τῆς νίκης, οὐδὲ Μουρήνας ἠλίνυεν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ τεταγμένος, ἀλλ' ὀνειδίσας τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ γενναίως ἐμπεσὼν ἐδίωκε κἀκεῖνος.

44. Τρεπομένων δ' ἤδη τῶν Ἀρχελάου κερῶν, οὐδ' οἱ μέσοι τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα πάντων ἐγίγνετο φυγή. ἔνθα δὴ πάντα ὅσα εἴκασεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐ γὰρ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν εὐρύχωρον οὐδὲ πεδίον ἐς φυγήν, ἐπὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐωθοῦντο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ δ' εὐβουλότερον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφέροντο. Ἀρχέλαος δ' αὐτοὺς προλαβών, ἀπειρότατα δὴ τότε μάλιστα συμφορῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀπέκλειε, καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεφον μὲν ἐκ προθυμίας, οὔτε δὲ στρατηγῶν ἢ ἐπιστατῶν ἐς διάταξιν ἔτι σφίσι παρόντων, οὔτε τὰ σημεῖα ἕκαστοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες ὡς ἐν ἀκόσμῳ τροπῇ διερριμμένοι, χωρίου τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν καὶ ἐς μάχην ἀποροῦντες, στενωτάτου τότε μάλιστα αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν δίωξιν γενομένου, ἐκτείνοντο μετ' ἀργίας, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐδὲν ἀντιδρᾶσαι φθάνοντες, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν πλήθει καὶ στενοχωρίᾳ θορυβούμενοι. πάλιν τε κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, καὶ εἱλοῦντο περὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμεμφόμενοι

to encircle the enemy and began to resume his first position. Sulla, leading the best part of his horse and picking up on his way two new cohorts that had been placed in reserve, struck the enemy before they had executed their manoeuvre and formed a solid front. He threw them into confusion, broke their lines, put them to flight, and pursued them. While victory was dawning on that side, Murena, who commanded the left wing, was not idle. Chiding his soldiers for their remissness he, too, dashed upon the enemy valiantly and put them to flight.

CHAP VI

Archelaus routed

44. When Archelaus' two wings gave way the centre no longer held its ground, but fled in a body. Then everything that Sulla had foreseen befell the enemy. Not having room to turn around, or an open country for flight, they were driven by their pursuers among the rocks. Some of them rushed into the hands of the Romans; others with more wisdom fled toward their own camp. Archelaus placed himself in front of them and barred the entrance, and ordered them to turn and face the enemy, thus betraying the greatest inexperience of the exigencies of war. They obeyed him with alacrity, but as they no longer had either generals to lead, or officers to align them, nor were able to recognize their several standards, scattered as they were in disorderly flight, and had no room either to fly or to fight, being then more cramped than ever owing to the pursuit, they were killed without resistance, some by the enemy, upon whom they had no time to retaliate, and others by their own friends in the crowd and confusion. Again they fled toward the gates of the camp, around which they were pent, upbraiding the gate-keepers. They

CAP. VI τοῖς ἀποκλείουσιν. θεούς τε πατρίους αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οἰκειότητα σὺν ὀνείδει προύφερον, ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶνδε ὑπερορώντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρούμενοι, ἔστε μόλις αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, ὀψὲ τῆς χρείας, ἀνεῴγνυ τὰς πύλας καὶ ὑπεδέχετο μετ' ἀταξίας ἐστρέχοντας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῦτα συνιδόντες, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τότε μάλιστα ἀλλήλους, δρόμῳ τοῖς φεύγουσι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὴν νίκην ἐς τέλος ἐξειργάσαντο.

45. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ μέρος ἐξέφυγον, ἐς Χαλκίδα συνελέγοντο, οὐ πολὺ πλείους μυρίων ἐκ δώδεκα μυριάδων γενόμενοι. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἔδοξαν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρες, δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἐπανῆλθον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Σύλλᾳ καὶ Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῷ τῆς περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μάχης τέλος ἦν, δι' εὐβουλίαν δὴ μάλιστα Σύλλα καὶ δι' ἀφροσύνην Ἀρχελάου τοιόνδε ἑκατέρῳ γενόμενον. Σύλλας δὲ πολλῶν μὲν αἰχμαλώτων πολλῶν δ' ὅπλων καὶ λείας κρατῶν, τὰ μὲν ἀχρεῖα σωρευθέντα, διαζωσάμενος ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις, αὐτὸς ἐνέπρησε τοῖς ἐνυαλίοις θεοῖς, ἀναπαύσας δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον σὺν εὐζώνοις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἠπείγετο. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ναῦς οὐκ ἐχόντων, ἀδεῶς τὰς νήσους περιέπλει τὰ παράλια πορθῶν. Ζακύνθῳ δ' ἐκβὰς παρεστρατοπέδευσεν. καὶ τινῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἳ ἐπεδήμουν, νυκτὸς ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ, κατὰ τάχος ἐσβὰς αὖθις ἀνήγετο ἐς Χαλκίδα, ληστεύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμοῦντι ἐοικώς.

reminded them reproachfully of their country's gods and their common relationship, saying that they were slaughtered not so much by the swords of the enemy as by the indifference of their friends. Finally Archelaus, after more delay than was necessary, opened the gates and received the disorganised runaways. When the Romans observed this they gave a great cheer, burst into the camp with the fugitives, and made their victory complete. CHAP VI

45. Archelaus and the others that escaped in scattered detachments, came together at Chalcis. Not more than 10,000 of the 120,000 remained. The Roman loss was only fifteen, and two of these returned afterwards. Such was the result of the battle of Chaeronea between Sulla and Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, to which the sagacity of Sulla and the blundering of Archelaus contributed in equal measure. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners and a great quantity of arms and spoils, the useless part of which he put in a heap. Then he girded himself according to the Roman custom and burned it as a sacrifice to the gods of war. After giving his army a short rest he hastened against Archelaus at the Euripus with some light-armed troops, but as the Romans had no ships the latter sailed securely among the islands and ravaged the coasts. He landed at Zacynthus and laid siege to it, but being attacked in the night by a party of Romans who were sojourning there he re-embarked in a hurry and returned to Chalcis more like a pirate than a soldier. Great slaughter of the barbarians

VII

CAP. VII

46. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπεὶ τοσῆσδε ἥττης ἐπύθετο, κατεπλάγη μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ ἔδεισεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ, στρατιὰν δ' ὅμως ἄλλην ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐθνῶν ἁπάντων κατὰ σπουδὴν συνέλεγεν. νομίσας δ' ἄν τινας αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἢ νῦν, ἢ εἴ τινα καιρὸν ἄλλον εὕροιεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι, τοὺς ὑπόπτους οἱ πάντας πρὶν ὀξύτερον γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνελέγετο. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Γαλατῶν τετράρχας, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ συνῆσαν ὡς φίλοι καὶ ὅσοι μὴ κατήκουον αὐτοῦ, πάντας ἔκτεινε μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν χωρὶς τριῶν τῶν διαφυγόντων, τοῖς μὲν ἐνέδρας ἐπιπέμψας, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ διαίτῃ μιᾶς νυκτός, οὐχ ἡγούμενος αὐτῶν οὐδένα οἱ βέβαιον, εἰ πλησιάσοι Σύλλας, ἔσεσθαι. σφετερισάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τὰς περιουσίας, φρουρὰς ἐσῆγεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις, καὶ σατράπην ἐς τὸ ἔθνος Εὔμαχον ἔπεμψεν· ὃν αὐτίκα τῶν τετραρχῶν οἱ διαφυγόντες, στρατιὰν ἀγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἐξέβαλον αὐταῖς φρουραῖς διώκοντες ἐκ Γαλατίας. καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ περιῆν Γαλατῶν ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα μόνα. Χίοις δὲ μηνίων ἐξ οὗ τις αὐτῶν ναῦς ἐς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ λαθοῦσα ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτα μὲν ἐδήμευσε τὰ ὄντα Χίοις τοῖς ἐς Σύλλαν φυγοῦσιν, ἐξῆς δ' ἔπεμπε τοὺς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐρευνησομένους ἐν Χίῳ. καὶ τρίτον Ζηνόβιος στρατιὰν ἄγων ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαβαλῶν, τὰ τείχη τῶν Χίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐρυμνὰ χωρία, τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ ταῖς πύλαις φρουρὰν ἐπιστήσας ἐκήρυσσε τοὺς μὲν

VII

Fury and cruelty of Mithridates

46. When Mithridates heard of this great disaster he was astonished and terror-stricken, as was natural. Nevertheless, he proceeded with all haste to collect a new army from all his subject nations. Thinking that certain persons would be likely to turn against him on account of his defeat, either now or later, if they should find a good chance, he arrested all suspects before the war should become fiercer. First, he put to death the tetrarchs of Galatia with their wives and children, not only those who were united with him as friends, but those who were not his subjects—all except three who escaped. Some of these he took by stratagem, the others he slew one night at a banquet, for he believed that none of them would be faithful to him if Sulla should come near. He confiscated their property, established garrisons in their towns, and appointed Eumachus satrap of the nation. But the tetrarchs who had escaped forthwith raised an army from the country people, expelled him and his garrisons, and drove them out of Galatia, so that Mithridates had nothing left of that country except the money he had seized. Being angry with the inhabitants of Chios, ever since one of their vessels had accidentally run against the royal ship in the naval battle near Rhodes, he first confiscated the goods of all Chians who had fled to Sulla, and then sent persons to inquire what property in Chios belonged to Romans. In the third place, his general, Zenobius, who was conducting an army to Greece, seized the walls of Chios and all the fortified places by night, stationed guards at the gates, and made proclamation that all strangers should remain quiet, and that the

CAP. VII

ξένους ἀτρεμεῖν, Χίους δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθεῖν, ὡς διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς τι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ὕποπτον ἔχει τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς ῥωμαΐζοντας, παύσεται δὲ ἐὰν τά τε ὅπλα παραδῶτε καὶ ὅμηρα τῶν παίδων τοὺς ἀρίστους. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατειλημμένην σφῶν τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες ἔδοσαν ἄμφω, καὶ Ζηνόβιος αὐτὰ ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς αὐτίκα τοῖς Χίοις γράψοντος τοῦ βασιλέως.

47. Ἐπιστολὴ δὲ ἦκε Μιθριδάτου τάδε λέγουσα· "εὖνοι καὶ νῦν ἐστὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ὧν ἔτι πολλοὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰσί, καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα Ῥωμαίων καρποῦσθε, ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀναφέροντες. ἔς τε τὴν ἐμὴν ναῦν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ῥόδον ναυμαχίᾳ τριήρης ὑμετέρα ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέσεισεν. ὃ ἐγὼ περιέφερον ἑκὼν ἐς μόνους τοὺς κυβερνήτας, εἰ δύναισθε σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν. λανθάνοντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑμῶν ἐς Σύλλαν διεπέμψατε, καὶ οὐδένα αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντα ἐνεδείξατε οὐδ' ἐμηνύσατε, ὃ τῶν οὐ συμπεπραχότων ἔργον ἦν. τοὺς οὖν ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὲν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ, ἐπιβουλεύσαντας δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι, οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι ἐδικαίουν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τιμῶμαι δισχιλίων ταλάντων." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ περιεῖχεν, οἱ δ' ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν πρεσβεῦσαι, Ζηνοβίου δὲ κατακωλύοντος, ὅπλων τε ἀφῃρημένοι, καὶ παίδων σφίσι τῶν ἀρίστων ἐχομένων, στρατιᾶς τε βαρβαρικῆς τοσαύτης ἐφεστώσης, οἰμώζοντες ἔκ τε ἱερῶν κόσμους καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν πάντα ἐς τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν δισχιλίων ταλάντων συνέφερον. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ'

Chians should repair to the assembly so that he might give them a message from the king. When they had come together he said that the king was suspicious of the city on account of the Roman faction in it, but that he would be satisfied if they would deliver up their arms and give the children of their principal families as hostages. Seeing that their city was already in his hands they gave both. Zenobius sent them to Erythrae and told the Chians that the king would write to them directly. CHAP VII

47. A letter came from Mithridates, saying: "You favour the Romans even now, and many of your citizens are still sojourning with them. You are reaping the fruits of the Roman lands in Chios, on which you pay us no percentage. Your trireme ran against and shook my ship in the battle before Rhodes. I willingly imputed that fault to the pilots alone, hoping that you would consult the interests of your safety and rest content. Now you have secretly sent your chief men to Sulla, and you have never proved or declared that any of them acted without public authority, as was your duty if you were not co-operating with them. Although my friends consider that those who are conspiring against my government, and have already conspired against my person, ought to suffer death, I condemn you to pay a fine of 2000 talents." Such was the purport of the letter. The Chians wanted to send legates to the king, but Zenobius would not allow it. As they were disarmed and had given up the children of their principal families, and a large barbarian army was in possession of the city, they collected, with loud lamentations, the temple ornaments and all the women's jewellery to complete the amount of 2000 Dismay of Chios

CAP. VII ἐπεπλήρωτο, αἰτιασάμενος τὸν σταθμὸν ἐνδεῖν ὁ Ζηνόβιος ἐς τὸ θέατρον αὐτοὺς συνεκάλει, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν περιστήσας μετὰ γυμνῶν ξιφῶν ἀμφί τε τὸ θέατρον αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδοὺς ἦγε τοὺς Χίους, ἀνιστὰς ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου, καὶ ἐνετίθετο ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ἑτέρωθι μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἑτέρωθι δ' αὐτῶν τὰ γύναια καὶ τὰ παιδία, βαρβαρικῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγόντων ὑρβιζόμενα. ἀνάσπαστοι δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Μιθριδάτην γενόμενοι διεπέμφθησαν ἐς τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον.

48. Καὶ Χῖοι μὲν ὧδε ἐπεπράχεσαν, Ζηνόβιον δὲ Ἐφέσιοι μετὰ στρατιωτῶν προσιόντα ἐκέλευον ἐξοπλίσασθαί τε παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐσελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ὑπέστη μὲν ταῦτα, καὶ ἐσῆλθε πρὸς Φιλοποίμενα τὸν πατέρα Μονίμης τῆς ἐρωμένης Μιθριδάτου, ἐπίσκοπον Ἐφεσίων ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καθεστηκότα, καὶ συνελθεῖν οἱ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐκήρυττεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ προσδοκῶντες ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀνέθεντο, καὶ νυκτὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγείραντές τε καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, Ζηνόβιον μὲν ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβαλόντες ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατεῖχον, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος συνελόχιζον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέλεγον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλως διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον. ὧν πυνθανόμενοι Τραλλιανοὶ καὶ Ὑπαιπηνοὶ καὶ Μεσοπολῖται καί τινες ἄλλοι, τὰ Χίων πάθη δεδιότες, ὅμοια τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἔδρων. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἀφεστηκότα στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ τοὺς λαμβανομένους ἔδρα· δείσας δὲ περὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἠλευθέρου, καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκήρυσσε,

talents. When this sum had been made up Zenobius accused them of giving him short weight and summoned them to the theatre. Then he stationed his army with drawn swords around the theatre itself and along the streets leading from it to the sea. Then he led the Chians one by one out of the theatre and put them in ships, the men separate from the women and children, and all treated with indignity by their barbarian captors. Thence they were dragged to Mithridates, who sent them to the Euxine. Such was the calamity that befell the citizens of Chios. CHAP VII

Terror of the Greek cities of Asia

48. When Zenobius approached Ephesus with his army, the citizens ordered him to leave his arms at the gates and come in with only a few attendants. He obeyed the order and paid a visit to Philopoemen (the father of Monima, the favourite wife of Mithridates), whom the latter had appointed overseer of Ephesus, and summoned the Ephesians to the assembly. They expected nothing good from him, and adjourned the meeting till the next day. During the night they met and encouraged one another, after which they cast Zenobius into prison and put him to death. They then manned the walls, organized the population, brought in supplies from the country, and put the city in a state of complete defence. When the people of Tralles, Hypaepa, Mesopolis, and several other towns heard of this, fearing lest they should meet the fate of Chios, they followed the example of Ephesus. Mithridates sent an army against the revolters and inflicted terrible punishments on those whom he captured, but as he feared other defections, he gave freedom to the Greek cities, proclaimed the cancelling of debts,

CAP. VII καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ μετοίκους πολίτας αὐτῶν ἐποίει καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐλευθέρους, ἐλπίσας, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ συνηνέχθη, τοὺς κατάχρεως καὶ μετοίκους καὶ θεράποντας, ἡγουμένους ἐν τῇ Μιθριδάτου ἀρχῇ βεβαίως τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἕξειν, εὔνους αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαι. Μυννίων δὲ καὶ Φιλότιμος οἱ Σμυρναῖοι καὶ Κλεισθένης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος οἱ Λέσβιοι, βασιλεῖ γνώριμοι πάντες, ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος αὐτὸν καὶ ξεναγήσας ποτέ, ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην συνετίθεσαν· ἧς αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐς πίστιν ὑπὸ κλίνῃ τινὶ παρεσκεύασεν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Μυννίωνος. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οἱ μὲν αἰκισθέντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ὑποψία δ' ἐς τὰ ὅμοια πολλοὺς κατεῖχεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Περγαμηνῶν τὰ αὐτὰ βουλεύοντες ὀγδοήκοντα ἄνδρες ἑάλωσαν, καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἕτεροι, ζητητὰς ὁ Μιθριδάτης πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπεν, οἵ, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐνδεικνύντων ἑκάστων, ἔκτειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας. ὧν οἱ κατηγορήσαντες οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα ληφθέντες διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ προανεῖλον ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Πόντον αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτῃ συνέφευγον.

49. Γιγνομένων δὲ τῶνδε περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὀκτὼ μυριάδων στρατὸς ἤθροιστο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν Δορύλαος πρὸς Ἀρχέλαον ἦγεν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔχοντα τῶν προτέρων ἔτι μυρίους. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μὲν Ἀρχελάῳ περὶ Ὀρχομενόν, ὡς δὲ εἶδε τῆς ἐπελθούσης ἵππου τὸ πλῆθος, ὤρυσσε τάφρους πολλὰς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον, εὖρος δέκα πόδας, καὶ ἐπιόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀντιπαρέταξεν. ἀσθενῶς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων

gave the right of citizenship to all sojourners therein, and freed the slaves. He did this hoping (as indeed it turned out) that the debtors, sojourners, and slaves would consider their new privileges secure only under the rule of Mithridates, and would therefore be well disposed toward him. In the meantime Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna, Cleisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos, all of them the king's intimates (Asclepiodotus had once entertained him as a guest) joined in a conspiracy against Mithridates. Against this conspiracy Asclepiodotus himself laid information, and in order to confirm his story he arranged that the king should conceal himself under a couch and hear what Mynnio said. The plot being thus revealed the conspirators were put to death with torture, and many others suffered from suspicion of similar designs. When eighty citizens of Pergamus were caught taking counsel together to like purpose, and others in other cities, the king sent spies everywhere who denounced their personal enemies, and in this way about 1600 men lost their lives. Some of their accusers were captured by Sulla a little later and put to death, others committed suicide, and still others took refuge with Mithridates himself in Pontus.

Conspiracy against Mithridates

49. While these events were taking place in Asia, Mithridates assembled an army of 80,000 men, which Dorylaus led to Archelaus in Greece, who still had 10,000 of his former force remaining. Sulla had taken a position against Archelaus near Orchomenus. When he saw the great number of the enemy's horse coming up, he dug a number of ditches through the plain ten feet wide, and drew up his army to meet Archelaus when the latter advanced. The Romans

Battle of Orchomenus

CAP. VII διὰ δέος τῆς ἵππου μαχομένων, ἐς πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς παριππεύων παρεκάλει καὶ ἐπέσπερχε σὺν ἀπειλῇ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφων δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' ὥς, ἐξήλατο τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ σημεῖον ἁρπάσας ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον ἔθει μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, κεκραγώς· "εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, πύθοιτο, ποῦ Σύλλαν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν προυδώκατε, λέγειν, ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ μαχόμενον." οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι συνεξέθεον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τάξεων, συνεξέθεον δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πληθὺς αἰδουμένη, παλίωξίν τε εἰργάσαντο. καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀρχομένης, ἀναθορὼν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπῆνει τὸν στρατὸν περιιὼν καὶ ἐπέσπερχεν, ἕως τέλεον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐξετελέσθη. καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλοντο μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτων ἦσαν οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς μάλιστα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς Ἀρχελάου Διογένης· οἱ πεζοὶ δ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνέφυγον.

50. Καὶ δείσας ὁ Σύλλας μὴ παλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐκ ἔχοντα ναῦς, ἐς Χαλκίδα ὡς πρότερον διαφύγοι, τὸ πεδίον ὅλον ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐνυκτοφυλάκει. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, στάδιον οὐχ ὅλον ἀποσχὼν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, τάφρον αὐτῷ περιώρυσσεν οὐκ ἐπεξιόντι. καὶ παρεκάλει τότε μάλιστα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ἐκπονῆσαι τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου τὸ ἔτι λείψανον ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένων, καὶ ἐπῆγεν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῦ Ἀρχελάου. ὅμοια δ' ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐγίγνετο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτοὺς περιθεόντων, καὶ τὸν παρόντα κίνδυνον προφερόντων τε, καὶ ὀνειδιζόντων εἰ μηδ' ἀπὸ χάρακος ἀπομαχοῦνται τοὺς

fought badly because they were in terror of the enemy's cavalry. Sulla rode hither and thither a long time, encouraging and threatening his men. Failing to rally them even in this way, he leaped from his horse, seized a standard, ran out between the two armies with his shield-bearers, exclaiming, "If you are ever asked, Romans, where you abandoned Sulla, your own general, say that it was when he was fighting at the battle of Orchomenus." When the officers saw his peril they darted from their own ranks to his aid, and the troops, moved by a sense of shame, followed and drove the enemy back in their turn. This was the beginning of the victory. Sulla again leaped upon his horse and rode among his troops, praising and encouraging them until the victory was complete. The enemy lost 15,000 men, about 10,000 of whom were cavalry, and among them Diogenes, the son of Archelaus. The infantry fled to their camps.

50. Sulla feared lest Archelaus should escape him again, because he had no ships, and take refuge in Chalcis as before. Accordingly he stationed night watchmen at intervals over the whole plain, and the next day he enclosed Archelaus, who did not advance against him, with a ditch at a distance of less than 600 feet from his camp. Then more earnestly than ever he appealed to his army to finish the small remainder of the war, since the enemy were no longer even resisting; and so he led them against the camp of Archelaus. Like scenes transpired among the enemy, though under different conditions, because they were driven by necessity, the officers hurrying hither and thither, representing the imminent danger, and upbraiding the men if they should not be able

Archelaus again defeated by Sulla

CAP. VII ἐχθροὺς ὀλιγωτέρους ὄντας. ὁρμῆς δὲ καὶ βοῆς ἑκατέρωθεν γενομένης, πολλὰ μὲν ἐγίγνετο ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἔργα πολέμου, γωνίαν δέ τινα τοῦ χαρακώματος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰς ἀσπίδας σφῶν ὑπερσχόντες, ἤδη διέσπων, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακώματος ἔσω τῆς γωνίας περιέστησαν αὐτὴν ὡς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀμυνούμενοι τοὺς ἐστρέχοντας. οὐδέ τις ἐτόλμα, μέχρι Βάσιλλος ὁ τοῦ τέλους ταξίαρχος ἐσήλατο πρῶτος καὶ τὸν ὑπαντήσαντα ἔκτεινεν. τότε δ' αὐτῷ συνεσέπιπτεν ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας, καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐγίγνετο καὶ φόνος, τῶν μὲν καταλαμβανομένων, τῶν δ' ἐς τὴν ἐγγὺς λίμνην ὠθουμένων τε καὶ νεῖν οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἀξύνετα βαρβαριστὶ τοὺς κτενοῦντας παρακαλούντων. Ἀρχέλαος δ' ἐν ἕλει τινὶ ἐκρύφθη, καὶ σκάφους ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Χαλκίδα διέπλευσεν. καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἄλλη Μιθριδάτου στρατιὰ κατὰ μέρος ποι διατεταγμένη, πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν.

VIII

CAP. VIII 51. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τῆς ἐπιούσης τόν τε ταξίαρχον ἐστεφάνου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστεῖα ἐδίδου. καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν συνεχῶς μετατιθεμένην διήρπαζε, καὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἐλθὼν ἐχείμαζε, τὰς ναῦς τὰς μετὰ Λευκόλλου περιμένων. ἀγνοῶν δ' ὅπῃ ὁ Λεύκολλος εἴη, ἐναυπηγεῖτο ἑτέρας, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι Κορνηλίου τε Κίννα καὶ Γαΐου Μαρίου, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐψηφισμένων εἶναι Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον, καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις καθῃρηκότων, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελόντων.

even to defend the camp against assailants inferior in numbers. There was a rush and a shout on each side, followed by many valiant deeds on the part of both. The Romans, protected by their shields, were demolishing a certain angle of the camp when the barbarians leaped down from the parapet inside and took their stand around this corner with drawn swords to ward off the invaders. No one dared to enter until the military tribune, Basillus, first leaped in and killed the man in front of him. Then the whole army dashed after him. The flight and slaughter of the barbarians followed. Some were overtaken and others driven into the neighbouring lake, and, not knowing how to swim, perished while begging for mercy in barbarian speech, not understood by their slayers. Archelaus hid in a marsh, and found a small boat by which he reached Chalcis. Here he hastily summoned any detachments of Mithridates' army which were stationed in various places. CHAP. VII

VIII

51. The next day Sulla decorated the tribune, Basillus, and gave rewards for valour to others. He ravaged Boeotia, which was continually changing from one side to the other, and then moved to Thessaly and went into winter quarters, waiting for Lucullus and his fleet. But as he did not know where Lucullus was, he began to build ships for himself, and this although Cornelius Cinna and Gaius Marius, his rivals at home, had caused him to be declared an enemy of the Roman people, destroyed his houses in the city and the country, and murdered his friends. CHAP. VIII

Sulla declared a public enemy

CAP. VIII

ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὡς καθῄρει τῆς ἐξουσίας, τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων εὐπειθῆ καὶ πρόθυμον. Κίννας δὲ Φλάκκον ἑλόμενός οἱ συνάρχειν τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δύο τελῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Σύλλα, ὡς ἤδη πολεμίου γεγονότος, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἄρχειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ. ἀπειροπολέμῳ δ' ὄντι τῷ Φλάκκῳ συνεξῆλθεν ἑκὼν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνὴρ πιθανὸς ἐς στρατηγίαν, ὄνομα Φιμβρίας. τούτοις ἐκ Βρεντεσίου διαπλέουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νεῶν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διελύθησαν, καὶ τὰς πρόπλους αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησε στρατὸς ἄλλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου. μοχθηρὸν δ' ὄντα τὸν Φλάκκον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσι καὶ φιλοκερδῆ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἀπεστρέφετο, καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν τι, προπεμφθὲν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μετεστρατεύσαντο. τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους ὁ Φιμβρίας, στρατηγικώτερος τοῦ Φλάκκου φαινόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπότερος κατεῖχε μὴ μεταθέσθαι.

52. Ὡς δ' ἔν τινι καταγωγῇ περὶ ξενίας ἔριδος αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ γενομένης ὁ Φλάκκος διαιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐς τιμὴν ἐπεσήμηνε τοῦ Φιμβρίου, χαλεπήνας ὁ Φιμβρίας ἠπείλησεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου δόντος αὐτῷ διάδοχον ἐς ἃ τότε διώκει, φυλάξας αὐτὸν ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐς Χαλκηδόνα διαπλέοντα, πρῶτα μὲν Θέρμον τὰς ῥάβδους ἀφείλετο, τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου καταλελειμμένον, ὡς οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν περιθέντος, εἶτα Φλάκκον αὐτὸν σὺν ὀργῇ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανιόντα ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Φλάκ-

However, in spite of this he did not relax his authority in the least, since he had a zealous and devoted army. Cinna sent Flaccus, whom he had chosen as his colleague in the consulship, to Asia with two legions to take charge of that province and of the Mithridatic war in place of Sulla, who was now declared a public enemy. As Flaccus was inexperienced in the art of war, a man of senatorial rank named Fimbria, who inspired confidence as a general, accompanied him as a volunteer. As they were sailing from Brundusium most of their ships were destroyed by a tempest, and some that had gone in advance were burned by a new army that had been sent against them by Mithridates. Moreover, Flaccus was a rascal, and, being injudicious in punishments and greedy of gain, was hated by the whole army. Accordingly, some of the troops who had been sent ahead into Thessaly went over to Sulla, but Fimbria, whom they considered more humane and a better general than Flaccus, kept the rest from deserting.

Flaccus and Fimbria

52. Once while he was at an inn he had a dispute with the quaestor about their lodgings, and Flaccus, who acted as arbiter between them, showed little consideration for Fimbria, and the latter was vexed and threatened to go back to Rome. Accordingly Flaccus appointed a successor to perform the duties which he then had charge of. Fimbria, however, watched his opportunity, and when Flaccus had sailed for Chalcedon he first took the fasces away from Thermus, whom Flaccus had left as his propraetor, on the ground that the army had conferred the command upon himself, and when Flaccus returned soon afterwards in a furious rage, Fimbria compelled him to fly, until finally Flaccus took refuge in a

B.C. 85

CAP. VIII

κος ἔς τινα οἰκίαν καταφυγὼν καὶ νυκτὸς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρῶτον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔφυγε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισεν, ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας αὐτὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινεν ἐν φρέατι κρυπτόμενον, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα Ῥωμαίων καὶ στρατηγὸν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἰδιώτης αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ ὡς φίλῳ κελεύοντι συνελήλυθώς. ἐκτεμών τε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ μεθῆκεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄταφον ἐκρίψας, αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέφηνε τοῦ στρατοῦ. καὶ μάχας τινὰς οὐκ ἀγενῶς ἠγωνίσατο τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτου. αὐτόν τε βασιλέα συνεδίωξεν ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς Πιτάνην ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου διαφυγόντα ἐπελθὼν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔφυγεν ἐς Μιτυλήνην, 53. ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας, ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐκόλαζε τοὺς καππαδοκίσαντας, καὶ τῶν οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τὴν χώραν ἐλεηλάτει. Ἰλιεῖς δὲ πολιορκούμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ κατέφυγον μὲν ἐπὶ Σύλλαν, Σύλλα δὲ φήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐν τοσῷδε Φιμβρίᾳ φράζειν ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπιτετρόφασι τῷ Σύλλᾳ, πυθόμενος ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐπῄνεσε μὲν ὡς ἤδη Ῥωμαίων φίλους, ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα Ῥωμαίων ἔσω δέχεσθαι, κατειρωνευσάμενός τι καὶ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς οὔσης ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἰλιεῦσιν. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶ πάντας ἔκτεινε καὶ πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβεύσαντας ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐλυμαίνετο ποικίλως, οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν φειδόμενος οὔτε τῶν ἐς τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καταφυγόντων, οὓς αὐτῷ νεῷ κατέπρησεν.

house and in the night-time climbed over the wall and fled first to Chalcedon and afterwards to Nicomedia, and closed the gates of the city. Fimbria followed him, found him concealed in a well, and killed him, although he was a Roman consul and the commanding officer of this war, while Fimbria himself was only a private citizen who had gone with him as a friend at his invitation. Fimbria cut off his head and threw it into the sea, and flung away the remainder of his body unburied. Then he appointed himself commander of the army, fought several successful battles with the son of Mithridates, and drove the king himself into Pergamus. Thence he escaped to Pitane, but Fimbria followed him and began to enclose the place with a ditch, until finally the king fled to Mitylene on a ship. CHAP. VIII

53. Fimbria traversed the province of Asia, punished the Cappadocian faction, and devastated the territory of the towns that did not open their gates to him. The inhabitants of Ilium, who were besieged by him, appealed to Sulla for aid, and he said that he would come to their assistance, bidding them meanwhile to say to Fimbria that they had intrusted themselves to Sulla. Fimbria, when he heard this, congratulated them on being already friends of the Roman people, and ordered them to admit him within their walls because he also was a Roman, adding an ironical allusion to the relationship existing between Ilium and Rome. When he was admitted he made an indiscriminate slaughter and burned the whole town. Those who had been in communication with Sulla he tortured in various ways. He spared neither the sacred objects nor the persons who had fled to the temple of Athena, but burned them with the Fimbria destroys Ilium

CAP. VIII κατέσκαπτε δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἠρεύνα περιιὼν μή τι συνέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἔτι. ἡ μὲν δὴ χείρονα τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος παθοῦσα ὑπὸ συγγενοῦς διωλώλει, καὶ οἰκόπεδον οὐδὲν αὐτῆς οὐδ' ἱερὸν οὐδ' ἄγαλμα ἔτι ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἕδος, ὃ Παλλάδιον καλοῦσι καὶ διοπετὲς ἡγοῦνται, νομίζουσί τινες εὑρεθῆναι τότε ἄθραυστον, τῶν ἐπιπεσόντων τειχῶν αὐτὸ περικαλυψάντων, εἰ μὴ Διομήδης αὐτὸ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ ἔργῳ μετήνεγκαν ἐξ Ἰλίου.

Τάδε μὲν δὴ Φιμβρίας ἐς Ἴλιον εἰργάζετο, ληγούσης ἄρτι τῆς τρίτης καὶ ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. καί τινες ἡγοῦνται τὸ πάθος αὐτῇ τόδε μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονα χιλίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι γενέσθαι μάλιστα.

54. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν ἥττης ἐπύθετο, διαλογιζόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ καὶ ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ φθοράν, ἐπέστελλεν Ἀρχελάῳ διαλύσεις ὡς δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς ἐργάσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Σύλλα συνελθὼν ἐς λόγους εἶπε· "φίλος ὢν ὑμῖν πατρῷος, ὦ Σύλλα, Μιθριδάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολέμησε μὲν διὰ στρατηγῶν ἑτέρων πλεονεξίαν, διαλύσεται δὲ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀρετήν, ἣν τὰ δίκαια προστάσσῃς." καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπορίᾳ τε νεῶν, καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐπιπεμπόντων οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἴκοθεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς πολεμίῳ, ἀψάμενος ἤδη τῶν ἐν Πυθοῖ καὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἐπιδαύρῳ χρημάτων, καὶ ἀντιδοὺς πρὸς λόγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς πολλάκις

temple itself. He demolished the walls, and the next day made a search to see whether anything of the place was left standing. So much worse was the city now treated by one of its own kin than it had been by Agamemnon, that not a house, not a temple, not a statue was left. Some say that the image of Athena, called the Palladium, which is supposed to have fallen from heaven, was at this time found unbroken, the falling walls having formed an arch over it; and this may be true unless Diomedes and Ulysses carried it away from Ilium during the Trojan war. Thus was Ilium destroyed by Fimbria at the close of the 173rd Olympiad. Some people think that 1050 years had intervened between this calamity and that which it suffered at the hands of Agamemnon

54. When Mithridates heard of his defeat at Orchomenus, he reflected on the immense number of men he had sent into Greece from the beginning, and the continual and swift disaster that had overtaken them. Accordingly, he sent word to Archelaus to make peace on the best terms possible. The latter had an interview with Sulla in which he said, "King Mithridates was your father's friend, O Sulla. He became involved in this war through the rapacity of other Roman generals. He will avail himself of your virtuous character to make peace, if you will grant him fair terms." As Sulla had no ships; as his enemies at Rome had sent him no money, nor anything else, but had declared him an outlaw; as he had already taken the money from the Pythian, Olympian, and Epidauric temples, in return for which he had assigned to them half of the territory of Thebes on account of its frequent defections; and

Mithridates sues for peace

CAP. VIII ἀποστάντων, ἔς τε τὴν στάσιν αὐτὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπειγόμενος ἀκραιφνῆ καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὸν στρατὸν μεταγαγεῖν, ἐνεδίδου πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, καὶ εἶπεν· "ἀδικουμένου μὲν ἦν, ὦ Ἀρχέλαε, Μιθριδάτου, περὶ ὧν ἠδικεῖτο πρεσβεύειν, ἀδικοῦντος δὲ γῆν τοσήνδε ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπιδραμεῖν, καὶ κτεῖναι πολὺ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν, τά τε κοινὰ καὶ ἱερὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῶν ἀνηρημένων σφετερίσασθαι. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἰδίους φίλους, ᾧ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἄπιστος γενόμενος, ἔκτεινε καὶ τῶνδε πολλούς, καὶ τῶν τετραρχῶν οὓς ὁμοδιαίτους εἶχε, νυκτὸς μιᾶς, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων τῶν οὐ πεπολεμηκότων. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ φύσεως ἔχθραν μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου χρείαν ἐπεδείξατο, παντοίαις ἰδέαις κακῶν τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰταλιώτας, σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ καὶ θεράπουσι τοῖς οὖσι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, λυμηνάμενός τε καὶ κτείνας. τοσοῦτον ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μῖσος ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν ὑποκρινόμενος φιλίαν πατρῴαν, ἧς οὐ πρὶν ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδας ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγκοπῆναι ἐμνημονεύετε.

55. Ἀνθ' ὧν δίκαιον μὲν ἦν ἄσπειστα αὐτῷ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι, σοῦ δὲ χάριν ὑποδέχομαι συγγνώμης αὐτὸν τεύξεσθαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἂν τῷ ὄντι μεταγιγνώσκῃ. εἰ δὲ ὑποκρίνοιτο καὶ νῦν, ὥρα σοι τὸ σαυτοῦ σκοπεῖν, ὦ Ἀρχέλαε, ἐνθυμουμένῳ μὲν ὅπως ἔχει τὰ παρόντα σοί τε κἀκείνῳ, σκοποῦντι δ' ὅν τινα τρόπον ἐκεῖνός τε ἑτέροις κέχρηται φίλοις καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὐμένει καὶ Μασσανάσσῃ." ὁ δ' ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πεῖραν ἀπεσείετο, καὶ δυσχεράνας ἔφη τὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὔ ποτε προδώσειν·

because he was in a hurry to lead his army fresh and unimpaired against the hostile faction at home, he assented to the proposal, and said, "If injustice was done to Mithridates, O Archelaus, he ought to have sent an embassy to show how he was wronged. It was the act of the wrong-doer, not of the wronged, to overrun such a vast territory belonging to others, kill such a vast number of people, seize the public and sacred funds of cities, and confiscate the private property of those whom he destroyed. He has been just as perfidious to his own friends as to us, and has put many of them to death, and many of the tetrarchs whom he had brought together at a banquet, and their wives and children, who had not fought against him. Towards us he showed that he was moved by an inborn enmity rather than by any necessity for war, visiting every possible calamity upon the Italians throughout Asia, torturing and murdering them, together with their wives, children, and such slaves as were of Italian blood. Such hatred did this man bear towards Italy, who now pretends friendship for my father!—a friendship which you did not call to mind until I had destroyed 160,000 of your troops.

CHAP VIII

Sulla's answer

55. "In return for this conduct we should have every right to be absolutely implacable towards him, but for your sake I will undertake to obtain his pardon from Rome if he actually repents. But if he plays the hypocrite again, I advise you, Archelaus, to look out for yourself. Consider how matters stand at present for you and him. Bear in mind how he has treated his other friends and how we treated Eumenes and Masinissa." While he was yet speaking, Archelaus rejected the offer with indignation, saying that he would never betray one who had put an army under

CAP VIII

"ἐλπίζω δέ σοι διαλλάξειν, ἢν μέτρια προστάσσῃς." διαλιπὼν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὀλίγον, εἶπεν· "ἐὰν τὸν στόλον ἡμῖν, ὃν ἔχεις, ὦ Ἀρχέλαε, παραδιδῷ πάντα Μιθριδάτης, ἀποδῷ δὲ καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἡμῖν ἢ πρέσβεις ἢ αἰχμαλώτους ἢ αὐτομόλους ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἀποδράντα, καὶ Χίους ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἀναστάστους ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐποιήσατο, μεθῇ, ἐξαγάγῃ δὲ καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ πάντων φρουρίων, χωρὶς ὧν ἐκράτει πρὸ τῆσδε τῆς παρασπονδήσεως, ἐσενέγκῃ δὲ καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν δι' αὐτὸν γενομένην, καὶ στέργῃ μόνης ἄρχων τῆς πατρῴας δυναστείας. ἐλπίζω πείσειν Ῥωμαίους αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιμηνῖσαι τῶν γεγονότων." ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέλαος τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς αὐτίκα πανταχόθεν ἐξῆγε, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπέστελλε τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ Σύλλας τὴν ἐν τοσῷδε ἀργίαν διατιθέμενος, Ἐνετοὺς καὶ Δαρδανέας καὶ Σιντούς, περίοικα Μακεδόνων ἔθνη, συνεχῶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβάλλοντα, ἐπιὼν ἐπόρθει, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὁμοῦ.

56. Ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου πρέσβεων, οἳ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνετίθεντο, μόνην δ' ἐξαιρούμενοι Παφλαγονίαν ἐπεῖπον ὅτι πλεόνων ἂν ἔτυχε Μιθριδάτης, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ὑμῶν στρατηγὸν διελύετο Φιμβρίαν, δυσχεράνας ὁ Σύλλας τῇ παραβολῇ, καὶ Φιμβρίαν ἔφη δώσειν δίκην, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενόμενος εἴσεσθαι πότερα συνθηκῶν ἢ πολέμου δεῖται Μιθριδάτης. ὧδε δ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Κύψελλα διὰ Θράκης, Λεύκολλον ἐς Ἄβυδον προπέμψας· ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅδε

his command. "I hope," he said, "to come to an agreement with you if you offer moderate terms." After a short pause Sulla said, "If Mithridates will deliver to us the entire fleet in your possession, Archelaus; if he will surrender our generals and ambassadors and all prisoners, deserters, and runaway slaves, and send back to their homes the people of Chios and all others whom he has dragged off to Pontus; if he will remove his garrison from all places except those that he held before this breach of the peace; if he will pay the cost of the war incurred on his account, and remain content with his ancestral dominions—I shall hope to persuade the Romans not to remember the injuries he has done them." Such were the terms which he offered. Archelaus at once withdrew his garrison from all the places he held and referred the other conditions to the king. In order to make use of his leisure in the meantime, Sulla marched against the Eneti, the Dardani, and the Sinti, tribes on the border of Macedonia, who were continually invading that country, and devastated their territory. In this way he exercised his soldiers and enriched them at the same time.

CHAP VIII

Terms of treaty offered by Sulla

56. The ambassadors of Mithridates returned with ratifications of all the terms except those relating to Paphlagonia, and they added that Mithridates could have obtained better conditions, "if he had negotiated with your other general, Fimbria." Sulla was indignant that he should be brought into such comparison and said that he would bring Fimbria to punishment, and would go himself to Asia and see whether Mithridates wanted peace or war. Having spoken thus he marched through Thrace to Cypsella after having sent Lucullus forward to Abydus, for

B.C. 84

Mithridates delays and Sulla marches to Asia

CAP. VIII ἀφῖκτο, κινδυνεύσας μὲν ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἁλῶναι πολλάκις, στόλον δέ τινα νεῶν ἀγείρας ἀπό τε Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Παμφυλίας, καὶ πολλὰ δηώσας τῆς πολεμίας, καὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτου νεῶν ἀποπειράσας ἐν παράπλῳ. Σύλλας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Κυψέλλων καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἐκ Περγάμου συνῆσαν αὖθις ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατέβαινον ἐς πεδίον ἄμφω σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἐφορώντων τῶν στρατῶν ἑκατέρωθεν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι Μιθριδάτου μὲν ὑπόμνησις φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἰδίας καὶ πατρῴας, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι καὶ προβούλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς κατηγορία ὧν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεπράχεσαν ἀδίκως, Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε κατάγοντες ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ Φρυγίας αὐτὸν ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ Νικομήδη περιορῶντες ἀδικοῦντα. "καὶ τάδε", ἔφη, "πάντα ἔπραξαν ἐπὶ χρήμασι, παραλλὰξ παρ' ἐμοῦ τε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων λαμβάνοντες· ὃ γὰρ δὴ μάλιστ' ἄν τις ὑμῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐπικαλέσειεν, ἔστιν ἡ φιλοκερδία. ἀναρραγέντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν τοῦ πολέμου, πάντα ὅσα ἀμυνόμενος ἔπραττον, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐγίγνετο."

57. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μιθριδάτης ὧδε εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὑπολαβὼν ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἐφ' ἕτερα μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεις, ὡς τὰ προτεινόμενα ἀγαπήσων, οὐ μὴν ὀκνήσω καὶ περὶ τῶνδε διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν. ἐς μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐγὼ κατήγαγον Ἀριοβαρζάνην Κιλικίας ἄρχων, ὧδε Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων· καὶ σὺ κατήκουες ἡμῶν, δέον ἀντιλέγειν καὶ ἢ μεταδιδάσκειν ἢ μηκέτι τοῖς ἐγνωσμένοις ἀντιτεῖναι. Φρυγίαν δέ σοι Μάνιος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ δωροδοκίᾳ, ὃ κοινόν ἐστιν ἀμφοῖν ἀδίκημα. καὶ

Lucullus had arrived at last, having several times run the risk of capture by pirates. He had collected a fleet composed of ships from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, and Pamphylia, and had ravaged much of the enemy's coast, and had skirmished with the ships of Mithridates on the way. Then Sulla advanced from Cypsella and Mithridates from Pergamus, and they met in a conference. Each went with a small force to a plain in sight of the two armies. Mithridates began by discoursing of his own and his father's friendship and alliance with the Romans. Then he accused the Roman ambassadors, deputies, and generals of doing him injuries by restoring Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia, depriving him of Phrygia, and allowing Nicomedes to wrong him. "And all this," he said, "they did for money, taking it from me and from them by turns; for there is nothing about which most of you are so open to accusation, O Romans, as avarice. When war had broken out through the acts of your generals all that I did in self-defence was the result of necessity rather than of intention."

CHAP VIII

A personal conference

57. When Mithridates had ceased speaking Sulla replied: "Although you called us here," he said, "for a different purpose, namely, to accept our terms of peace, I shall not refuse to speak briefly of those matters. I restored Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia by decree of the Senate when I was governor in Cilicia, and you obeyed the decree. You ought to have opposed it and given your reasons then, or forever after held your peace. Manius gave Phrygia to you for a bribe, which was a crime on the part of both of you. By the very fact of your getting

Sulla's address to Mithridates

CAP. VIII τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτὴν ὁμολογεῖς οὐ δικαίως λαβεῖν, ἐκ δωροδοκίας. ὅ τε Μάνιος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἠλέγχθη παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πράξας, καὶ πάντα ἀνέλυσεν ἡ βουλή. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Φρυγίαν ἀδίκως σοι δοθεῖσαν οὐχ ἑαυτῇ συντελεῖν ἐπέταξεν ἐς τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' αὐτόνομον μεθῆκεν. ὧν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ πολέμῳ λαβόντες οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἄρχειν, τίνι λόγῳ σὺ καθέξεις; Νικομήδης δὲ αἰτιᾶται μέν σε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ τὸν τὸ σῶμα τρώσοντα ἐπιπέμψαι, καὶ Σωκράτη τὸν χρηστὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τάδε αὐτὸς ἀμυνόμενος ἐς τὴν σὴν ἐμβαλεῖν· εἰ δέ τι ὅμως ἠδικοῦ, ἐς Ῥώμην πρεσβεύειν ἔδει καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θᾶττον ἠμύνου Νικομήδη, πῶς καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀπήλαυνες οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα; ἐκβαλὼν δ' ἀνάγκην ἐπέθηκας τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων κατάγειν αὐτόν, καὶ καταγόμενον κωλύων σὺ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξῆψας, ἐγνωκὼς μὲν οὕτω πρὸ πολλοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχων γῆς ἄρξειν ἁπάσης εἰ Ῥωμαίων κρατήσειας, προφάσεις δ' ἐπὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τάσδε ποιούμενος. καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι καὶ Θρᾷκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Σαυρομάτας, οὔπω τινὶ πολεμῶν, ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπήγου, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀγχοῦ βασιλέας περιέπεμπες, ναῦς τε ἐποιοῦ, καὶ πρῳρέας καὶ κυβερνήτας συνεκάλεις.

58. Μάλιστα δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἐλέγχει σε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς. ὅτε γὰρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφισταμένην ἡμῶν ᾐσθάνου, τὴν ἀσχολίαν τήνδε ἡμῶν φυλάξας ἐπέθου μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ καὶ Νικομήδει καὶ Γαλάταις καὶ Παφλαγονίᾳ, ἐπέθου δὲ Ἀσίᾳ τῷ

it by bribery you confess that you had no right to it. Manius was tried at Rome for the other acts that he had done for money and the Senate annulled them all. For this reason they decided, not that Phrygia, which had been given to you wrongfully, should be made tributary to Rome, but that it should be free. If we who had taken it by war do not think best to govern it, by what right could you hold it? Nicomedes also charges you with sending against him an assassin named Alexander, and then Socrates Chrestus, a rival claimant of the kingdom, and says that it was to avenge these wrongs that he invaded your territory. However, if he wronged you, you ought to have sent an embassy to Rome and waited for an answer. But although you were too hasty in taking vengeance on Nicomedes, why did you expel Ariobarzanes, who had not harmed you? When you drove him out of his kingdom you imposed upon the Romans, who were there, the necessity of restoring him. By preventing them from doing so you brought on the war. You had meditated war a long time, because you hoped to rule the whole world if you could conquer the Romans, and the reasons you tell of were mere pretexts to cover your real intent. The proof of this is that you, although not yet at war with any nation, sought the alliance of the Thracians, Sarmatians, and Scythians, sent to the neighbouring kings for aid, built a navy, and enlisted look-out men and helmsmen. CHAP. VIII

58. "The time you chose convicts you of treachery most of all. When you heard that Italy had revolted from us you seized the occasion when we were occupied to fall upon Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, Galatia, and Paphlagonia, and finally upon our

CAP. VIII ἡμετέρῳ χωρίῳ. καὶ λαβὼν οἷα δέδρακας ἢ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς τοὺς θεράποντας καὶ χρήστας ἐπέστησας ἐλευθερίας καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαῖς, ἢ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὧν μιᾷ προφάσει χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους διέφθειρας, ἢ Γαλατῶν τοὺς τετράρχας, οὓς ὁμοδιαίτους ἔχων ἀπέκτεινας, ἢ τὸ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν γένος, οὗς μιᾶς ἡμέρας σὺν βρέφεσι καὶ μητράσιν ἔκτεινάς τε καὶ κατεπόντωσας, οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ συμφυγόντων. ὃ πόσην μὲν ὠμοτητά σου, πόσην δὲ ἀσέβειαν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν μίσους ἐς ἡμᾶς προενήνοχεν. σφετερισάμενος δ' ἁπάντων τὰ χρήματα, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπέρας μεγάλοις στρατοῖς, ἡμῶν ἀπειπόντων ἅπασι τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεῦσι τῆς Εὐρώπης μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν. διαπλεύσας δὲ Μακεδονίαν τε ἡμετέραν οὖσαν ἐπέτρεχες καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφῃροῦ. οὐ πρίν τε ἤρξω μετανοεῖν, οὐδ' Ἀρχέλαος ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρακαλεῖν, ἢ Μακεδονίαν μέν με ἀνασώσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα τῆς σῆς ἐκλῦσαι βίας, ἑκκαίδεκα δὲ μυριάδας τοῦ σοῦ στρατοῦ κατακόψαι, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδά σου λαβεῖν αὐταῖς παρασκευαῖς. ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω σου δικαιολογουμένου νῦν ἐφ' οἷς δι' Ἀρχελάου παρεκάλεις. ἢ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα με ἐδεδοίκεις, ἀγχοῦ δὲ γενόμενον ἐπὶ δίκην ἐληλυθέναι νομίζεις; ἧς ὁ καιρὸς ἀνάλωται, σοῦ τε πολεμήσαντος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἀμυναμένων ἤδη καρτερῶς καὶ ἀμυνουμένων ἐς τέλος." τοσαῦτα τοῦ Σύλλα μετ' ὀργῆς ἔτι λέγοντος, μετέπιπτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ἐς τὰς δι' Ἀρχελάου γενομένας συνθήκας ἐνεδίδου, τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παραδοὺς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν ἐπανῄει μόνην.

Asiatic province. When you had taken them, how shamefully you treated the cities, appointing slaves and debtors to rule over some of them, by freeing slaves and cancelling debts, and the Greek towns, where you destroyed 1600 men on one false accusation! You brought the tetrarchs of Galatia together at a banquet and slew them. You butchered or drowned all residents of Italian blood in one day, including mothers and babes, not sparing even those who had fled to the temples. What cruelty, what impiety, what boundless hate did you exhibit toward us! After you had confiscated the property of all your victims you crossed over to Europe with great armies, although we had forbidden all the kings of Asia even to set foot in Europe. You overran our province of Macedonia and deprived the Greeks of their freedom. Nor did you begin to repent, nor Archelaus to intercede for you, until I had recovered Macedonia and delivered Greece from your grasp, and destroyed 160,000 of your soldiers, and taken your camps with all their belongings. I am astonished that you should now seek to justify the acts for which you asked pardon through Archelaus. If you feared me at a distance, do you think, now that I am near, that I have come to debate with you? The time for that passed by when you took up arms against us, and we vigorously repelled your assaults, and intend to repel them to the end." While Sulla was still speaking with vehemence the king yielded to his fears and consented to the terms that had been offered through Archelaus. He delivered up the ships and everything else that had been required, and went back to his paternal kingdom of Pontus as his sole possession. And thus the first war between Mithridates and the Romans came to an end.

CHAP. VIII

Mithridates accepts the terms

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Ὧδε μὲν ὁ πρῶτος Μιθριδάτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμος κατεπαύετο· 59. Σύλλας δὲ Φιμβρίου δύο σταδίους ἀποσχὼν ἐκέλευε παραδοῦναί οἱ τὸν στρατόν, οὗ παρανόμως ἄρχοι. ὁ δ' ἀντεπέσκωπτε μὲν ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ἐνόμως ἔτι ἄρχοι, περιταφρεύοντος δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύλλα, καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἀποδιδρασκόντων, ἐς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Φιμβρίας συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει παραμένειν. οὐ φαμένων δὲ πολεμήσειν πολίται, καταρρήξας τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἑκάστοις προσέπιπτεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἀπεστρέφοντο, καὶ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο αἱ αὐτομολίαι, τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων περιῄει, καί τινας αὐτῶν χρήμασι διαφθείρας ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὖθις συνεκάλει, καὶ συνόμνυσθαί οἱ προσέτασσεν. ἐκβοησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐνετῶν ὅτι δέοι καλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρκον ἐξ ὀνόματος, ὁ μὲν ἐκήρυττε τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Νώνιον πρῶτον ἐκάλει, κοινωνόν οἱ πάντων γεγονότα. οὐκ ὀμνύντος δ' οὐδ' ἐκείνου, τὸ ξίφος ἐπισπάσας ἠπείλει κτενεῖν αὐτόν, μέχρι βοῆς ἐκ πάντων γενομένης καταπλαγεὶς καὶ τοῦδ' ἐπαύσατο. θεράποντα δὲ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἐλευθερίας ἀναπείσας ἔπεμψεν ὡς αὐτόμολον ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ Σύλλα σώματι. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ πλησιάζων καὶ ταρασσόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ὕποπτος γενόμενος, συνελήφθη τε καὶ ὡμολόγησεν. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα, σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει περιστάντες τὸ τοῦ Φιμβρίου χαράκωμα, κατελοιδόρουν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηνίωνα ἑκά-

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CHAP. IX

Sulla demands the surrender of Fimbria

59. Sulla now advanced within two stades of Fimbria and ordered him to deliver up his army since he held the command contrary to law. Fimbria replied mockingly that Sulla himself did not now hold a lawful command. Sulla drew a line of circumvallation around Fimbria, and many of the latter's soldiers deserted openly. Fimbria called the rest of them together and besought them to stand by him. When they refused to fight against their fellow-citizens he rent his garments and prostrated himself before them man by man. As they still turned away from him, and still more of them deserted, he went round among the tents of the tribunes, and having bought some of them with money, called an assembly again, and told them all to swear that they would stand by him. Those who had been suborned exclaimed that all ought to be called up by name to take the oath. He summoned those who were under obligations to him for past favours. The first name called was that of Nonius, who had been his close companion. When even he refused to take the oath Fimbria drew his sword and threatened to kill him, and would have done so had he not been alarmed by the outcry of the others and compelled to desist. Then he bribed a slave with money and the promise of freedom to go to Sulla as a deserter and assassinate him. As the slave was nearing his task he became frightened, and thus fell under suspicion, was arrested and confessed. Sulla's soldiers, standing angrily and contemptuously round Fimbria's camp, reviled him and nicknamed him

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λουν, ὃς δραπετῶν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ποτὲ ἀποστάντων ὀλιγήμερος ἐγεγένητο βασιλεύς.

60. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φιμβρίας πάντα ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον προῆλθε, καὶ Σύλλαν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ὁ δὲ ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ Ῥουτίλιον ἔπεμπε· καὶ τόδε πρῶτον ἐλύπει τὸν Φιμβρίαν, οὐδὲ συνόδου, διδομένης καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀξιωθέντα. δεομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν εἴ τι νέος ὢν ἐξήμαρτεν, ὁ Ῥουτίλιος ὑπέστη Σύλλαν ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπαθῆ διελθεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνθύπατος, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἔχειν κρείττονα, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Πέργαμον, καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν παρελθὼν ἐχρήσατο τῷ ξίφει. οὐ καιρίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς πληγῆς γενομένης, ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα ἐπερεῖσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἔκτεινε καὶ αὑτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ.

Οὕτω μὲν καὶ Φιμβρίας ἀπέθανε, πολλὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ λελυμασμένος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἐφῆκε τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις θάψαι, καὶ ἐπεῖπεν οὐ μιμεῖσθαι Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ θάνατόν τε πολλῶν καὶ ἀταφίαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ καταγνόντας. τὸν δὲ στρατὸν τοῦ Φιμβρίου προσιόντα οἱ δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ συναγαγών, Κουρίωνι προσέταξε Νικομήδην ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἐς Καππαδοκίαν καταγαγεῖν, τῇ τε βουλῇ περὶ πάντων ἐπέστελλεν, οὐχ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐψηφίσθαι πολέμιος.

61. Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν καθιστάμενος, Ἰλιέας μὲν καὶ Χίους καὶ Λυκίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Μαγνησίαν καί τινας ἄλλους, ἢ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος, ἢ ὧν διὰ προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθεσαν οὗ

Athenio—a man who had once been a king of fugitive slaves in Sicily for a few days. CHAP. IX

60. Thereupon Fimbria in despair went to the line of circumvallation and asked for a colloquy with Sulla. The latter sent Rutilius instead. Fimbria was disappointed at the outset that he was not even deemed worthy of an interview, although it had been given to the enemy. When he begged pardon for an offence due to his youth, Rutilius promised that Sulla would allow him to go away in safety to the coast if he would sail away from the province of Asia, of which Sulla was proconsul. Fimbria said that he had another and better route. He returned to Pergamus, entered the temple of Aesculapius, and stabbed himself with his sword. As the wound was not mortal he ordered his slave to drive the weapon home. The latter killed his master and then himself. Suicide of Fimbria

So perished Fimbria, who, as well as Mithridates, had sorely afflicted Asia. Sulla gave his body to his freedmen for burial, adding that he would not imitate Cinna and Marius, who had deprived many in Rome of their lives and of burial after death. The army of Fimbria came over to him, and he exchanged pledges with it and joined it with his own. Then he directed Curio to restore Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia, and reported everything to the Senate, ignoring the fact that he had been voted an enemy.

61. Having settled the affairs of Asia, Sulla bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for Sulla settles the affairs of Asia

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ἕνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους, ἐς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν. καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, οἷς ἐλευθερίαν ἐδεδώκει Μιθριδάτης, ἐκήρυττεν αὐτίκα ἐς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανιέναι. πολλῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων, καὶ πόλεων τινῶν ἀφισταμένων, ἐγίγνοντο σφαγαὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ θεραπόντων ἐπὶ ποικίλαις προφάσεσι, τείχη τε πολλῶν καθῃρεῖτο, καὶ συχνὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἠνδραποδίζετο καὶ διηρπάζετο. οἵ τε καππαδοκίσαντες ἄνδρες ἢ πόλεις ἐκολάζοντο πικρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Ἐφέσιοι, σὺν αἰσχρᾷ κολακείᾳ ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναθήματα ὑβρίσαντες. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδε καὶ κήρυγμα περιῄει, τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώσει κατὰ πόλιν ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπαντᾶν ἐς Ἔφεσον. καὶ συνελθοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος ἐδημηγόρησεν οὕτως.

62. "Ἡμεῖς στρατῷ πρῶτον ἐς Ἀσίαν παρήλθομεν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως πορθοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ἐξελάσαντες δ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν Ἅλυν καὶ Ταῦρον αὐτῷ θέμενοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅρον, οὐ κατέσχομεν ὑμῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξ ἐκείνου γενομένων, ἀλλὰ μεθήκαμεν αὐτονόμους, πλὴν εἴ τινας Εὐμένει καὶ Ῥοδίοις συμμαχήσασιν ἡμῖν ἔδομεν, οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ προστάταις εἶναι. τεκμήριον δ' ὅτι Λυκίους αἰτιωμένους τι Ῥοδίων ἀπεστήσαμεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τοιοίδε περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγόναμεν· ὑμεῖς δέ, Ἀττάλου τοῦ φιλομήτορος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμῖν ἐν διαθήκαις καταλιπόντος, Ἀριστονίκῳ καθ' ἡμῶν τέτταρσιν ἔτεσι συνεμαχεῖτε, μέχρι καὶ Ἀοιστό-

what they had suffered from their loyalty to him, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people. Then he distributed his army among the remaining towns and issued a proclamation that the slaves who had been freed by Mithridates should at once return to their masters. As many disobeyed and some of the cities revolted, numerous massacres ensued, of both free men and slaves, on various pretexts. The walls of many towns were demolished. Many others were plundered and their inhabitants sold into slavery. The Cappadocian faction, both men and cities, were severely punished, and especially the Ephesians, who, with servile adulation of the king, had treated the Roman offerings in their temples with indignity. After this a proclamation was sent around commanding the principal citizens to come to Ephesus on a certain day to meet Sulla. When they had assembled Sulla addressed them from the tribune as follows:— CHAP. IX

62. "We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, king of Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the river Halys and Mount Taurus. We did not retain possession of you when you had become our subjects instead of his, but set you free, except that we awarded a few places to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our allies in the war, not as tributaries, but as clients. A proof of this is that when the Lycians complained of the Rhodians we freed them from the authority of Rhodes. Such was our conduct toward you. You, on the other hand, when Attalus Philometor had left his kingdom to us in his will, gave aid to Aristonicus against us for four years, until he was captured and most of you, under the His speech to the people

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νικος ἑάλω καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείους ες ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον περιήλθετε. καὶ ὧδε πράσσοντες ὅμως, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρσιν ἐς μέγα περιουσίας καὶ κάλλους κατασκευῆς ἰδιωτικῆς τε καὶ δημοσίας προελθόντες, ὑπὸ εἰρήνης καὶ τρυφῆς ἐξυβρίσατε αὖθις, καὶ τὴν ἀσχολίαν ἡμῶν τὴν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φυλάξαντες οἱ μὲν ἐπηγάγεσθε Μιθριδάτην, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντι συνέθεσθε. ὃ δ' ἐστὶ πάντων μιαρώτατον, ὑπέστητε αὐτῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἅπαντας αὐτοῖς παισὶ καὶ μητράσιν ἀναιρήσειν, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ συμφυγόντων διὰ τοὺς ὑμετέρους θεοὺς ἐφείσασθε. ἐφ' οἷς ἔδοτε μέν τινα καὶ αὐτῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δίκην, ἀπίστῳ τε ἐς ὑμᾶς γενομένῳ, καὶ φόνου καὶ δημεύσεων ἐμπλήσαντι ὑμᾶς, καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμοὺς ἐργασαμένῳ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς καὶ δούλων ἐλευθερώσεις, καὶ τυράννους ἐπ' ἐνίοις, καὶ ληστήρια πολλὰ ἀνά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ὡς εὐθὺς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν πείρᾳ καὶ παραβολῇ οἵους ἀνθ' οἵων προστάτας ἐπελέγεσθε. ἔδοσαν δέ τινα καὶ ἡμῖν δίκην οἱ τῶνδε ἄρξαντες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ κοινὴν ὑμῖν ἐπιτεθῆναι τοιάδε ἐργασαμένοις· ἦν εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὁμοίαν οἷς ἐδράσατε γενέσθαι, μή ποτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι σφαγὰς ἀσεβεῖς ἢ δημεύσεις ἀβούλους ἢ δούλων ἐπαναστάσεις, ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα βαρβαρικά, μηδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν λάβοιεν. φειδοῖ δὲ γένους ἔτι καὶ ὀνόματος Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ τῆς φιλτάτης Ῥωμαίοις εὐφημίας οὕνεκα, μόνους ὑμῖν ἐπιγράφω πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν αὐτίκα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι

impulse of necessity and fear, returned to your duty. Notwithstanding all this, after a period of twenty-four years, during which you had attained to great prosperity and magnificence, public and private, you again became insolent through peace and luxury and took the opportunity, while we were preoccupied in Italy, some of you to call in Mithridates and others to join him when he came. Most infamous of all, you obeyed the order he gave to kill all the Italians in your communities, including women and children, in one day. You did not even spare those who fled to the temples dedicated to your own gods. You have received some punishment for this crime from Mithridates himself, who broke faith with you and gave you your fill of rapine and slaughter, redistributed your lands, cancelled debts, freed your slaves, appointed tyrants over some of you, and committed robberies everywhere by land and sea; so that you learned immediately by experiment and comparison what kind of champion you had chosen instead of your former one. The instigators of these crimes paid some penalty to us also. But it is necessary, too, that some punishment should be inflicted upon you in common for doing such things; and it is reasonable that it should be one corresponding to your crimes. But may the Romans never even dream of impious slaughter, indiscriminate confiscation, servile insurrections, or other acts of barbarism. From a desire to spare even now the Greek race and name so celebrated throughout Asia, and for the sake of that fair repute that is ever dear to the Romans, I shall only impose upon you the taxes of five years, to be paid at once, together with what the war has cost me, and whatever

CHAP IX

He imposes five years' taxes and the cost of the war

CAP. IX καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα. διαιρήσω δὲ ταῦθ' ἑκάστοις ἐγὼ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τάξω προθεσμίαν ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς, καὶ τοῖς οὐ φυλάξασιν ἐπιθήσω δίκην ὡς πολεμίοις."

63. Τοσάδε εἰπὼν ἐπιδιήρει τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὴν ζημίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔπεμπεν. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἀποροῦσαί τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θέατρα τοῖς δανείζουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τεῖχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ εἴ τι δημόσιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων, ὑπετίθεντο. τὰ μὲν δὴ χρήματα ὧδε τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνεκομίζετο, καὶ κακῶν ἄδην εἶχεν ἡ Ἀσία· ἐπέπλει δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ληστήρια πολύανδρα φανερῶς, στόλοις ἐοικότα μᾶλλον ἢ λησταῖς, Μιθριδάτου μὲν αὐτὰ πρώτου καθέντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτε πάνθ' ὡς οὐκ ἐς πολὺ καθέξων ἐλυμαίνετο, πλεονάσαντα δ' ἐς τότε μάλιστα, καὶ οὐ τοῖς πλέουσι μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμέσι καὶ χωρίοις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐπιχειροῦντα φανερῶς. Ἰασσός γέ τοι καὶ Σάμος καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ καὶ Σαμοθρᾴκη Σύλλα παρόντος ἐλήφθησαν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσυλήθη τὸ Σαμοθρᾴκιον χιλίων ταλάντων κόσμον, ὡς ἐνομίζετο. ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἑκὼν ὡς ἁμαρτόντας ἐνυβρίζεσθαι καταλιπών, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην στάσιν ἐπειγόμενος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ διέπλει. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς Ἐμφυλίοις ἀναγέγραπται, 64. ἄρχεται δ' ὁ δεύτερος Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου πόλεμος ἐνθένδε.

Μουρήνας μὲν ὑπὸ Σύλλα σὺν δύο τέλεσι τοῖς Φιμβρίου καθίστασθαι τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Ἀσίας

else may be spent in settling the affairs of the province. I will apportion these charges to each of you according to cities, and will fix the time of payment. Upon the disobedient I shall visit punishment as upon enemies."

63. After he had thus spoken Sulla apportioned the fine to the delegates and sent men to collect the money. The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theatres, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbours, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely. Thus was the money collected and brought to Sulla, and the province of Asia had her fill of misery. She was assailed openly by a vast number of pirates, resembling regular fleets rather than robber bands. Mithridates had first fitted them out at the time when he was ravaging all the coasts, thinking he could not long hold these regions. Their numbers had then greatly increased, and they did not confine themselves to ships alone, but attacked harbours, castles, and cities. They captured Iassus, Samos, and Clazomenae, also Samothrace, where Sulla was staying at the time, and robbed the temple at that place of ornaments valued at 1000 talents. Sulla, willing perhaps that those who had offended him should be maltreated, or because he was in haste to put down the hostile faction in Rome, left them and sailed for Greece, and thence passed on to Italy with the greater part of his army. What he did there I have related in my history of the civil wars.

Piracy in the Mediterranean

64. The second Mithridatic war begins at this point. Murena, who had been left by Sulla with Fimbria's two legions to settle the rest of the affairs

B.C. 83

Second Mithridatic War

CAP. IX

ὑπελέλειπτο, καὶ πολέμων ἀφορμὰς ἠρεσχήλει δι' ἐπιθυμίαν θριάμβου· Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐσπλεύσας Κόλχοις καὶ Βοσποριανοῖς ἀφισταμένοις ἐπολέμει. ὧν Κόλχοι τὸν υἱὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ, Μιθριδάτην, βασιλέα σφίσιν ᾐτοῦντο δοθῆναι, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτίκα ὑπήκουσαν. ὑποπτεύσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τόδε πρὸς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἐπιθυμοῦντος γενέσθαι, καλέσας αὐτὸν ἔδησεν ἐν πέδαις χρυσαῖς καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπέκτεινε, πολλὰ χρησιμόν οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Φιμβρίαν ἀγῶσι γενόμενον. ἐπὶ δὲ Βοσποριανοὺς ναῦς τε συνεπήγνυτο καὶ στρατὸν ἡτοιμάζετο πολύν, ὡς τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς παρασκευῆς δόξαν ἐγεῖραι ταχεῖαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Βοσποριανοῖς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις τάδε συλλέγεσθαι. οὐ γάρ πω οὐδ' Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ πᾶσαν ἐβεβαίου Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῆς ἃ καὶ τότε κατεῖχεν. Ἀρχέλαόν τε ἐν ὑποψίαις ἐτίθετο ὡς πολλὰ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν ταῖς διαλύσεσιν ἐπιχωρήσαντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ὧν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ δείσας ἐς Μουρήναν ἔφυγε, καὶ παροξύνας αὐτὸν ἔπεισε Μιθριδάτῃ προεπιχειρεῖν. Μουρήνας μὲν δὴ διὰ Καππαδοκίας αὐτίκα ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Κόμανα, κώμην ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μεγίστην, σεβάσμιον ἱερὸν καὶ πλούσιον ἔχουσαν, ἱππέας τινὰς ἔκτεινε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ πρέσβεσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς συνθήκας προτείνουσιν οὐκ ἔφη συνθήκας ὁρᾶν· οὐ γὰρ συνεγέγραπτο Σύλλας, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ τὰ λεχθέντα βεβαιώσας ἀπήλλακτο. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὁ Μουρήνας εὐθέως ἐλεηλάτει, καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἀποσχόμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ.

of Asia, sought trifling pretexts for war, being ambitious of a triumph. Mithridates, after his return to Pontus, went to war with the Colchians and the tribes around the Cimmerian Bosporus who had revolted from him. The Colchians asked him to give them his son, Mithridates, as their ruler, and when he did so they at once returned to their allegiance. The king suspected that this was brought about by his son through his own ambition to be king. Accordingly he sent for him and first bound him with golden fetters, and soon afterwards put him to death, although he had served him well in Asia in the battles with Fimbria. Against the tribes of the Bosporus he built a fleet and fitted out a large army. The magnitude of his preparations quickly gave rise to the belief that they were made not against those tribes, but against the Romans, for he had not yet even restored the whole of Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but still retained a part of it. He also had suspicions of Archelaus, thinking that he had yielded far more than was necessary to Sulla in his negotiations in Greece. When Archelaus heard of this he became alarmed and fled to Murena, and by working on him persuaded him to anticipate Mithridates in beginning hostilities. Murena marched suddenly through Cappadocia and attacked Comana, a very large country town belonging to Mithridates, with a rich and venerable temple, and killed some of the king's cavalry. When the king's ambassadors appealed to the treaty he replied that he saw no treaty; for Sulla had not written it out, but had gone away after seeing what he proposed orally carried out in fact. When Murena had delivered this answer he began robbing forthwith, not even sparing the money of the temples, and then went into winter quarters in Cappadocia.

CHAP. IX

Aggressions of Murena

CAP. IX

65. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς Σύλλαν, αἰτιώμενος ἃ ποιεῖ Μουρήνας. ὁ δ' ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν περάσας, μέγαν τε ὄντα καὶ δύσπορον τότε μάλιστα αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὑπ' ὄμβρων, τετρακοσίας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου κώμας ἐπέτρεχεν, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀναμένοντος. λείας δὲ πολλῆς καταγέμων ἐς Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐπανῄει, ἔνθα αὐτῷ Καλίδιος, ἐπὶ ταῖς Μιθριδάτου μέμψεσι πεμφθεὶς ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ψήφισμα μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπέδωκεν, ἔφη δ' ἐς ἐπήκοον ἐν μέσῳ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῷ κελεύειν φείδεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος ἐνσπόνδου. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ὤφθη διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ μόνῳ, καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας οὐδὲν ἀνεὶς τῆς ὁρμῆς καὶ τότε τὴν γῆν ἐπῄει τὴν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου. ὁ δὲ σαφῶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος πολεμεῖσθαι, Γόρδιον ἐς τὰς κώμας ἐσβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ Γόρδιος ὑποζύγιά τε πολλὰ καὶ σκευοφόρα καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ἰδιώτας τε καὶ στρατιώτας, συνήρπαζε, καὶ αὐτῷ Μουρήνᾳ, μέσον λαβὼν ποταμόν, ἀντεκαθέζετο. μάχης δ' οὐδέτερος ἦρχεν, ἕως ἀφίκετο Μιθριδάτης σὺν τῷ πλείονι στρατῷ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ μάχη γίγνεται καρτερά. καὶ βιασάμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τἆλλα πολὺ κρείττων τοῦ Μουρήνα γενόμενος. ὁ δ' ἐς λόφον καρτερὸν ἀναφυγών, ἐπιχειροῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν ἔφευγε διὰ τῶν ὀρεινῶν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας, ὁδὸν ἀτριβῆ, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς.

66. Ἥ τε νίκη λαμπρὰ καὶ ὀξεῖα ἐξ ἐφόδου γενομένη ταχὺ διέπτη καὶ πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν Μιθρι-

B.C. 82

Mithridates appeals to Rome

65. Mithridates sent an embassy to the Senate and to Sulla to complain of the acts of Murena. The latter, meantime, had passed over the river Halys, which was then swollen by rains and very difficult to cross. He overran 400 villages belonging to Mithridates, for the king offered no opposition, but waited for the return of his embassy. He then returned to Phrygia and Galatia loaded with plunder. There he met Calidius, who had been sent from Rome on account of the complaints of Mithridates. Calidius did not bring a decree of the Senate, but he declared in the hearing of all that the Senate ordered him not to molest the king, who was at peace with them. After he had thus spoken he was seen talking to Murena alone, and Murena abated nothing of his violence, but again invaded the territory of Mithridates. The latter, thinking that open war had been ordered by the Romans, directed his general, Gordius, to retaliate on their villages. Gordius straightway seized and carried off a large number of yoke-animals, beasts of burden, and men, both private citizens and soldiers, and took position against Murena himself, with a river flowing between them. Neither of them began the fight until Mithridates came up with a large army, when a severe engagement immediately took place on the banks of the river. Mithridates prevailed and crossed the river, and in all respects got the better of Murena. The latter retreated to a strong hill where the king attacked him. After losing many men Murena fled over the mountains to Phrygia by a pathless route, severely harassed by the missiles of the enemy.

He attacks and defeats Murena

66. The news of this brilliant and rapid victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to

CAP. IX δάτην μετέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ φρούρια τοῦ Μουρήνα πάντα ἐπιδραμών τε καὶ ἐξελάσας ἔθυε τῷ στρατίῳ Διὶ πάτριον θυσίαν ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, κορυφὴν μείζονα ἄλλην ἀπὸ ξύλων ἐπιτιθείς. πρῶτοι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ βασιλεῖς ξυλοφοροῦσι, καὶ περιθέντες ἑτέραν ἐν κύκλῳ βραχυτέραν τῇ μὲν ἄνω γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ θυμιάματα πάντα ἐπιφοροῦσι, τῇ δ' ἐπιπέδῳ σῖτόν τε καὶ ὄψον ἐς ἄριστον τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπιτιθέντες, οἷόν τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος, ἅπτουσι τὴν ὕλην. ἡ δ' αἰθομένη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τηλοῦ τε χιλίων σταδίων γίγνεται τοῖς πλέουσι καταφανής, καὶ πελάσαι φασὶν ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, αἰθομένου τοῦ ἀέρος, οὐ δυνατὸν εἶναι.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τὴν θυσίαν ἦγε πατρίῳ νόμῳ· Σύλλα δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντος Μιθριδάτην ἔνσπονδον πολεμεῖσθαι, Αὖλος Γαβίνιος ἐπέμφθη Μουρήνᾳ μὲν ἀληθῆ τήνδε προαγόρευσιν ἐρῶν, μὴ πολεμεῖν Μιθριδάτῃ, Μιθριδάτην δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνην ἀλλήλοις συναλλάξων. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐν τῇδε τῇ συνόδῳ παιδίον τετραετὲς ἐγγυήσας τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇδε προφάσει λαβὼν ἔχειν Καππαδοκίας ὅσα τε εἶχε καὶ ἕτερα ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, εἱστία πάντας, καὶ χρυσίον ἐπὶ τε τῇ κύλικι καὶ τῇ τροφῇ καὶ ἐπὶ σκώμμασι καὶ ἐπὶ ᾠδῇ πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προυτίθει· οὗ μόνος Γαβίνιος οὐχ ἥψατο. ὁ μὲν δὴ δεύτερος Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμος τρίτῳ μάλιστα ἔτει ἐς τοῦτο διελύετο.

Mithridates. He drove all of Murena's garrisons out of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius[1] on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one. On the higher pile they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. On the lower they spread a banquet of bread and meat for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadae) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country. CHAP. IX

Sulla however thought that it was not right to make war against Mithridates when he had not violated the treaty. Accordingly, Aulus Gabinius was sent to tell Murena that the former order, that he should not fight Mithridates, was to be taken seriously, and to reconcile Mithridates and Ariobarzanes with each other. At a conference between them Mithridates betrothed his little daughter, four years old, to Ariobarzanes, and on this pretext stipulated that he should not only retain that part of Cappadocia which he then held, but have another part in addition. Then he gave a banquet to all, with prizes of gold for those who should excel in drinking, eating, jesting, singing, and so forth, as was customary—a contest in which Gabinius alone took no part. Thus the second war between Mithridates and the Romans, lasting about three years, came to an end. B.C. 81 Sulla puts a stop to the war

[1] That is, "God of armies."

X

CAP. X

67. Καὶ σχολὴν ἄγων ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βόσπορον ἐχειροῦτο, καὶ βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῶν υἱέων ἕνα ἀπεδείκνυ Μαχάρην. ἐς δ' Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Κόλχους ἐσβαλών, οἳ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίας κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον πλανηθέντων, δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ πολέμῳ τε καὶ κρύει καὶ ἐνέδραις ἀποβαλὼν ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε τοὺς συγγραψομένους τὰ συγκείμενα. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης, εἴθ' ἑκὼν εἴτε πρὸς τινῶν ἐνοχλούμενος, οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνειν Καππαδοκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον αὐτῆς ἔτι Μιθριδάτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, Σύλλα κελεύοντος αὐτῷ μεθεῖναι Καππαδοκίαν, μεθῆκε, καὶ ἑτέραν πρεσβείαν ἐπέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν συνθηκῶν συγγραφάς· ἤδη δὲ Σύλλα τεθνεῶτος, οὐκ ἐπαγόντων αὐτὴν ὡς ἐν ἀσχολίᾳ τῶν προβούλων ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, Τιγράνης τὸν γαμβρὸν Μιθριδάτης ἔπεισεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐμβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν σόφισμα οὐκ ἔλαθε Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος Καππαδοκίαν σαγηνεύσας ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἀνασπάστους ἐς Ἀρμένιαν ἐποίησε, καὶ συνῴκιζεν αὐτοὺς μεθ' ἑτέρων ἔς τι χωρίον ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἀρμενίας τὸ διάδημα αὐτὸς περιεθήκατο, καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν· δύναται δ' εἶναι Τιγρανόπολις.

68. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ· Σερτώριος δ' Ἰβηρίας ἡγούμενος αὐτήν τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ περίοικα πάντα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀνίστη, καὶ βουλὴν ἐκ τῶν οἱ συνόντων, ἐς μιμημα τῆς συγκλήτου,

X

CHAP. X

67. As Mithridates was now at leisure he subdued the tribes of the Bosporus and appointed Machares, one of his sons, king over them. Then he fell upon the Achaeans beyond Colchis (who are supposed to be descended from those who lost their way when returning from the Trojan war), but lost two divisions of his army, partly in battle, partly by cold, and partly by stratagem. When he returned home he sent ambassadors to Rome to sign the agreements. At the same time Ariobarzanes, either of his own notion or owing to the importunacy of others, sent thither to complain that Cappadocia had not been delivered up to him, but that a greater part of it was yet retained by Mithridates. Sulla commanded Mithridates to give up Cappadocia. He did so, and then sent another embassy to sign the agreements. But now Sulla had died, and as the Senate was otherwise occupied the consuls did not admit them. So Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law, Tigranes, to make an incursion into Cappadocia as though it were on his own account. This artifice did not deceive the Romans, but the Armenian king drew a cordon round Cappadocia, carried off about 300,000 people to his own country and settled them, with others, in a certain place where he had first assumed the diadem of Armenia and which he had called after himself, Tigranocerta, or the city of Tigranes.

B.C. 80 New troubles brewing

B.C. 78

68. While these things were taking place in Asia Sertorius, the governor of Spain, incited that province and all the neighbouring country to rebel against the Romans, and selected from his associates a senate in

Mithridates forms an alliance with Sertorius B.C. 75

CAP. X κατέλεγεν. δύο δ' αὐτοῦ τῶν στασιωτῶν, Λεύκιοι, Μάγιός τε καὶ Φάννιος, Μιθριδάτην ἔπειθον συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Σερτωρίῳ, πολλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν ἐπελπίζοντες. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς ἐς τὸν Σερτώριον ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύγκλητον παραγαγών τε, καὶ μεγαλοφρονησάμενος ὅτι τὸ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον διίκετο καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔξοι πολιορκεῖν ἀπό τε δύσεως καὶ ἐξ ἀνατολῆς, συνετίθετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ δώσειν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν, στρατηγόν τε αὐτῷ Μᾶρκον Οὐάριον καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς Λευκίους, Μάγιόν τε καὶ Φάννιον, ἔπεμψεν. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέφαινε τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖόν οἱ γενόμενον ἐς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσαν ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀρχὴν Σερτωρίου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, ἐπιπεμφθέντων δέ οἱ στρατηγῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης προτέρου Λευκόλλου τοῦδε τοῦ νεναυαρχηκότος Σύλλᾳ, ὑστέρου δὲ Πομπηίου, ἐφ' ὅτου πάντα ὅσα ἦν Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῖς γειτονεύοντα, μέχρι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, προφάσει καὶ ὁρμῇ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντα περιηνέχθη.

69. Μιθριδάτης μὲν οὖν, οἷα Ῥωμαίων πολλάκις ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθών, καὶ τόνδε μάλιστα τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ἀπροφασίστως δὴ καὶ ὀξέως γενόμενον, ἄσπειστον ἔξειν, πᾶσαν ἐπενόει παρασκευὴν ὡς ἄρτι δὴ κριθησόμενος περὶ ἁπάντων. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ὅλον ὑλοτομῶν ἐπήγνυτο ναῦς καὶ ὅπλα, καὶ σίτου διακοσίας μεδίμνων μυριάδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ

imitation of that of Rome. Two members of his faction, Lucius Magius and Lucius Fannius, proposed to Mithridates that he should ally himself with Sertorius, holding out to him great hopes of Asia and the neighbouring nations. Mithridates fell in with this suggestion and sent ambassadors to Sertorius. The latter introduced them to his senate and prided himself that his fame had extended to Pontus, and that he could now besiege the Roman power from both the east and the west. So he made a treaty with Mithridates to give him Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia, and sent Marcus Varius to him as a general and the two Luciuses, Magius and Fannius, as counsellors. With their assistance Mithridates began his third and last war against the Romans, in the course of which he lost his entire kingdom, and Sertorius lost his life in Spain. Two generals were sent against Mithridates from Rome; the first, Lucullus, the same who had served as prefect of the fleet under Sulla; the second, Pompey, by whom the whole of his dominions, and the adjoining territory as far as the river Euphrates, owing to the pretext and impulse for annexation which the Mithridatic war supplied, were brought under Roman sway.

CHAP. X

He prepares for war

69. Mithridates had been in collision with the Romans so often that he knew that this war, above all, so inexcusably and hastily begun, would be an implacable one. He made every preparation with the thought that all would now be at stake. The remainder of the summer and the whole of the winter he spent in cutting timber, building ships, and making arms. He distributed 2,000,000 medimni

CAP. X διετίθει. σύμμαχοί τε αὐτῷ προσεγίγνοντο, χωρὶς τῆς προτέρας δυνάμεως, Χάλυβες Ἀρμένιοι Σκύθαι Ταῦροι Ἀχαιοὶ Ἡνίοχοι Λευκόσυροι, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν γῆν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀμαζόνων λεγομένην. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν προσεγίγνετο, περάσαντι δ' ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην Σαυροματῶν οἵ τε βασίλειοι καὶ Ἰάζυγες καὶ Κόραλλοι, καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ὅσα γένη παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον ἢ Ῥοδόπην ἢ τὸν Αἷμον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Βαστέρναι, τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον αὐτῶν γένος. τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τότε προσελάμβανεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης. καὶ μυριάδες ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῷ συνελέγοντο τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μάλιστα πεζῶν, καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἑξακισχίλιοι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ὁδοποιῶν καὶ σκευοφόρων εἵπετο καὶ ἐμπόρων.

70. Ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ἀπόπειραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιησάμενος, ἔθυε τῷ στρατίῳ Διὶ τὴν συνήθη θυσίαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι λευκῶν ἵππων ἅρμα καθεὶς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἠπείγετο, στρατηγούντων αὐτῷ Ταξίλου τε καὶ Ἑρμοκράτους. ὡς δ' ἀφίκετο, ἐδημηγόρησε τῷ στρατῷ περί τε τῶν προγόνων μάλα σεμνολόγως καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ μεγαληγόρως, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βραχέος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προαγαγὼν οὔποτε Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθείη παρών. εἶτα κατηγόρησεν αὐτῶν ἐς πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἀμετρίαν, ὑφ' ἧς, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὴν δεδούλωνται. καὶ τὰς γενομένας οἱ τελευταίας συνθήκας ἐπέφερεν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀναγράψασθαι, καιροφυλακοῦντες αὖθις

of corn along the coast. Besides his former forces he had for allies the Chalybes, Armenians, Scythians, Taurians, Achaeans, Heniochi, Leucosyrians, and those who occupy the territory about the river Thermodon, called the country of the Amazons. These additions to his former strength were from Asia. In Europe he drew from the Sarmatian tribes, both the Basilidae and the Iazyges, the Coralli, and those Thracians who dwelt along the Danube and on the Rhodope and Haemus mountains, and besides these the Bastarnae, the bravest nation of all. Altogether Mithridates recruited a fighting force of about 140,000 foot and 16,000 horse. A great crowd of road-makers, baggage-carriers, and sutlers followed. CHAP. X

70. At the beginning of spring Mithridates made trial of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea. Then he hastened against Paphlagonia with his two generals, Taxiles and Hermocrates, in command of his army. When he arrived there he made a speech to his soldiers, speaking proudly about his ancestors and boastfully about himself, telling how he had raised his kingdom to greatness from small beginnings, and how his army had never been defeated by the Romans when he was present. He accused the Romans of boundless greed, "dominated by which," he said, "they have even enslaved Italy and their own fatherland." He accused them of bad faith respecting the last treaty, saying that they were not willing to register it because they were watching for an oppor- B.C. 74

His speech to his soldiers

CAP. X

ἐπιθέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενος, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν ὅλην καὶ παρασκευήν, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀσχολίαν πολεμουμένων ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου κατὰ κράτος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ στασιαζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. "διὸ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης," ἔφη, "καταφρονοῦσι λῃστευομένης πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς οὐδείς ἐστιν, οὐδ' ὑπήκοος ἑκούσιος ἔτι. οὐχ ὁρᾶτε δ' αὐτῶν," ἔφη, "καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους," ἐπιδεικνὺς Οὐάριόν τε καὶ τοὺς Λευκίους, "πολεμίους μὲν ὄντας τῇ πατρίδι, συμμάχους δ' ἡμῖν;"

71. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐρεθίσας ἐνέβαλεν ἐς Βιθυνίαν, Νικομήδους ἄρτι τεθνεῶτος ἄπαιδος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπολιπόντος. Κόττας δ' ἡγούμενος αὐτῆς, ἀσθενὴς τὰ πολέμια πάμπαν, ἔφυγεν ἐς Χαλκηδόνα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε δυνάμεως. καὶ Βιθυνία μὲν ἦν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, τῶν πανταχοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρὸς Κότταν συνθεόντων. ἐπιόντος δὲ καὶ τῇ Χαλκηδόνι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Κόττας μὲν ὑπ' ἀπραξίας οὐ προῄει, Νοῦδος δὲ ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτοῦ, σὺν μέρει τινὶ στρατοῦ τὰ ὀχυρώτατα τοῦ πεδίου καταλαβὼν καὶ ἐξελαθείς, ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς Χαλκηδόνος διὰ θριγκίων πολλῶν πάνυ δυσχερῶς. ἀμφί τε τὰς πύλας ὠθισμὸς ἦν ἐσπηδώντων ὁμοῦ· ὅθεν οὐδὲν τοῖς διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς βέλος ἠτύχει. ὡς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πυλῶν δείσαντες οἱ φύλακες τὰ κλεῖθρα καθῆκαν ἐς αὐτὰς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, Νοῦδον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τινὰς καλῳδίοις ἀνιμήσαντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τε φίλων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλλυντο, τὰς χεῖρας

tunity to violate it again. After thus setting forth the cause of the war he dwelt upon the composition of his army and his resources, upon the preoccupation of the Romans, who were waging a difficult war with Sertorius in Spain, and were torn with civil dissensions throughout Italy, "for which reason," he said, "they have allowed the sea to be overrun by pirates a long time, and have not a single ally, nor any subjects who still obey them willingly. Do you not see," he added, "some of their noblest citizens (pointing to Varius and the two Luciuses) at war with their own country and allied with us?"

He invades Bithynia

71. When he had finished speaking and exciting his army, he invaded Bithynia. Nicomedes had lately died childless and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Cotta, its governor, a man altogether unwarlike, fled to Chalcedon with what forces he had, and thus Bithynia again passed under the rule of Mithridates, and the Romans flocked from all directions to Cotta at Chalcedon. When Mithridates advanced to that place Cotta did not go out to meet him because he was inexperienced in military affairs, but his naval prefect, Nudus, with a part of the army occupied the strongest positions on the plain. He was driven out of it, however, and fled to the gates of Chalcedon over many walls which greatly obstructed his movement. There was a struggle at the gates among those trying to gain entrance simultaneously, for which reason no missile cast by the pursuers missed its mark. The guards, fearing also for the gates, let the bolt down from the machine. Nudus and some of the other officers were drawn up by ropes. The remainder perished between their friends and their foes, holding out their

CAP. X

ἐς ἑκατέρους ὀρέγοντες. ὅ τε Μιθριδάτης τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας χρώμενος ἐπῆγεν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον ἀλύσει χαλκῇ δεδεμένον ἀπορρήξας τέσσαρας μὲν ἐνέπρησε τῶν πολεμίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἑξήκοντα ἀνεδήσατο, οὐδὲν οὔτε Νούδου κωλύοντος ἔτι οὔτε Κόττα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ τείχη συγκεκλεισμένων. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ Λεύκιος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Μιθριδάτου δὲ Βαστερνῶν τῶν πρώτων ἐσπεσόντων ἐς τὸν λιμένα εἴκοσιν.

XI

CAP. XI

72. Λεύκιος δὲ Λεύκολλος ὑπατεύειν καὶ στρατηγεῖν αἱρεθεὶς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τέλος μέν τι στρατιωτῶν ἦγεν ἐκ Ῥώμης, δύο δ' ἄλλα τὰ Φιμβρίου καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἕτερα δύο προσλαβών, σύμπαντας ἔχων πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς χιλίους ἐπὶ ἑξακοσίοις, παρεστρατοπέδευε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ περὶ Κύζικον. καὶ δι' αὐτομόλων ἐπιγνοὺς εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατιὰν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἀγορὰν δὲ εἴ τι σιτολογοῦντες ἢ ἐκ θαλάσσης λάβοιεν, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχὶ λήψεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτίκα, καὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκελεύετο μνημονεύειν. ὅρος δὲ ἰδὼν εὔκαιρον ἐς στρατοπεδείαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν εὐπορήσειν ἔμελλεν ἀγορᾶς, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀποκλείσειν, ἐπεχείρει καταλαβεῖν ὡς ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην ἀκίνδυνον ἔξων. μιᾶς δ' οὔσης ἐς αὐτὸ διόδου στενῆς, ὁ Μιθριδάτης αὐτὴν ἐφύλαττεν ἐγκρατῶς, ὧδε καὶ Ταξίλου καὶ

hands in entreaty to both. Mithridates made good use of his success. He moved his ships up to the harbour the same day, broke the brazen chain that closed the entrance, burned four of the enemy's ships, and towed the remaining sixty away, neither Nudus nor Cotta offering further resistance, for they remained shut up inside the walls. The Roman loss was about 3000, including Lucius Manlius, a man of senatorial rank. Mithridates lost twenty of his Bastarnae, who were the first to break into the harbour. CHAP. X

XI

72. Lucius Lucullus, who had been chosen consul and general for this war, led one legion of soldiers from Rome, joined with it the two of Fimbria, and added two others, making in all 30,000 foot and about 1600 horse, with which he pitched his camp near that of Mithridates at Cyzicus. When he learned from deserters that the king's army contained about 300,000 men and that all his supplies were furnished by foragers or came by sea, he said to those around him that he would at once reduce the enemy without fighting, and he told them to remember his promise. Seeing a mountain well suited for a camp, where he could readily obtain supplies, and could cut off those of the enemy, he moved forward to occupy it in order to gain a victory by that means without danger. There was only one narrow pass leading to it, and Mithridates held it with a strong guard, having been advised to do so by CHAP. XI

Lucullus takes the command and cuts off his supplies at Cyzicus

CAP. XI τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων αὐτῷ παραινούντων. Λεύκιος δὲ Μάγιος ὁ Σερτωρίῳ καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους διαιτήσας, ἀνῃρημένου τοῦ Σερτωρίου πρὸς Λεύκολλον ἐπεπόμφει κρύφα, καὶ πίστιν λαβὼν μετέπειθε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὑπεριδεῖν Ῥωμαίων παροδευόντων τε καὶ στρατοπεδευόντων ὅπῃ θελήσειαν. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ Φιμβρίᾳ γενόμενα δύο τέλη βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν, καὶ αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέσεσθαι· τί οὖν χρῄζειν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος καὶ φόνου, δυνάμενον ἀμαχὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων; οἷς ὁ Μιθριδάτης συνθέμενος ἀνοήτως μάλα καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, περιεῖδε Ῥωμαίους διὰ στενοῦ παροδεύοντας ἀδεῶς καὶ ἐπιτειχίζοντας αὐτῷ μέγα ὄρος, οὗ κρατοῦντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄπισθεν ἔμελλον ἀγορὰν ἀδεῶς ἐπάξεσθαι, Μιθριδάτην δὲ λίμῃ καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀποκλείσειν τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἁπάντων, ὅ τι μὴ γλίσχρως ποτὲ λάβοι, οὔτε ἐξόδους εὐρείας ἔτι ἔχοντα, οὔτε βιάζεσθαι δυνάμενον ἔτι Λεύκολλον ὑπὸ τῆς δυσχωρίας, ἧς κρατῶν κατεφρόνησεν. ὅ τε χειμὼν ἤδη πλησιάζων ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτὸν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ καταστήσειν. ἃ θεωρῶν ὁ Λεύκολλος τοὺς φίλους ἀνεμίμνησκε τῆς ὑποσχέσεως, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγγελθὲν ὡς παρὸν ἐδείκνυ.

73. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος διὰ μέσων ὥσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων, τούτου μὲν ὑπερεῖδε, Κυζίκῳ δὲ οἷς παρεσκεύασε πρὸς πολιορκίαν ἐπετίθετο, νομίσας ἐν τῷδε διορθώσειν τὴν δυσχωρίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν. οἷα δὲ εὐπορῶν στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, πᾶσιν ἔργοις

Taxiles and his other officers. But Lucius Magius, who had brought about the alliance between Sertorius and Mithridates, now that Sertorius was dead, opened secret communications with Lucullus, and having secured pledges from him persuaded Mithridates to allow the Romans to pass through and encamp where they pleased. "The two legions of Fimbria," he said, "want to desert, and will come over to you directly. What is the use of a battle and bloodshed when you can conquer the enemy without fighting?" Mithridates assented to this advice heedlessly and without suspicion. He allowed the Romans to go through the pass unmolested and to fortify the great hill on his front, the possession of which would enable them to draw supplies themselves from their rear with security, while Mithridates, on the other hand, would be cut off by a lake, by mountains, and by rivers, from all provisions on the landward side, except an occasional supply secured with difficulty; he would have no easy way out and would no longer be able to overcome Lucullus on account of the impregnability of his position, which he had overlooked when himself in possession of the ground. Moreover, winter was now approaching and would soon interrupt his supplies by sea. Lucullus, observing this, reminded his friends of his promise, and showed them that his prediction was practically accomplished. CHAP. XI

Mithridates besieges Cyzicus

73. Although Mithridates might perhaps even now have been able to break through the enemy's lines by force of numbers, he neglected to do so, but pressed the siege of Cyzicus with the apparatus he had prepared, thinking that he should find a remedy in this way both for the badness of his position and for his want of supplies. As he had plenty of

CAP. XI ἐπεχείρει, τόν τε σταθμὸν ἀποτειχίζων τείχει διπλῷ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποταφρεύων. χώματά τε ἤγειρε πολλά, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγνυτο, πύργους καὶ χελώνας κριοφόρους, ἑλέπολίν τε ἑκατὸν πήχεων, ἐξ ἧς ἕτερος πύργος ἐπῆρτο καταπέλτας καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη ποικίλα ἀφιείς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λιμένας δύο πεντήρεις ἐζευγμέναι πύργον ἕτερον ἔφερον, ἐξ οὗ γέφυρα, ὁπότε προσπελάσειαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ὑπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξήλλετο. ὡς δ' ἕτοιμα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐγεγένητο, πρῶτα μὲν τρισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτους Κυζικηνοὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν τῇ πόλει προσῆγεν, οἳ χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὀρέγοντες ἐδέοντο σφῶν κινδυνευόντων φείσασθαι τοὺς πολίτας, μέχρι Πεισίστρατος αὐτοῖς, ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐκήρυξε φέρειν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐγκρατῶς, αἰχμαλώτους γεγονότας.

74. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀπέγνω τῆσδε τῆς πείρας, ἐπῆγε τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν μηχανήν· καὶ ἥ τε γέφυρα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλατο ἄφνω, καὶ τέσσαρες ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄνδρες ἐξέδραμον. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ φανέντι καταπλαγέντες οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐπὶ μέν τι ὑπεχώρησαν, οὐκ ὀξέως δὲ ἑτέρων ἐπιδραμόντων ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας κατέωσαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω, ταῖς τε ναυσὶ πῦρ καὶ πίσσαν ἐπιχέαντες ἠνάγκασαν πρύμναν τε κρούσασθαι καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ὀπίσω μετὰ τοῦ μηχανήματος. ὧδε μὲν δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπενεχθέντων ἐκράτουν οἱ Κυζικηνοί· τρίτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπήγετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ μηχανήματα ὁμοῦ πάντα, πονουμένοις τε καὶ μεταθέουσιν ἐς τὸ ἀεὶ βιαζόμενον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κριοὺς λίθοις ἀπεκαύ-

soldiers he pushed the siege in every possible way. He blockaded the harbour with a double sea wall and dug a trench around the rest of the city. He raised numerous mounds, built machines, towers, and penthouses with rams. He constructed a siege tower 100 cubits high, from which rose another tower, from which catapult-bolts, stones, and various missiles were discharged. Two quinqueremes joined together carried another tower against the port, from which a bridge could be projected by a mechanical device when brought near the wall. When all was in readiness he first sent up to the city on ships 3000 inhabitants of Cyzicus whom he had taken prisoners. These raised their hands toward the wall in supplication and besought their fellow-citizens to spare them in their dangerous position, but Pisistratus, the Cyzicean general, proclaimed from the walls that as they were in the enemy's hands they must meet their fate resolutely. CHAP. XI

74. When this attempt had failed Mithridates brought up the machine erected on the ships and suddenly projected the bridge upon the wall and four of his men ran across. The Cyziceans were at first dumbfoundered by the novelty of the device and gave way somewhat, but as the rest of the enemy were slow in following, they plucked up courage and thrust the four over the wall. Then they poured burning pitch on the ships and compelled them to back out stern foremost with the machine. In this way the Cyziceans beat off the invaders by sea. On the same day, as a third resort, all the machines on the landward side were massed against the toiling citizens, who flew this way and that way to meet the constantly shifting assault. They knocked off the

Valiant defence of the city

CAP. XI λιζον ἢ βρόχοις ἀνέκλων ἢ φορμοῖς ἐρίων τῆς βίας ἐξέλυον, τῶν δὲ βελῶν τοῖς μὲν πυρφόροις ὑπήντων ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα προβολαῖς ἱματίων ἢ ὀθόναις κεχαλασμέναις τῆς φορᾶς ἀνέλυον, ὅλως τε οὐδὲν προθυμίας ἀνδρὶ δυνατῆς ἐξέλειπον. καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς φερεπονώτατα δὴ κακοπαθοῦσιν ὅμως γε τοῦ τείχους ἐκαύθη τι καὶ συνέπεσεν ἐς ἑσπέραν. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασέ τις ἐσαλάμενος ἔτι θερμόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νυκτὸς αὐτίκα περιῳκοδόμησαν οἱ Κυζικηνοί. τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν πνεῦμα σφοδρὸν ἐπιγενόμενον περιέκλασε τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν μηχανημάτων τοῦ βασιλέως.

75. Λέγεται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐμπροίκιον ὑπὸ Διὸς τῇ κόρῃ δοθῆναι, καὶ σέβουσιν αὐτὴν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μάλιστα θεῶν. ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ θύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔπλαττον ἀπὸ σίτου, μέλαινα δὲ βοῦς ἐκ πελάγους πρὸς αὐτοὺς διενήχετο, καὶ τὸ κλεῖθρον τοῦ στόματος ὑποδῦσά τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσα ὤδευσεν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς παρέστη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ μετὰ χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος ἔθυον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ συνεβούλευον ὡς ἱερᾶς τῆς πόλεως ἀποπλεῦσαι. ὁ δ' οὐ πεισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Δίνδυμον ὄρος ὑπερκείμενον ἀνῄει, καὶ χῶμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔχου, πύργους τε ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεκρήμνη. τοὺς δ' ἵππους ἀχρείους οἱ τότε ὄντας, καὶ ἀσθενεῖς δι' ἀτροφίαν καὶ χωλεύοντας ἐξ ὑποτριβῆς, ἐς Βιθυνίαν περιέπεμπεν· οἷς ὁ Λεύκολλος περῶσι τὸν Ῥύνδακον ἐπιπεσὼν ἔκ-

heads of the rams with stones, or broke them off with the aid of nooses, or deadened their blows with baskets of wool. They extinguished the enemy's fire-bearing missiles with water and vinegar, and broke the force of others by means of garments or linen cloths held loosely in front. In short, they left nothing untried that was within the compass of human energy. Although they toiled most perseveringly, yet a portion of the wall, that had been weakened by fire, gave way towards evening; but on account of the heat nobody was in a hurry to dash in. The Cyziceans built another wall around it that night, and about this time a tremendous wind rose and broke the rest of the king's machines. CHAP. XI

75. It is said that the city of Cyzicus was given by Zeus to Proserpina by way of dowry, and of all the gods the inhabitants have most veneration for her. Her festival now came around, on which they are accustomed to sacrifice a black heifer to her, and as they had none they made one of paste. Just then a black heifer swam to them from the sea, dived under the chain at the mouth of the harbour, ran into the city, found her own way to the temple, and took her place by the altar. The Cyziceans sacrificed her with joyful hopes. Thereupon the friends of Mithridates advised him to sail away from the place since it was sacred, but he would not do so. He ascended Mount Dindymus, which overhung the city, and built a mound extending from it to the city walls, on which he constructed towers, and, at the same time, undermined the wall with tunnels. As his horses were not useful here, and were weak for want of food and had sore hoofs, he sent them by a round-about way to Bithynia. Lucullus fell upon them as

CAP. XI τεινε πολλούς, καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν ἄνδρας μὲν ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἵππους δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ σκευοφόρα πολλά.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ Κύζικον, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Φρυγίαν Εὔμαχος Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς ἐπιτρέχων ἔκτεινε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὺς μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, Πισίδας τε καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὑπήγετο καὶ Κιλικίαν, μέχρι τῶν τις Γαλατικῶν τετραρχῶν Δηιόταρος ἐπιπολάζοντα αὐτὸν συνεδίωξε καὶ πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν.

76. Καὶ περὶ μὲν Φρυγίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, Μιθριδάτου δὲ χειμὼν ἐπιγενόμενος ἀφῄρητο καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγοράν, εἴ τις ἦν, ὥστε πάμπαν ὁ στρατὸς ἐλίμωττε, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ σπλάγχνων ἐγεύοντο βαρβαρικῶς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ποηφαγοῦντες ἐνόσουν. καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σφῶν ἀγχοῦ ἄταφα ῥιπτούμενα λοιμὸν ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμῷ. διεκαρτέρει δ' ὅμως ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἐλπίζων ἔτι τὴν Κύζικον αἱρήσειν τοῖς χώμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Δινδύμου. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπεσύροντο οἱ Κυζικηνοί, καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῶν μηχανὰς ἐπίμπρασαν, καὶ αἰσθήσει τοῦ λιμοῦ πολλάκις ἐπεκθέοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστατοι γεγονόσιν ἐπετίθεντο, δρασμὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐβούλευε, καὶ ἔφευγε νυκτὸς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐς Πάριον, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐς Λάμψακον. περῶντας δ' αὐτοὺς τὸν Αἴσηπον ὅ τε ποταμὸς τότε μάλιστα ἀρθεὶς μέγας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Λεύκολλος ἐπιδραμὼν ἔφθειρεν. ὧδε μὲν οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ πολλὴν βασιλέως παρασκευὴν διέφυγον, αὐτοί τε γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενοι, καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντος ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου. ἀγῶνά τε αὐτῷ

they were crossing the river Rhyndacus, killed a large number, and captured about 15,000 men, 6000 horses, and a large amount of baggage-animals. CHAP. XI

While these things were transpiring at Cyzicus Eumachus, one of Mithridates' generals, overran Phrygia and killed a great many Romans, with their wives and children, subjugated the Pisidians and the Isaurians and also Cilicia. Finally Deïotarus, one of the tetrarchs of Galatia, drove the marauder away and slew many of his men. Such was the course of events in and around Phrygia.

76. When winter came Mithridates was deprived of any supplies which came to him by sea, so that his whole army suffered from hunger, and many of them died. There were some who even after the fashion of the barbarians ate the entrails. Others were made sick by subsisting on herbs. Moreover the corpses that were thrown out in the neighbourhood unburied brought on a plague in addition to the famine. Nevertheless Mithridates continued his efforts, hoping still to capture Cyzicus by means of the mounds extending from Mount Dindymus. But when the Cyziceans undermined them and burned the machines on them, and made frequent sallies upon his forces, knowing that they were weakened by want of food, Mithridates began to think of flight. He fled by night, going himself with his fleet to Parius, and his army by land to Lampsacus. Many lost their lives in crossing the river Aesepus, which was then greatly swollen, and where Lucullus attacked them. Thus the Cyziceans escaped the vast siege preparations of the king by means of their own bravery and of the famine that Lucullus brought upon the enemy. They instituted games in his

Famine in the besieging army

B.C. 73

Flight of Mithridates

CAP. XI θέμενοι μέχρι νῦν τελοῦσι, τὰ Λευκόλλεια καλούμενα. Μιθριδάτης δὲ τοὺς ἐς Λάμψακον ἐσφυγόντας, ἔτι τοῦ Λευκόλλου περικαθημένου, ναῦς ἐπιπέμψας ἐξεκόμισε σὺν αὐτοῖς Λαμψακηνοῖς. μυρίους δ' ἐπιλέκτους ἐπὶ νεῶν πεντήκοντα Οὐαρίῳ, πεμφθέντι οἱ στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Σερτωρίου, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Παφλαγόνι καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καταλιπών, ταῖς πλέοσιν αὐτῶν ἐς Νικομήδειαν ἔπλει. καὶ χειμὼν ἐπιγενόμενος πολλὰς ἑκατέρων διέφθειρεν.

77. Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ κατὰ γῆν εἴργαστο διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ναῦς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγείρας διέδωκε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατηγοῦσιν. καὶ Τριάριος μὲν Ἀπάμειαν εἶλεν ἐπιπλεύσας, καὶ πολλὴ τῶν Ἀπαμέων συμφυγόντων ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο σφαγή· Βάρβας δὲ Προυσιάδα εἶλε τὴν πρὸς τῷ ὄρει, καὶ Νίκαιαν ἔλαβε, τῶν Μιθριδάτου φρουρῶν ἐκφυγόντων. Λεύκολλος δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς εἶλε τῶν πολεμίων. Οὐάριον δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Διονύσιον περὶ Λῆμνον ἐν ἐρήμῃ νήσῳ καταλαβών, ἔνθα δείκνυται βωμὸς Φιλοκτήτου καὶ χαλκοῦς ὄφις καὶ τόξα καὶ θώραξ ταινίαις περίδετος, μνῆμα τῆς ἐκείνου πάθης, ἐπέπλει μὲν αὐτοῖς ῥοθίῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, εὐσταθῶς δ' ἐκείνων ὑπομενόντων ἔστησε τὴν εἰρεσίαν, καὶ κατὰ δύο ναῦς ἐπιπέμπων ἠρέθιζεν ἐς ἔκπλουν. οὐ σαλευόντων δ' ἐκείνων ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἀμυνομένων, περιέπλευσε τὴν νῆσον ἑτέραις ναυσί, καὶ πεζοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκβιβάσας συνήλασε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. οἱ δ' ἐς μὲν

honour, which they celebrate to this day, called the Lucullean games. Mithridates sent ships for those who had taken refuge in Lampsacus, where they were still besieged by Lucullus, and carried them away, together with the citizens of Lampsacus themselves. Leaving 10,000 picked men and fifty ships under Varius (the general sent to him by Sertorius), and Alexander the Paphlagonian, and Dionysius the eunuch, he sailed with the bulk of his force for Nicomedia. A storm came up in which many of both divisions perished.

Lucullus pursues him

77. When Lucullus had accomplished this result on land by starving his enemies, he collected a fleet from the Asiatic province and distributed it to the generals serving under him. Trirarius sailed to Apamea, captured it, and slew a great many of the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the temples. Barba took Prusias, situated at the base of a mountain, and occupied Nicaea, which had been abandoned by the Mithridatic garrison. At the harbour of the Achaeans Lucullus captured thirteen of the enemy's ships. He overtook Varius and Alexander and Dionysius near Lemnos on a barren island (where the altar of Philoctetes is shown with the brazen serpent, the bow, and the breast-plate bound with fillets, a memorial of the sufferings of that hero), and sailed against them contemptuously at full speed. But as they resisted steadily, he checked his oarsmen and sent his ships towards them by twos in order to entice them out to sea. As they declined the challenge, but continued to defend themselves on land, he sent a part of his fleet round to another side of the island, disembarked a force of infantry, and drove the enemy to their ships. Still

CAP. XI τὸ πέλαγος οὐκ ἠφίεσαν, τὸν Λευκόλλου στρατὸν δεδιότες, παρὰ δὲ τὴν γῆν πλέοντες, ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμφίβολοι γιγνόμενοι κατετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ φόνος πολὺς ἦν αὐτῶν καὶ φυγή. ἐλήφθησαν δ' ἐν σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενοι Οὐάριός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ εὐνοῦχος. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος, πιὼν ὅπερ ἤγετο φάρμακον, αὐτίκα ἀπέθανε, Οὐάριον δ' ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξε Λεύκολλος· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν θριαμβεύειν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς τὴν πομπὴν ἐφυλάσσετο. καὶ Λεύκολλος περὶ τῶνδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπέστελλε, τὰ γράμματα δάφνῃ περιβαλών, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ νίκαις· αὐτὸς δὲ ἠπείγετο ἐς Βιθυνίαν.

78. Μιθριδάτῃ δ' ἐς Πόντον ἐσπλέοντι χειμὼν ἐς δὶς ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ νῆες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑξήκοντα διεφθάρησαν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ διερρίφησαν, ὡς ἑκάστην ὁ χειμὼν ἐξήνεγκεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ῥηγνυμένης τῆς στρατηγίδος ἐς ληστῶν σκάφος, ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν φίλων, ὅμως ἐνέβη· καὶ ἐς Σινώπην αὐτὸν οἱ λῃσταὶ διέσωσαν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀμισὸν ἀπὸ κάλω διαπλέων, πρός τε τὸν κηδεστὴν Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ ἐς Μαχάρην τὸν υἱόν, ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου, περιέπεμπεν, ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπείγων ἑκάτερον. ἔς τε Σκύθας τοὺς ὁμόρους χρυσὸν καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ Διοκλέα φέρειν ἐκέλευεν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτοῖς τε δώροις καὶ αὐτῷ χρυσίῳ πρὸς Λεύκολλον ηὐτομόλησε, Λεύκολλος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ θρασέως προϊὼν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἅπαντα χειρούμενος προυνόμευεν, οἷα δ' εὐδαίμονος χώρας καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπολεμήτου, τὸ μὲν ἀνδράποδον

they did not venture out to sea, but defended themselves from the shore, because they were afraid of the army of Lucullus. Thus they were exposed to missiles on both sides, landward and seaward, and received a great many wounds, and after heavy slaughter took to flight. Varius, Alexander, and Dionysius the eunuch were captured in a cave where they had concealed themselves. Dionysius drank poison which he had with him and immediately expired. Lucullus gave orders that Varius should be put to death, for it did not seem good to lead a Roman senator in triumph, but he kept Alexander to adorn his procession. He then sent letters wreathed with laurel to Rome, as is the custom of victors, and then pressed forward to Bithynia.

78. As Mithridates was sailing to Pontus a second tempest overtook him and he lost about 10,000 men and about sixty ships, and the remainder were scattered wherever the wind blew them. His own ship sprang a leak and he went aboard a small piratical craft although his friends tried to dissuade him. The pirates landed him safely at Sinope. From that place he was towed to Amisus, whence he sent appeals to his son-in-law, Tigranes the Armenian, and his son, Machares, the ruler of the Cimmerian Bosporus, that they should hasten to his assistance. He ordered Diocles to take a large quantity of gold and other presents to the neighbouring Scythians, but Diocles took the gold and the presents and deserted to Lucullus. Lucullus moved forward boldly after his victory, subduing everything in his path and subsisting on the country. As it was a rich district, exempt from the ravages of war, the price of a slave

Mithridates suffers shipwreck

B.C. 72

CAP. XI τεττάρων δραχμῶν αὐτίκα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ δὲ βοῦς μιᾶς, αἶγες δὲ καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἐσθὴς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούτων κατὰ λόγον. Λεύκολλος δ' Ἀμισόν τε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν, ἣν τινα τῇ Ἀμισῷ παρῳκοδόμησεν ὁ Μιθριδάτης Εὐπατορίαν τε ὠνόμαζεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ βασίλεια ἡγεῖτο, περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ Θεμίσκυραν, ἣ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τινὸς ἐπώνυμος οὖσα παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν ἔστιν. τούτων δ' οἱ μὲν τοῖς Θεμισκυρίοις ἐπικαθήμενοι πύργους ἐπῆγον αὐτοῖς καὶ χώματα ἐχώννυον καὶ ὑπονόμους ὤρυττον, οὕτω δή τι μεγάλους ὡς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ πλῆθος ἐπιχειρεῖν· καὶ οἱ Θεμισκύριοι ὀπὰς ἄνωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὀρύττοντες, ἄρκτους τε καὶ θηρία ἕτερα καὶ σμήνη μελισσῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐνέβαλλον. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀμισὸν ἕτερον τρόπον ἐμόχθουν, ἀπομαχομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀμισέων καὶ πολλάκις ἐκθεούντων καὶ ἐς μονομαχίας προκαλουμένων. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Καβείρων, ἔνθα χειμάζων στρατὸν ἄλλον συνέλεγεν. καὶ συνῆλθον αὐτῷ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς τετρακισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

XII

CAP. XII 79. Ἱσταμένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Λεύκολλος διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐχώρει. προφυλακαὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐκείνῳ κωλύειν τε Λεύκολλον, καὶ διαπυρ-

at once became four drachmas, of an ox one, and of goats, sheep, clothing, and other things in proportion. Lucullus laid siege to Amisus and also to Eupatoria, which Mithridates had built alongside of Amisus[1] naming it after himself, and regarding it as his seat of empire. With another army he besieged Themiscyra, which is named after one of the Amazons and is situated on the river Thermodon. The besiegers of this place brought up towers, built mounds, and dug tunnels so large that great subterranean battles were fought in them. The inhabitants cut openings into these tunnels from above and thrust bears and other wild animals and swarms of bees into them against the workers. Those who were besieging Amisus suffered in other ways. The inhabitants repelled them bravely, made frequent sallies, and often challenged them to single combat. Mithridates sent them plenty of supplies and arms and soldiers from Cabira, where he wintered and collected a new army. Here he brought together about 40,000 foot and 4000 horse.

CHAP. XI

XII

79. When spring came Lucullus marched over the mountains against Mithridates, who had stationed advanced posts to hinder his approach, and to signal

CHAP. XII

B.C. 71

Second campaign of Lucullus against Mithridates

[1] Another geographical error. Amisus was on the sea-coast, and Eupatoria a considerable distance inland.

CAP. XII

σεύειν οἱ συνεχῶς, εἴ τι γιγνοιτο. καὶ ἦρχε τῆσδε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐκ Μιθριδάτου τις ἀνὴρ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους, ὄνομα Φοῖνιξ· ὃς, ἐπεὶ Λεύκολλος ἐπέλαζε, Μιθριδάτῃ μὲν διεπύρσευσεν, ἐς δὲ Λεύκολλον ηὐτομόλησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἀδεῶς ἤδη τὰ ὄρη διεξελθὼν ἐς Κάβειρα κατέβη. γενομένης δ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ τινὸς ἱππομαχίας, ἠττώμενος αὖθις ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἀνέθορεν. ὁ δὲ ἵππαρχος αὐτοῦ Πομπώνιος ἐς Μιθριδάτην τετρωμένος ἀνήχθη· καὶ πυθομένῳ βασιλεῖ τίνα χάριν οἱ περισωθεὶς δύναιτο ἀποδοῦναι, "εἰ μέν," ἔφη, "σὺ φίλος γένοιο Λευκόλλῳ, πάνυ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν· εἰ δ' ἐχθρὸς εἶης, οὐδὲ βουλεύσομαι." ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπώνιος ἀπεκρίνατο· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνειν ἀξιούντων, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν οὐκ ἐξυβριεῖν ἐς ἀτυχοῦσαν ἀρετήν. ἐκτάσσων δὲ συνεχῶς, οὐ κατιόντος ἐς μάχην τοῦ Λευκόλλου, περιιὼν ἀνάβασιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐζήτει. καί τις ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ Σκύθης, ὄνομα Ὀλκάβας, αὐτόμολος ὢν ἐς Λεύκολλον ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἱππομαχίαν πολλοὺς περισώσας, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ Λευκόλλου τραπέζης τε καὶ γνώμης καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἀξιούμενος, ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀναπαυομένου, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐβιάζετο, βραχὺ καὶ σύνηθες ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωστῆρος ἐγχειρίδιον περικείμενος. κωλυόμενος δ' ἠγανάκτει, καὶ χρείαν τινὰ ἐπείγειν ἔλεγεν ἐξαναστῆσαι τὸν στρατηγόν. τῶν δὲ θεραπευτήρων οὐδὲν εἰπόντων χρησιμώτερον εἶναι Λευκόλλῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐπέβη τὸν ἵππον αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς τὸν

continuously with beacons whenever anything should happen. He appointed a member of the royal family, named Phoenix, commander of this advanced guard. When Lucullus drew near, Phoenix gave the fire-signal to Mithridates and then deserted to Lucullus with his forces. Lucullus now passed over the mountains without difficulty and came down to Cabira, but was beaten by Mithridates in a cavalry engagement and retreated again to the mountain. Pomponius, his master of horse, was wounded and taken prisoner and brought to the presence of Mithridates. The king asked him what favour Pomponius could render him if his life were spared. The Roman replied, "A most valuable favour if you make peace with Lucullus, but if you continue his enemy I will not even consider your question." The barbarians wanted to put him to death, but the king said that he would not do violence to bravery overtaken by misfortune. He drew out his forces for battle several days in succession, but Lucullus would not come down and fight; so he looked about for some way to reach him by ascending the mountain. At this juncture a Scythian, named Olcaba, who had deserted to Lucullus some time before and had saved the lives of many in the recent cavalry fight, and for that reason was deemed worthy to share Lucullus' table, his confidence, and his secrets, came to his tent while he was taking his noonday rest and tried to force his way in. He was wearing a short dagger in his belt as was his custom. When he was prevented from entering he became angry and said that there was a pressing need that the general should be aroused. The servants replied that there was nothing more needful to Lucullus than his safety. Thereupon the Scythian mounted his horse

CAP. XII Μιθριδάτην ἐξήλασεν, εἴτε ἐπιβουλεύων καὶ δόξας ὑποπτεύεσθαι, εἴτε σὺν ὀργῇ, περιυβρίσθαι νομίζων. ἕτερόν τε Σκύθην, ὄνομα Σοβιάδακον, ἐνέφηνε τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ βουλεύειν ἐς Λεύκολλον αὐτομολίαν. Σοβάδακος μὲν δὴ συνελαμβάνετο,

80. Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν κάθοδον τὴν ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἱπποκρατούντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκτρεπόμενος, καὶ περίοδον ἑτέραν οὐχ ὁρῶν, ηὗρεν ἐν σπηλαίῳ κυνηγὸν ὀρείων ἀτραπῶν ἐπιστήμονα, ᾧ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι κατὰ ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς περιῆλθεν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ κατῄει μὲν ἐκκλίνας καὶ τότε τὸ πεδίον διὰ τοὺς ἵππους, χαράδραν δὲ ὕδατος ἐν προβολῇ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ἀπορῶν δ' ἀγορᾶς ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἠκροβολίζετο, μέχρι, φευγόντων ποτὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ χάρακος ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ ἐπιπλήξας ἐπέστρεφεν αὐτούς, καὶ Ῥωμαίους οὕτω κατεφόβησεν ὡς ἄνω διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν φεύγοντας οὐδ' ἀποστάντων αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐς πολύ, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν συμφεύγοντά οἱ καὶ ἐπιόντα ὄπισθεν εἶναι πολέμιον· οὕτω πάνυ κατεπεπλήγεσαν. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης περὶ τῆσδε τῆς νίκης πανταχοῦ γράφων περιέπεμπεν. τῶν δ' ἱππέων πολὺ μέρος, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ μαχιμώτατον, ἐφεδρεύειν ἔταξε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τὴν ἀγορὰν τῷ Λευκόλλῳ φέρουσιν, ἐλπίζων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῶν αὐτὸν γενόμενον πείσεσθαι οἷον αὐτὸς ἔπαθε περὶ Κύζικον.

and went immediately to Mithridates, either because he had plotted against Lucullus and now thought that he was suspected, or because he considered himself insulted and was angry on that account. He exposed to Mithridates another Scythian, named Sobadacus, who was meditating deserting to Lucullus, and Sobadacus was accordingly arrested. CHAP. XII

He crosses a mountain range

80. Lucullus hesitated about going down directly into the plain since the enemy was so much superior in horse, nor could he discover any way round, but he found a hunter in a cave who was familiar with the mountain paths. With him for a guide he made a circuitous descent by rugged paths over Mithridates' head. On this occasion too he avoided the plain on account of the cavalry, and came down and chose a place for his camp where he had a mountain stream on his front. As he was short of supplies he sent to Cappadocia for corn, and skirmished with the enemy until one day, when the royal forces were put to flight, Mithridates came running to them from his camp and, with reproachful words, rallied them, and so terrified the Romans that they fled up the mountain side with such swiftness that they did not know for a long time that the hostile force had desisted from the pursuit, but each one thought that the fleeing comrade behind him was an enemy, so great was the panic that had overtaken them. Mithridates sent bulletins everywhere announcing this victory. He then sent a large detachment composed of the bravest of his horse to intercept the convoy that was bringing supplies from Cappadocia to Lucullus, hoping to bring upon him the same scarcity of provisions from which he had himself suffered at Cyzicus.

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81. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα μεγα ἦν, ἀποκλεῖσαι τροφῶν Λεύκολλον, ἐκ μόνης ἔχοντα Καππαδοκίας· οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς οἱ βασιλέως τοῖς προδρόμοις τῶν σιτοφόρων ἐν στενῷ περιτυχόντες, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντες ἐς εὐρυχωρίαν προελθεῖν, ἀχρεῖον ὡς ἐν στενῷ σφίσι τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησαν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι φθάσαντες ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσασθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν τῶν βασιλικῶν, βοηθούσης οἷα πεζοῖς τῆς δυσχωρίας, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὰς πέτρας κατήραξαν, τοὺς δὲ διέρριψαν ὑποφεύγοντας. ὀλίγοι δὲ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διαδραμόντες τε καὶ μόνοι περιγενέσθαι λέγοντες, μέγα ὂν σφίσι τὸ συμβὰν μειζόνως διεθρόησαν. Μιθριδάτης δ' αὐτὸ πρὸ τοῦ Λευκόλλου πυθόμενός τε, καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐλπίσας ἐπὶ τοσῇδε ἱππέων ἀπωλείᾳ αὐτίκα οἱ προσπεσεῖσθαι, φυγὴν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπενόει, καὶ τόδε τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἐξέφερεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δέ, πρίν τι γενέσθαι παράγγελμα, νυκτὸς ἔτι, σπουδῇ τὰ ἴδια ἕκαστος ἐξέπεμπεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ ὠθουμένων περὶ τὰς πύλας σκευοφόρων πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν. ὅπερ ἡ στρατιὰ θεωμένη καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἐπιγιγνώσκουσα, καὶ τοπάζουσα πολλὰ ἀτοπώτερα, σὺν δέει, καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλθαι, τὸν χάρακα σφῶν ἐπιδραμόντες ἔλυον, καὶ διέφευγον ὡς ἐκ πεδίου πάντοθεν ἀκόσμως, ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ἄνευ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιστάτου παραγγέλματος. ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ σὺν ἀταξίᾳ γιγνομένων αἰσθόμενος, ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐς

81. It was an excellent idea, to cut off Lucullus' supplies, which were drawn from Cappadocia alone, but when the king's cavalry came upon the advance guard of the convoy in a narrow defile, they did not wait till their enemies had reached the open country. Consequently their horses were useless in the narrow space, where the Romans hastily put their marching column in line of battle. Aided, as foot-soldiers would naturally be, by the difficulties of the ground, they killed some of the king's troops, drove others over precipices, and scattered the rest in flight. A few of them escaped to their camp by night, and said that they were the only survivors, so that rumour magnified the calamity, which was indeed sufficiently great. Mithridates heard of this affair before Lucullus did, and he expected that Lucullus would take advantage of so great a slaughter of his horsemen to attack him forthwith. Accordingly in his panic he began to contemplate flight, and at once communicated his purpose to his friends in his tent. They did not wait for the signal to be given, but while it was still night each one hastily sent his own baggage out of the camp, and there was a great crush of pack animals around the gates. When the soldiers perceived the commotion, and saw what the baggage-carriers were doing, they imagined every sort of absurdity. Filled with terror, mingled with anger that the signal had not been given to them also, they ran and demolished their own fortification and scattered in every direction, as it was a plain, helter-skelter, without orders from the commanding general or any other officer. When Mithridates perceived the hurried and disorderly rush he dashed out of his tent among them and attempted to say

Panic in the camp of Mithridates

CAP. XII αὐτοὺς καὶ λέγειν τι ἐπεχείρει, οὐδενὸς δ' ἐσακούοντος ἔτι, συνθλιβεὶς ὡς ἐν πλήθει κατέπεσε, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἵππον ἀναβληθεὶς ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐφέρετο.

82. Λεύκολλος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐπραγίας πυθόμενος, καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰδών, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐκφυγόντας ἔπεμπε διώκειν ἱππέας πολλούς, τοῖς δὲ συσκευαζομένοις ἔτι κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς πεζοὺς περιστήσας ἐκέλευε μὴ διαρπάζειν ἐν τῷ τότε μηδέν, ἀλλὰ κτείνειν ἀφειδῶς. οἱ δὲ σκεύη τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθῆτας πολυτελεῖς θεώμενοι ἐξέστησαν τοῦ παραγγέλματος. αὐτόν τε τὸν Μιθριδάτην οἱ καταλαμβάνοντες, ἡμίονόν τινα τῶν χρυσοφόρων ἐς τὸ σάγμα πατάξαντες, προπεσόντος τοῦ χρυσίου περὶ τόδε γενόμενοι διαφυγεῖν ἐς Κόμανα περιεῖδον· ὅθεν ἐς Τιγράνην ἔφυγε σὺν ἱππεῦσι δισχιλίοις. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς ὄψιν οὐ προσέμενος, ἐν χωρίοις ἐκέλευσε διαίτης βασιλικῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπογνοὺς ὁ Μιθριδάτης Βάκχον εὐνοῦχον ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παλλακάς, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, ἀνελοῦντα. αἱ μὲν δὴ διεφθείροντο ξίφεσι καὶ φαρμάκοις καὶ βρόχοις, δεινὰ ποιοῦσαι· ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶντες οἱ φρούραρχοι τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἀθρόως ἐς τὸν Λεύκολλον μετετίθεντο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος αὐτοὺς ἐπιὼν καθίστατο, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις περιπλέων ἦρει, Ἀμαστρίν τε καὶ Ἡράκλειαν καὶ ἑτέρας.

83. Σινώπη δ' ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι καρτερῶς, καὶ διεναυμάχησεν οὐ κακῶς. πολιορκούμενοι δὲ τὰς ναῦς

something, but nobody would listen to him. He was crushed in the crowd and knocked from his horse, but remounted and was borne to the mountains with a few followers. CHAP. XII

82. When Lucullus heard of the success of his provision train and observed the enemy's flight, he sent out a large force of cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives. Those who were still collecting baggage in the camp he surrounded with his infantry, whom he ordered for the time to abstain from plunder, and to kill indiscriminately. But the soldiers, seeing vessels of gold and of silver in abundance and much costly clothing, disregarded the order. Those who overtook Mithridates himself cut open the pack saddle of a mule that was loaded with gold, which fell out, and while they were busy with it they allowed him to escape to Comana. From thence he fled to Tigranes with 2000 horsemen. Tigranes did not admit him to his presence, but ordered royal entertainment to be provided for him on his estates. Mithridates, in utter despair of his kingdom, sent the eunuch Bacchus to his palace to put his sisters, wives and concubines to death in any way he could. They were stabbed, poisoned, and hanged, lamenting their fate, but when the garrison commanders of Mithridates saw these things they went over to Lucullus in a body, all but a few. Lucullus marched to these towns and regulated them. He also sailed round among the cities on the Pontic coast and captured Amastris, Heraclea and some others.

Mithridates takes refuge with Tigranes

B.C. 70

Lucullus regulates the Pontic cities

83. Sinope continued to resist him vigorously, and the inhabitants fought him on the water not without

CAP. XII τὰς βαρυτέρας σφῶν διέπρησαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς κουφοτέρας ἐμβάντες ἀπέδρασαν. Λεύκολλος δὲ τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ἐλευθέραν ἠφίει δι' ἐνύπνιον, ὃ τοιόνδε ἦν. Αὐτόλυκόν φασιν, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύοντα, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐς Σινώπην καταχθῆναι καὶ τῆς πόλεως κρατῆσαι· ἀνδριάς τε σεβάσμιος τοῖς Σινωπεῦσιν ἔχρα, ὃν οἱ μὲν Σινωπεῖς οὐ φθάσαντες ἐς φυγὴν ἐπαγαγέσθαι, ὀθόναις καὶ καλωδίοις περιέδησαν· οὐδὲν δ' ὁ Λεύκολλος εἰδὼς οὐδὲ προμαθὼν ἔδοξεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεὶς ὁρᾶν αὐτόν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τὸν ἀνδριάντα τινῶν περιβεβλημένον παραφερόντων ἐκλῦσαι κελεύσας, εἶδεν οἷον ἔδοξε νυκτὸς ἑωρακέναι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐνύπνιον τοιόνδε ἦν, Λεύκολλος δὲ καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Σινώπῃ συνῴκιζεν, ἐκφυγόντων μὲν ὁμοίως τῶν Ἀμισέων διὰ θαλάσσης, πυνθανόμενος δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων αὐτοὺς θαλασσοκρατούντων συνῳκίσθαι, καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ χρησαμένους ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς Περσικοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑπακοῦσαι, ἀναγαγόντος δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκ προστάγματος Ἀλεξάνδρου πάλιν δουλεῦσαι τοῖς Ποντικοῖς. ἐφ' οἷς ἄρα συμπαθὴς ὁ Λεύκολλος γενόμενός τε, καὶ φιλοτιμούμενός γε καὶ ὅδε ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ περὶ γένος Ἀττικόν, αὐτόνομον ἠφίει τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀμισέας κατὰ τάχος συνεκάλει. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Σινώπην καὶ Ἀμισὸν Λεύκολλος ἐπόρθει τε καὶ συνῴκιζε, καὶ Μαχάρῃ τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτου, Βοσπόρου τε βασιλεύοντι

success, but when they were besieged they burned their heavier ships, embarked on the lighter ones, and went away. Lucullus at once made it a free city, being moved thereto by the following dream. It is said that Autolycus, the companion of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons, was driven by a tempest into Sinope and made himself master of the place, and that his consecrated statue gave oracles to the Sinopeans. They had not time to take it with them in their flight, so they wrapped it up with linen cloths and ropes. Nobody told Lucullus of this beforehand, and he knew nothing about it, but he dreamed that he saw Autolycus calling him, and the following day, when some men passed him carrying the image wrapped up, he ordered them to take off the covering and then he saw what he thought he had seen in the night. Such was his dream. After Sinope Lucullus restored to their homes the citizens of Amisus, who had fled by sea in like manner, because he learned that they had been settled there by Athens when she held the empire of the sea; that they had had a democratic form of government at first, and afterwards had been subject for a long time to the kings of Persia; that their democracy had been restored to them by decree of Alexander; and that they had finally been compelled to serve the kings of Pontus. Lucullus sympathized with them, and in emulation of the favour shown to the Attic race by Alexander he gave the city its freedom and recalled the citizens with all haste. After thus desolating and repeopling both Sinope and Amisus Lucullus entered into friendly relations with Machares, the son of Mithridates and ruler of the Bosporus, who had sent him a crown of

CHAP. XII

CAP. XII καὶ στέφανόν οἱ πεμψαντι ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, φιλίαν συνέθετο, Μιθριδάτην δ' ἐξήτει παρὰ Τιγράνους. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανελθών, ὀφείλουσαν ἔτι τῶν Συλλείων ἐπιβολῶν, τέταρτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς, τέλη δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὥριζεν. καὶ ἐπινίκια ἔθυεν ὡς δὴ τὸν πόλεμον κατωρθωκώς.

84. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην, οὐκ ἐκδιδόντα οἱ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ἐστράτευε σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐπιλέκτοις καὶ ἱππεῦσι πεντακοσίοις. καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας, μόνα τὰ χρήσιμα τοὺς βαρβάρους αἰτῶν διώδευεν· οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐπολέμουν, οὐδ' ἠξίουν τι πάσχειν, ἔστε Λεύκολλον καὶ Τιγράνην ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις διακριθῆναι. Τιγράνῃ δ' οὐδεὶς ἐμήνυεν ἐπιόντα Λεύκολλον· ὁ γάρ τοι πρῶτος εἰπὼν ἐκεκρέμαστο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, συνταράσσειν αὐτὸν τὰς πόλεις νομίσαντος. ὡς δέ ποτε ᾔσθετο, Μιθροβαρζάνην προύπεμπε μετὰ δισχιλίων ἱππέων, Λεύκολλον ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ δρόμου. Μαγκαίῳ δὲ Τιγρανόκερτα φυλάττειν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἥν τινα πόλιν, ὥς μοι προείρηται, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι τῷ χωρίῳ συνῴκιζε, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐς αὐτὴν συνεκάλει, ζημίαν ἐπιτιθείς, ὅσα μὴ μεταφέροιεν, δεδημεῦσθαι. τείχη τε αὐτοῖς περιέβαλε πεντηκονταπήχη τὸ ὕψος, ἱπποστασίων ἐν τῷ βάθει γέμοντα, καὶ βασίλεια καὶ παραδείσους κατὰ τὸ προάστειον ἐποίει μακρούς, καὶ κυνηγέσια πολλὰ καὶ λίμνας· ἀγχοῦ δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἀνίστη καρτερόν. καὶ πάντα τότε Μαγκαίῳ ταῦτ' ἐπιτρέψας, περιῄει

gold, and demanded the surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes. Then he went back in person to the province of Asia, which still owed part of the fine imposed by Sulla, and imposed on it a twenty-five per cent. tax on crops, and taxes on slaves and house-property. He offered a triumphal sacrifice to the gods, as though he had brought the war to a successful issue.

CHAP. XII

He demands the surrender of Mithridates from Tigranes

84. After the sacrifice had been performed he marched with two picked legions and 500 horse against Tigranes, who had refused to surrender Mithridates to him. Having crossed the Euphrates, he only required the barbarians, through whose territory he passed, to furnish necessary supplies, since they did not want to fight, or to expose themselves to suffering, but preferred to leave Lucullus and Tigranes to decide the issue by themselves. No one told Tigranes that Lucullus was advancing, for he had hanged the first man who had brought such a report, considering him a disturber of the good order of the cities. But when at last he learned the truth, he sent Mithrobarzanes forward with 2000 horse to hinder Lucullus' march. He entrusted to Mancaeus the defence of Tigranocerta, which city, as I have already said, the king had built in this region in honour of himself, and to which he had summoned the principal inhabitants of the country under penalty of confiscation of all of their goods that they did not transfer to it. He surrounded it with walls fifty cubits high, the base of which was full of stables. In the suburbs he built a palace and laid out large parks, hunting-grounds and lakes. He also erected a strong fortress near by. All these he put in charge of Mancaeus, and then he went through the country to collect an

B.C. 69

He marches against Tigranes

He besieges Tigranocerta

CAP. XII στρατιὰν ἀγείρων. Μιθροβαρζάνην μὲν οὖν ὁ Λεύκολλος εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς τρεψάμενος ἐδίωκε, Μαγκαῖον δὲ Σεξτίλιος ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα κατακλείσας τὰ μὲν βασίλεια αὐτίκα, ἀτείχιστα ὄντα, διήρπασε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπετάφρευε, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐφίστη, καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἀνεκρήμνη τὸ τεῖχος.

85. Καὶ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Τιγράνης δέ, πεζῶν ἐς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀγείρας καὶ ἱππέας ἐς πεντακισμυρίους, προύπεμψεν αὐτῶν ἐς Τιγρανόκερτα περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, οἳ διὰ μέσων Ῥωμαίων ἐς τὸ φρούριον ὠσάμενοί τε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαρπάσαντες ἐπανῆλθον. τῷ δὲ λοιπῷ στρατῷ Τιγράνης αὐτὸς ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Λεύκολλον. καὶ αὐτῷ τότε πρῶτον Μιθριδάτης ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν συνεβούλευε μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἱππικῷ μόνῳ περιτρέχοντα καὶ τὴν γῆν λυμαινόμενον ἐς λιμὸν αὐτούς, εἰ δύναιτο, περικλεῖσαι, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου περὶ Κύζικον ἀμαχὶ κάμνων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπολέσαι. ὁ δὲ γελάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν, προῄει συνεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην· καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὀλιγότητα ἰδὼν ἐπέσκωψεν οὕτως· "εἰ μὲν πρέσβεις εἰσὶν οἵδε, πολλοί, εἰ δὲ πολέμιοι, πάμπαν ὀλίγοι." Λεύκολλος δὲ λόφον εὔκαιρον ἰδὼν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Τιγράνους, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐκ μετώπου προσέτασσεν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ περισπᾶν ἐφ' ἑαυτούς καὶ ὑποχωρεῖν ἑκόντας, ἵνα τῶν βαρβάρων διωκόντων ἡ τάξις παραλυθείη· τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν λόφον περιοδεύσας ἀνῄει λαθών. καὶ ὡς εἶδε τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῆς διώξεως οἷα νικῶν-

army. Lucullus, at his first encounter with Mithrobarzanes, defeated him and put him to flight. Sextilius shut up Mancaeus in Tigranocerta, plundered the palace, which was not fortified, drew a ditch around the city and fortress, stationed engines against them, and began to undermine the wall. CHAP XI

85. While Sextilius was doing this Tigranes brought together some 250,000 foot and 50,000 horse. He sent about 6000 of the latter to Tigranocerta, who broke through the Roman line to the tower, and seized and brought away the king's concubines. With the rest of his army Tigranes marched in person against Lucullus. Mithridates, who was now for the first time admitted to his presence, advised him not to come to close quarters with the Romans, but to circle round them with his horse only, to devastate the country, and to reduce them by famine if possible, in the same way that he himself had been served by Lucullus at Cyzicus, where he lost his army through exhaustion without fighting. Tigranes derided such generalship and advanced ready for battle. When he saw how small the Roman force was, he said sarcastically, "If they are here as ambassadors they are too many; if as enemies, altogether too few." Lucullus saw a hill favourably situated in the rear of Tigranes, and accordingly stationed his cavalry for a frontal attack, to harass the enemy and draw him on against themselves, retiring voluntarily, so that the barbarians should break their own ranks in the pursuit; but he himself went round with his infantry to the hill and took possession of it unobserved. When he saw the enemy pursuing as though they had won the fight, and scattered in all directions, with their entire Battle Tigranocerta

CAP. XII

τας ἐς πολλὰ διεσκεδασμένους, τὰ δὲ σκευοφόρα αὐτῶν πάντα ὑποκείμενα, ἀνεβόησε· "νικῶμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες," καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα πρῶτος ἵετο δρόμῳ. τὰ δὲ αὐτίκα σὺν θορύβῳ φεύγοντα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοί. τροπή τε ἦν εὐθὺς ὁλοσχερής· οἵ τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ διώξει μακρὰν ἀπεσπασμένοι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἱππέων ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀπώλλυντο, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέπιπτεν ὡς ἐνοχλούμενα. πάντων τε ὡς ἐν τοσῷδε πλήθει θλιβομένων, καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότων, ὁπόθεν ἡ ἦσσα αὐτοῖς ἄρχοιτο, πολὺς ἦν φόνος, οὐδενὸς σκυλεύοντος οὐδέν· ἀπηγόρευτο γὰρ ἐκ Λευκόλλου μετ' ἀπειλῆς, ὥστε καὶ ψέλια καὶ περιαυχένια παροδεύοντες ἔκτεινον ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἔστε νὺξ ἐπέλαβε. τότε δ' ἀναστρέφοντες ἐσκύλευον· ἐδίδου γὰρ ὁ Λεύκολλος ἤδη.

86. Γιγνομένην δὲ τὴν ἧτταν ὁ Μαγκαῖος ἐφορῶν ἀπὸ Τιγρανοκέρτων, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οἳ ἐμισθοφόρουν αὐτῷ, πάντας ἐξώπλισεν ὑποπτεύων· οἳ σύλληψιν δεδιότες, ἀθρόοι σκυτάλας ἔχοντες ἐβάδιζόν τε καὶ ηὐλίζοντο. Μαγκαίου δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπάγοντος αὐτοῖς ὡπλισμένους, διαδησάμενοι τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ἀντὶ ἀσπίδων, μετὰ τόλμης ἐσέδραμον ἐς αὐτούς· καὶ ὅσους ἀνέλοιεν, εὐθὺς ἐμερίζοντο τὰ ὅπλα. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν εἶχον αὐτάρκως, μεσοπύργιά τινα κατέλαβον, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔξωθεν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἀναβαίνοντας ἐδέχοντο. οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ πλοῦτος διηρπάζετο πολύς, οἷα πόλεως νεοκατασκεύου, φιλοτίμως συνῳκισμένης.

baggage-train lying at the foot of the hill, he exclaimed, "Soldiers, we are victorious," and dashed first upon their baggage-carriers. These immediately fled in confusion and ran against their own infantry, and the infantry against the cavalry. In a moment the rout was complete. After drawing their pursuer a long distance, the Roman horse turned and cut them to pieces, and the baggage-train in their confusion came into collision with the others. And as they all jostled each other in the crowd, and did not know with any certainty from what quarter their discomfiture proceeded, there was a great slaughter. Nobody stopped to plunder, for Lucullus had forbidden it with threats of punishment, so that they passed by bracelets and necklaces on the road, and continued killing for a distance of 120 stades until nightfall. Then they returned and betook themselves to plunder with the permission of Lucullus.

CHAP. XII

Total defeat of Tigranes

86. When Mancaeus beheld this defeat from Tigranocerta he disarmed all his Greek mercenaries because he suspected them. They, in fear of arrest, went about together and rested together with clubs in their hands. Mancaeus set upon them with his armed barbarians. They wound their clothing round their left arms, to serve as shields, ran upon their assailants courageously, and immediately shared the arms of all those they killed. When they were thus as far as possible provided with weapons they seized some of the spaces between the towers, called to the Romans outside, and admitted them when they came up. In this way was Tigranocerta taken, and much wealth was plundered, as was natural in a city newly built and founded on an ambitious scale.

Capture of Tigranocerta

XIII

CAP. XIII

87. Τιγράνης δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτης στρατὸν ἄλλον ἤθροιζον περιιόντες, οὗ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπετέτραπτο Μιθριδάτης, ἡγουμένου Τιγράνους αὐτῷ γεγονέναι τὰ παθήματα διδάγματα. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπικουρεῖν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες. ἀντιπρεσβεύοντος δὲ Λευκόλλου, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ἢ οἱ συμμαχῆσαι ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκστῆναι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὁ μὲν κρύφα συντιθέμενος ἑκατέροις, οὐκ ἔφθασεν οὐδετέροις ἀμῦναι, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην, καὶ ἐστρατολόγει σχεδὸν ἅπαντας Ἀρμενίους. ἐπιλεξάμενος δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, ἐς ἑπτακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας ἡμίσεας, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπέλυσε, τοὺς δ' ἐς ἴλας τε καὶ σπείρας ἀγχοτάτω τῆς Ἰταλικῆς συντάξεως καταλέγων Ποντικοῖς ἀνδράσι γυμνάζειν παρεδίδου. προσιόντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λευκόλλου, ὁ μὲν Μιθριδάτης τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν καὶ μέρος τι τῶν ἱππέων ἐπὶ λόφου συνεῖχε, τῇ λοιπῇ δ' ἵππῳ Τιγράνης τοῖς σιτολογοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις περιπεσὼν ἠσσᾶτο. καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδεῶς ἀπὸ τοῦδε οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πλησίον αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἐσιτολόγουν τε καὶ ἐστρατοπέδευον. κονιορτὸς δ' αὖθις ἠγείρετο πολὺς ὡς ἐπιόντος τοῦ Τιγράνους· καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἦν ἐν μέσῳ Λεύκολλον ἀμφοῖν γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων προύπεμψε πορρωτάτω συμπλέκεσθαι τῷ Τιγράνῃ καὶ κωλύειν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἐς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην προκαλούμενος ἐς

XIII

87. Tigranes and Mithridates traversed the country collecting a new army, the command of which was committed to Mithridates, because Tigranes thought that his disasters must have taught him some lessons. They also sent messengers to Parthia to solicit aid from that quarter. Lucullus sent opposing legates asking that the Parthians should either help him or remain neutral. Their king made secret agreements with both, but was in no haste to help either of them. Mithridates manufactured arms in every town and enrolled almost the whole population of Armenia. From these he selected the bravest, to the number of about 70,000 foot and half that number of horse, and dismissed the rest. He divided them into squadrons and cohorts as nearly as possible according to the Italian system, and handed them over to Pontic officers to be trained. When Lucullus moved toward them Mithridates, with all the foot-soldiers and a part of the horse, held his forces together on a hill. Tigranes, with the rest of the horse, attacked the Roman foragers and was beaten, for which reason the Romans foraged more freely afterwards even in the vicinity of Mithridates himself, and encamped near him. Again a great dust arose indicating the approach of Tigranes; and the plan was that the two kings should surround Lucullus. But he, perceiving their movement, sent forward the pick of his horse very far in advance, to engage Tigranes, and prevent him from deploying from his line of march into order of battle. He also challenged Mithridates to fight, and began to

CHAP. XIII
B.C. 68
Tigranes collects a new army
Indecisive movements

CAP. XIII μάχην . . . . .[1] καὶ περιταφρεύων οὐκ ἠρέθιζεν, ἕως χειμὼν ἐπιπεσὼν διέλυσε τὸ ἔργον ἄπασιν.

88. Καὶ Τιγράνης μὲν ἐξ ὅλης Ἀρμενίας ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς ἀνεζεύγνυεν, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς ἠπείγετο, τετρακισχιλίους οἰκείους ἔχων, καὶ τοσούσδε ἑτέρους παρὰ Τιγράνους λαβών. ἐφείπετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Λεύκολλος, ἀναζευγνὺς καὶ ὅδε διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. φθάσας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπέθετο Φαβίῳ τῷ δεῦρο ἐκ Λευκόλλου στρατηγεῖν ὑπολελειμμένῳ, καὶ τρεψάμενος αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε πεντακοσίους. ἐλευθερώσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θεράποντας ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας αὖθις ἀγωνιζομένου, παλίντροπος ἦν ὁ ἀγών, μέχρι τὸν Μιθριδάτην, πληγέντα λίθῳ τε ἐς τὸ γόνυ καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βέλει, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀποκομισθῆναι, καὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τοὺς μὲν φόβῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς σωτηρίας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πλήθους τραυμάτων ἠρεμῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν οὖν ἐθεράπευον Ἀγαροι, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, οἷς ὄφεων ἐς τὰς θεραπείας χρώμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀεὶ βασιλεῖ συνόντες· Φαβίῳ δὲ Τριάριος, ἕτερος Λευκόλλου στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν μετ' οἰκείου στρατοῦ, τήν τε ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα παρελαμβανεν. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ χωρούντων ἐς μάχην αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Μιθριδάτου, πνεῦμα, οἷον οὐκ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, τάς τε σκηνὰς ἀμφοτέρων διέρριψε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια παρέσυρε καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔστιν οὓς κατεκρήμνισεν.

[1] There is a lacuna in the text here.

surround him with a ditch, but could not draw him out. Finally, winter came on and interrupted the work on both sides. CHAP. XIII

88. Tigranes now withdrew into the interior of Armenia and Mithridates hastened to what was left of his own kingdom of Pontus, taking with him 4000 of his own troops and as many more that he had received from Tigranes. He was followed by Lucullus, who was also forced to move owing to lack of provisions. Before Lucullus could stop him, Mithridates attacked Fabius, who had been left in command by Lucullus, put him to flight, and killed 500 of his men. Fabius freed the slaves who had been in his camp and fought again an entire day, but the battle was going against him until Mithridates was struck by a stone on the knee and wounded by a dart under the eye, and was hastily carried out of the fight. For many days thereafter his forces were alarmed for the king's life, and the Romans were quiet on account of the great number of wounds they had received. Mithridates was cured by the Agari, a Scythian tribe, who make use of the poison of serpents as remedies, and for this reason always accompany the king. Triarius, another general of Lucullus, now came with his own army to the assistance of Fabius and received from the latter his command and authority. He and Mithridates not long afterwards joined battle, during which a tempest of wind, the like of which had not been known in the memory of man, tore down the tents of both, swept away the beasts of burden, and dashed some of their men over precipices. Both sides then retreated for the time.

CAP. XIII

89. Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρουν ἑκάτεροι, ἀπαγγελλομένου δὲ Λευκόλλου προσιέναι, προλαβεῖν τὸ ἔργον ὁ Τριάριος ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρει ταῖς Μιθριδάτου προφυλακαῖς. ἰσομάχου δ' ἐς πολὺ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν μέρος ἐπιβαρήσας ἔκρινε τὴν μάχην, καὶ διασπάσας τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατέκλεισεν ἐς διώρυχα πηλοῦ, ἔνθα διεφθείροντο στῆναι μὴ δυνάμενοι. τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐδίωκεν, ἐκθύμως τῇ φορᾷ τῆς εὐτυχίας καταχρώμενος, ἔστε τις αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖος λοχαγός, οἷα θεράπων αὐτῷ συντροχάζων, ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε ξίφει πληγὴν βαθεῖαν, οὐκ ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ νῶτα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐφίξεσθαι. καὶ τόνδε μὲν εὐθὺς οἱ πλησίον συνέκοπτον, ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπεφέρετο ὀπίσω, καὶ οἱ φίλοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ νίκης λαμπρᾶς ἀνεκάλουν σὺν ἐπείξει βαρείᾳ. ἐνέπιπτε δὲ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ἀνακλήσεως θόρυβός τε καὶ ἀπορία, μή τι δεινὸν ἑτέρωθεν εἴη, μέχρι μαθόντες εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὸ σῶμα περιίσταντο καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἕως Τιμόθεος αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰατρός, ἐπισχὼν τὸ αἷμα, ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐκ μετεώρου, οἷόν τι καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεδιόσιν, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νεῶς θεραπευόμενον ἐπέδειξεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ὡς ἀνήνεγκεν, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἀνακαλέσασιν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κατεμέμφετο, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἦγεν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἐπεφεύγεσαν ἤδη σὺν δέει. σκυλευομένων δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐφαίνοντο χιλίαρχοι μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ἑκατόνταρχοι δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,

Mithridates defeats Fabius and Triarius

89. When, however, news was brought that Lucullus was coming, Triarius hastened to anticipate his action and attacked the outposts of Mithridates before daybreak. The fight continued for a long time doubtful, until the king weighed down the division of the enemy opposed to him and decided the battle. He scattered their ranks and drove their infantry into a muddy trench, where they were unable to stand and were slaughtered. He pursued their horse over the plain and made the most spirited use of his good fortune until a certain Roman centurion, who was running beside him in the guise of an attendant, gave him a severe wound with a sword in the thigh, as he could not expect to pierce his back through his corselet. Those who were near immediately cut the centurion in pieces. Mithridates was carried to the rear and his friends recalled the army from that brilliant victory with melancholy haste. Confusion befell them by reason of the unexpectedness of the recall, and fear lest some disaster had happened elsewhere. When they learned what it was they at once gathered on the plain round the person of the king, and were in consternation, until Timotheus, his physician, had staunched the blood and lifted the king up so that he could be seen, just as in India, when Alexander was being cured, he showed himself on a ship to the Macedonians, who were alarmed about him. As soon as Mithridates came to himself he reproved those who had recalled the army from the fight, and led his men again the same day against the camp of the Romans. But they had already fled from it in terror. In stripping the dead there were found 24 tribunes and 150 centurions. So great a

CAP. XIII

ὅσον ἡγεμόνων πλῆθος οὐ ῥᾳδίως συνέπεσε Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἥττῃ μιᾷ.

90. Ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἣν δὴ νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι βραχυτέραν Ἀρμενίαν καλοῦσιν, ἀνεζεύγνυ, τὰ μὲν εὐκόμιστα πάντα σιτολογῶν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερῆ διαφθείρων τε καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐπιόντα προαφαιρούμενος. καί τις ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀπὸ βουλῆς, Ἀττίδιος ὄνομα, διὰ δίκην φυγὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐς Μιθριδάτην πρὸ πολλοῦ καὶ φιλίας ἀξιούμενος, ἑάλω τότε ἐπιβουλεύων αὐτῷ. καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ δικαιῶν βασανίσαι, Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ βουλευτὴν γενόμενον, ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ συναμαρτόντας ἠκίσατο δεινῶς. ἀπελεύθεροι δ' ὅσοι τῷ Ἀττιδίῳ συνεγνώκεσαν, ἀπαθεῖς ἀφῆκεν ὡς δεσπότῃ διακονησαμένους. Λευκόλλου δ' ἤδη τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγὸς περιπέμπων ἐκήρυσσε Ῥωμαίους ἐπικαλεῖν Λευκόλλῳ πέρα τοῦ δέοντος πολεμοῦντι, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀφιέναι, καὶ τῶν οὐ πειθομένων τὰ ὄντα δημεύσειν. ὧν ἐξαγγελθέντων ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα διελύετο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων. ὅσοι πάνυ πένητες ὄντες καὶ τὴν ζημίαν οὐ δεδιότες τῷ Λευκόλλῳ παρέμενον.

XIV

CAP. XIV

91. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Λευκόλλου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πόλεμος ἐς οὐδὲν βέβαιον οὐδὲ κεκριμένον τέλος ἔληξεν· ἀφισταμένης γὰρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνοχλούμενοι, καὶ λῃστευομένης τῆς θαλάσσης λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο

number of officers had seldom fallen in any single Roman defeat. CHAP. XIII

90. Mithridates withdrew into the country which the Romans now call Lesser Armenia, taking all the provisions he could and spoiling what he could not carry, so as to prevent Lucullus from getting any on his march. At this juncture a certain Roman of senatorial rank, named Attidius, a fugitive from justice, who had been with Mithridates a long time and had enjoyed his friendship, was detected in a conspiracy against him. The king condemned him to death, but not to torture, because he had once been a Roman Senator, but his fellow-conspirators were subjected to dreadful torments. The freedmen who were cognizant of the designs of Attidius he dismissed unharmed, because they had only helped their master. When Lucullus was already encamped near Mithridates, the proconsul of Asia sent heralds to proclaim that Rome had accused Lucullus of unnecessarily prolonging the war, and had ordered that the soldiers under him be dismissed, and that the property of those who did not obey this order should be confiscated. When this information was received the army disbanded at once, except a few who remained with Lucullus because they were very poor and did not fear the penalty.

Intrigue against Lucullus at Rome

XIV

91. So it turned out that the Mithridatic war under Lucullus, like the preceding wars, came to no fixed and definite conclusion. The Romans, torn by revolts in Italy and threatened with famine by pirates on the sea, considered it inopportune to undertake CHAP. XIV

CAP. XIV πολεμεῖν ἄλλον τοσόνδε πόλεμον, πρὶν τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα διαθέσθαι. ὧν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης αἰσθανόμενος ἐς Καππαδοκίαν ἐσέβαλε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ὠχύρου. καὶ τάδε αὐτὸν πράσσοντα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι περιεώρων ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἡ θάλασσα ἐκαθαίρετο. ὡς δ' ἐκεκάθαρτο καὶ ὁ καθήρας Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν Μιθριδάτειον πόλεμον ἀνελάμβανον αὐτίκα, καὶ ἐπέστελλον καὶ τοῦδε τῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατηγῆσαι. διό μοι δοκεῖ μέρος ὄντα τῆς Πομπηίου στρατείας τὰ περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτῷ πρὸ Μιθριδάτου κατειργασμένα, καὶ ἐς οὐδεμίαν συγγραφὴν οἰκείαν ἄλλην ἀπαντῶντα, ἐς τόδε τὸ μέρος συναγαγεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιδραμεῖν, ὡς ἐγένετο.

92. Μιθριδάτης ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκράτει, Σύλλα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πονουμένου, ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐς πολὺ καθέξειν τῆς Ἀσίας, τά τε ἄλλα, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πάντα ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πειρατὰς καθῆκεν, οἳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοις σκάφεσι καὶ μικροῖς οἷα λῃσταὶ περιπλέοντες ἐλύπουν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐμηκύνετο, πλέονες ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ναυσὶ μεγάλαις ἐπέπλεον. γευσάμενοι δὲ κερδῶν μεγάλων, οὐδ' ἡττωμένου καὶ σπενδομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἀναχωροῦντος ἔτι ἐπαύοντο· οἱ γὰρ βίου καὶ πατρίδων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀφῃρημένοι, καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ἐμπεσόντες ἀθρόαν, ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκαρποῦντο τὴν θάλασσαν, μυοπάρωσι πρῶτον καὶ ἡμιολίαις, εἶτα δικρότοις καὶ τριήρεσι κατὰ μέρη περιπλέοντες, ἡγουμένων λῃστάρχων οἷα πολέμου στρατηγῶν. ἔς τε ἀτειχίστους πόλεις ἐμπίπτοντες,

another war of this magnitude until their present troubles were ended. When Mithridates perceived this he again invaded Cappadocia and fortified his own kingdom, and the Romans overlooked these transactions while they were clearing the sea. But when this was accomplished, and while Pompey, the destroyer of the pirates, was still in Asia, the Mithridatic war was at once resumed and the command of it also given to Pompey. Since the campaign at sea, which preceded his war against Mithridates, was a part of the operations under his command, and does not find a fitting place in any other portion of my history, it seems well to introduce it here and to run over the events as they occurred.

CHAP. XIV

The command given to Pompey

92. When Mithridates first went to war with the Romans and subdued the province of Asia (Sulla being then pre-occupied with difficulties respecting Greece), he thought that he should not hold the province long, and accordingly plundered it in all sorts of ways, as I mentioned above, and sent out pirates on the sea. In the beginning they sailed around with a few small boats harassing the inhabitants like robbers. As the war lengthened they became more numerous and navigated larger ships. Having once tasted large gains, they did not desist even when Mithridates was defeated, made peace and retired. Having lost both livelihood and country by reason of the war and fallen into extreme destitution, they harvested the sea instead of the land, at first with pinnaces and hemiolii, then with two-bank and three-bank ships, sailing in squadrons under pirate chiefs, who were like generals of an army. They fell upon unfortified

B.C. 88

The pirates in the Mediterranean

B.C. 85

CAP. XIV καὶ ἑτέρων τὰ τείχη διορύττοντες ἢ κόπτοντες ἢ πολιορκίᾳ λαμβάνοντες, ἐσύλων· καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἷς τι πλέον εἴη, ἐς ναυλοχίαν ἐπὶ λύτροις ἀπῆγον. καὶ τάδε τὰ λήμματα, ἀδοξοῦντες ἤδη τὸ τῶν λῃστῶν ὄνομα, μισθοὺς ἐκάλουν στρατιωτικούς. χειροτέχνας τε εἶχον ἐπ' ἔργοις δεδεμένους, καὶ ὕλην ξύλου καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συμφέροντες οὔποτε ἐπαύοντο· ἐπαιρόμενοι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κέρδους, καὶ τὸ λῃστεύειν οὐκ ἐγνωκότες ἔτι μεθεῖναι, βασιλεῦσι δ' ἤδη καὶ τυράννοις ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλοις ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοιοῦντες, καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅτε συνέλθοιεν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες, ἄμαχοι γενήσεσθαι, ναῦς τε καὶ ὅπλα πάντα ἐτεκταίνοντο, μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τραχεῖαν λεγομένην Κιλικίαν, ἣν κοινὸν σφῶν ὕφορμον ἢ στρατόπεδον ἐτίθεντο εἶναι, φρούρια μὲν καὶ ἄκρας καὶ νήσους ἐρήμους καὶ ναυλοχίας ἔχοντες πολλαχοῦ, κυριωτάτας δὲ ἀφέσεις ἡγούμενοι τὰς περὶ τήνδε τὴν Κιλικίαν, τραχεῖάν τε καὶ ἀλίμενον οὖσαν καὶ κορυφαῖς μεγάλαις ἐξέχουσαν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ πάντες ὀνόματι κοινῷ Κίλικες ἐκαλοῦντο, ἀρξαμένου μὲν ἴσως τοῦ κακοῦ παρὰ τῶν Τραχεωτῶν Κιλίκων, συνεπιλαβόντων δὲ Σύρων τε καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ τῶν Ποντικῶν καὶ σχεδὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ἑῴων ἐθνῶν οἳ πολλοῦ καὶ χρονίου σφίσιν ὄντος τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου δρᾶν τι μᾶλλον ἢ πάσχειν αἱρούμενοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπελέγοντο, 93. ὥστε πολλαὶ τάχιστα αὐτῶν μυριάδες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐ μόνης ἔτι τῆς ἑῴας θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἁπάσης· καὶ γάρ τινας ἤδη Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὺς ναυμαχίᾳ ἐνενικήκεσαν,

towns, and undermined or battered down the walls of others, or captured them by regular siege and plundered them, carrying off the wealthier citizens to their haven of refuge and holding them for ransom. They now scorned the name of robbers and called their takings prizes of war. They had artisans chained to their tasks, and were continually bringing in materials of timber, brass and iron. Being elated by their gains and having given up all thought of changing their mode of life, they now likened themselves to kings, rulers and great armies, and thought that if they should all unite they would be invincible. They built ships and made all kinds of arms, their chief seat being the part of Cilicia called Tracheia (Craggy), which they had chosen as their common anchorage and encampment. They had forts and peaks and desert islands and retreats everywhere, but they chose for their principal rendezvous this part of the coast of Cilicia which was rough and harbourless and rose in high mountain peaks, for which reason they were all called by the common name of Cilicians. Perhaps this evil had its beginning among the men of Cilicia Tracheia, who were joined by men of Syrian, Cyprian, Pamphylian, and Pontic origin and those of almost all the Eastern nations, who, on account of the severity and length of the Mithridatic war, preferred to do wrong rather than to suffer it, and for this purpose chose the sea instead of the land. CHAP XIV

93. Thus, in a very short time, they increased in number to tens of thousands. They dominated now not only the Eastern waters, but the whole Mediterranean to the Pillars of Hercules. They now even vanquished some of the Roman generals in naval en-

CAP. XIV ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν τῆς Σικελίας περὶ αὐτῇ Σικελίᾳ. ἅπλωτά τε ἤδη πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἡ γῆ τῶν ἔργων ἐνδεὴς διὰ τὴν ἀνεπιμιξίαν. ἥ τε πόλις ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἤσθετο μάλιστα τοῦ κακοῦ, τῶν τε ὑπηκόων σφίσι καμνόντων, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἴδιον ἐπιπόνως λιμώττοντες. τὸ δ' ἔργον αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο μέγα καὶ δυσχερές, ἐξελεῖν τοσάδε στρατόπεδα ἀνδρῶν ναυτικῶν, μεμερισμένα μὲν ἐς πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, κοῦφα δὲ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐς τὸ ὑποφεύγειν, οὐκ ἐκ πατρίδων ἢ φανερᾶς χώρας ὁρμώμενα, οὐδ' οἰκεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἴδιον ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ προστυχὸν ἔχοντα. ὥστε πολὺς ὢν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου παράλογος, ἔννομον οὐδὲν ἔχοντος οὐδὲ βέβαιον οὐδὲ φανερόν, ἀμηχανίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φόβον εἰργάζετο. Μουρήνας τε ἐγχειρήσας αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἐξείργαστο μέγα. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Σερουίλιος Ἰσαυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Μουρήνᾳ, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἰταλικῆς τοῖς παραλίοις, ἀμφί τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν, ἐπέβαινον οἱ λῃσταὶ σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ γύναια παροδεύοντα τῶν εὐπατριδῶν καὶ δύο στρατηγοὺς αὐτοῖς σημείοις συνηρπάκεσαν.

94. Ὧν οὔτε τὴν βλάβην οὔτε τὴν αἰσχύνην ἔτι φέροντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν τότε σφῶν ἐπὶ δόξης ὄντα μεγίστης Γναῖον Πομπήιον αἱροῦνται νόμῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τριετὲς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι θαλάσσης τε ἁπάσης ἢ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐντός ἐστι, καὶ γῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους ἄνω. βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις ἐπέστελλον ἐς πάντα συλλαμβάνειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ στρατιὰν κατα-

gagements, and among others the praetor of Sicily on the Sicilian coast itself. No sea could be navigated in safety, and land remained untilled for want of commercial intercourse. The city of Rome felt this evil most keenly, her subjects being distressed and herself suffering grievously from hunger by reason of her own populousness. But it appeared to her to be a great and difficult task to destroy so large a force of seafaring men scattered everywhither on land and sea, with no fixed possession to encumber their flight, sallying out from no particular country or any known places, having no property or anything to call their own, but only what they might chance to light upon. Thus the unexampled nature of this war, which was subject to no laws and had nothing tangible or visible about it, caused perplexity and fear. Murena had attacked them, but accomplished nothing worth mention, nor had Servilius Isauricus, who succeeded him. And now the pirates contemptuously assailed the very coasts of Italy, around Brundusium and Etruria, and seized and carried off some women of noble families who were travelling, and also two praetors with their very insignia of office.

Distress and anxiety at Rome

94. When the Romans could no longer endure the damage and disgrace they made Gnaeus Pompey, who was then their man of greatest reputation, commander by law for three years, with absolute power over the whole sea within the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for a distance of 400 stades from the coast. They sent letters to all kings, rulers, peoples and cities, that they should aid Pompey in all ways. They gave him power to raise troops and

B.C. 67

Pompey assigned command against the pirates

CAP. XIV λέγειν ἔδοσαν καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν. συνέπεμψαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ σφῶν στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ καταλόγου, καὶ ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον, καὶ χρημάτων ἐς ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα Ἀττικά. οὕτω μέγα καὶ δυσεργὲς ἡγοῦντο εἶναι τοσῶνδε κρατῆσαι στρατοπέδων, ἐν τοσῇδε θαλάσσῃ καὶ μυχοῖς τοσοῖσδε διαλανθανόντων τε εὐμαρῶς καὶ ὑποχωρούντων ῥᾳδίως καὶ ἐμπιπτόντων αὖθις ἀφανῶς. ἀνήρ τε οὐδείς πω πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐπὶ τοσήνδε ἀρχὴν αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξέπλευσεν, ᾧ στρατιὰ μὲν αὐτίκα ἦν ἐν δώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῖς τετρακισχίλιοι, νῆες δὲ σὺν ἡμιολίαις ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διακόσιαι, ὑπηρέται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οὓς καλοῦσι πρεσβευτάς, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδιήρει τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ναῦς ἐδίδου καὶ ἱππέας ἑκάστῳ καὶ στρατὸν πεζόν, καὶ στρατηγίας σημεῖα περικεῖσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐντελὴς οὗ πιστεύοιτο μέρους ἕκαστος ὑπάρχοι, αὐτὸς δ', οἷα δὴ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, αὐτοὺς περιθέοι καὶ ἐφορῴη μένοντας ἐφ' ὧν ἐτάχθησαν, μηδὲ μεταδιώκων τοὺς λῃστὰς περιφέροιτο ἐξ ἔργων ἀτελῶν ἔτι ὄντων ἐς ἕτερα, ἀλλ' εἶεν οἱ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῶντές τε καὶ τὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαδρομὰς ἀποκλείοντες.

95. Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντα, ἐπεστησεν Ἰβηρίᾳ μὲν καὶ ταῖς Ἡρακλείοις στήλαις Τιβέριον Νέρωνα καὶ Μάλλιον Τορκουᾶτον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Λιγυστικήν τε καὶ Κελτικὴν θάλασσαν Μᾶρκον Πομπώνιον, Λιβύῃ δὲ καὶ Σαρδόνι καὶ Κύρνῳ, καὶ ὅσαι πλησίον νῆσοι, Λέντλον τε Μαρκελλῖνον καὶ Πόπλιον Ἀτίλιον, περὶ

to collect money from the provinces, and they furnished a large army from their own muster-roll, and all the ships they had, and money to the amount of 6000 Attic talents,—so great and difficult did they consider the task of overcoming such great forces, dispersed over so wide a sea, hiding easily in so many nooks, retreating quickly and darting out again unexpectedly. Never did any man before Pompey set forth with so great authority conferred upon him by the Romans. Presently he had an army of 120,000 foot and 4000 horse, and 270 ships, including hemiolii. He had twenty-five assistants of senatorial rank, whom they call *legati*,[1] among whom he divided the sea, giving ships, cavalry and infantry to each, and investing them with the insignia of praetors, in order that each one might have absolute authority over the part entrusted to him, while he, Pompey, like a king of kings, should move to and fro among them to see that they remained where they were stationed, lest, while he was pursuing the pirates in one place, he should be drawn to something else before his work was finished, and in order that there might be forces to encounter them everywhere and to prevent them from forming junctions with each other.

His arrangements for attacking them

95. Pompey disposed of the whole in the following manner. He put Tiberius Nero and Manlius Torquatus in command of Spain and the Pillars of Hercules. He assigned Marcus Pomponius to the Gallic and Ligurian waters. Africa, Sardinia, Corsica and the neighbouring islands were committed to Lentulus Marcellinus and Publius Atilius, and the

[1] Official assistants given to a general or the governor of a province.

CAP. XIV δὲ αὐτὴν Ἰταλίαν Λεύκιον Γέλλιον καὶ Γναῖον Λέντλον. Σικελίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐφύλασσον αὐτῷ Πλώτιός τε Οὐᾶρος καὶ Τερέντιος Οὐάρρων μέχρι Ἀκαρνανίας, Πελοπόννησον δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἔτι δ' Εὔβοιαν καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Βοιωτίαν Λεύκιος Σισιννᾶς, τὰς δὲ νήσους καὶ τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἅπαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Λεύκιος Λόλλιος, Βιθυνίαν δὲ καὶ Θράκην καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πόντου στόμα Πούπλιος Πείσων, Λυκίαν δὲ καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην Μέτελλος Νέπως. ὧδε μὲν αὐτῷ διετετάχατο οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν τε καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ φυλάσσειν τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐκφεύγοντας ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἵνα μὴ διώκοντες ἀφίσταιντο μακράν, μηδὲ ὡς ἐν δρόμῳ περιφέροιντο, καὶ χρόνιον εἴη τὸ ἔργον, αὐτὸς δ' ἅπαντας ἐπέπλει. καὶ τὰ ἐς δύσιν πρῶτα ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ἐπιδὼν ἐς Ῥώμην παρῆλθεν. ὅθεν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, καὶ ἐκ Βρεντεσίου τοσῷδε διαστήματι τὴν ἕω περιπλεύσας, ἐξέπληξεν ἅπαντας τάχει τε ἐπίπλου καὶ μεγέθει παρασκευῆς καὶ φόβῳ δόξης, ὥστε τοὺς ληστὰς ἐλπίσαντας αὐτῷ προεπιχειρήσειν, ἢ οὐκ εὐμαρές γε τὸ κατὰ σφῶν ἔργον ἀποδείξειν, δείσαντας εὐθὺς τῶν τε πόλεων ἃς ἐπολιόρκουν ἐξαναχθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὰς συνήθεις ἄκρας καὶ ναυλοχίας ὑποφεύγειν, καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν αὐτίκα ἀμαχὶ κεκαθάρθαι, τοὺς δὲ ληστὰς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἁλίσκεσθαι πανταχοῦ κατὰ μέρη.

96. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Κιλικίαν ἠπείγετο μετὰ ποικί-

coast of Italy itself to Lucius Gellius and Gnaeus Lentulus. Sicily and the Adriatic as far as Acarnania were assigned to Plotius Varus, and Terentius Varro; the Peloponnesus, Attica, Euboea, Thessaly, Macedonia and Boeotia to Lucius Sisenna; the Greek islands, the whole Aegean sea, and the Hellespont in addition, to Lucius Lollius; Bithynia, Thrace, the Propontis and the mouth of the Euxine to Publius Piso; Lycia, Pamphylia, Cyprus and Phoenicia to Metellus Nepos. Thus were the commands of the praetors arranged for the purpose of attacking, defending and guarding their respective assignments, so that each might catch the pirates put to flight by others, and not be drawn a long distance from their own stations by the pursuit, nor carried round and round as in a race, and the time for doing the work protracted. Pompey himself made a tour of the whole. He first inspected the western stations, accomplishing the task in forty days, and passing through Rome on his return. Thence he went to Brundusium and, proceeding from this place, he occupied an equal time in visiting the eastern stations. He astonished all by the rapidity of his movement, the magnitude of his preparations, and his formidable reputation, so that the pirates, who had expected to attack him first, or at least to show that the task he had undertaken against them was no easy one, became straightway alarmed, abandoned their assaults upon the towns they were besieging, and fled to their accustomed peaks and inlets. Thus the sea was cleared by Pompey forthwith and without a fight, and the pirates were everywhere subdued by the praetors at their several stations.

CHAP. XIV

96. Pompey himself hastened to Cilicia with forces

He proceeds to Cilicia

CAP. XIV

λου στρατοῦ καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν, ἐλπίσας παντοίας μάχης καὶ πολιορκίας αὐτῷ δεήσειν ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἀποκρήμνους. οὐδενὸς δὲ ἐδεήσε· τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν οἱ λῃσταὶ καταπλαγέντες, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ μὴ διὰ μάχης ἔλθοιεν, τεύξεσθαι φιλανθρώπου, πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Κράγον καὶ Ἀντίκραγον εἶχον, φρούρια μέγιστα, μετὰ δ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄρειοι Κίλικες καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, ὅπλα τε ὁμοῦ πολλά, τὰ μὲν ἕτοιμα τὰ δὲ χαλκευόμενα, παρέδωκαν, καὶ ναῦς τὰς μὲν ἔτι πηγνυμένας τὰς δ' ἤδη πλεούσας, χαλκόν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἐς ταῦτα συνενηνεγμένον καὶ ὀθόνας καὶ κάλως καὶ ὕλην ποικίλην, αἰχμαλώτων τε πλῆθος, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ λύτροις τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔργοις δεδεμένων. ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἐνέπρησε, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀπήγαγε, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἀφῆκε· καὶ πολλοὶ κενοτάφια σφῶν κατέλαβον ὡς ἐπὶ νεκροῖς γενόμενα. τοὺς δὲ πειρατὰς οἱ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν οὐχ ὑπὸ μοχθηρίας ἀλλ' ἀπορίᾳ βίου διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐλθεῖν, ἐς Μαλλὸν καὶ Ἄδανα καὶ Ἐπιφάνειαν, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλισμα ἔρημον ἢ ὀλιγάνθρωπον ἦν τῆσδε τῆς τραχείας Κιλικίας, συνῴκιζε· τοὺς δέ τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐξέπεμπεν. ὧδε μὲν ὁ λῃστρικὸς πόλεμος, χαλεπώτατος ἔσεσθαι νομισθείς, ὀλιγήμερος ἐγένετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ ναῦς ἔλαβε τὰς μὲν ἑλούτας μίαν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, τὰς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδοθείσας ἓξ καὶ τριακοσίας, πόλεις δὲ καὶ φρούρια καὶ ὁρμητήρια ἄλλα αὐτῶν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. λῃσταὶ δ' ἀνῃρέθησαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους.

of various kinds and many engines, as he expected that there would be need of every kind of fighting and every kind of siege against their precipitous peaks; but he needed nothing. The terror of his name and the greatness of his preparations had produced a panic among the robbers. They hoped that if they did not resist they might receive lenient treatment. First, those who held Cragus and Anticragus, their largest citadels, surrendered themselves, and after them the mountaineers of Cilicia, and, finally, all, one after another. They gave up at the same time a great quantity of arms, some completed, others in the workshops; also their ships, some still on the stocks, others already afloat; also brass and iron collected for building them, and sail-cloth, rope and timber of all kinds; and finally a multitude of captives either held for ransom or chained to their tasks. Pompey burned the timber, carried away the ships and sent the captives back to their respective countries. Many of them there found their own cenotaphs, for they were supposed to be dead. Those pirates who had evidently fallen into this way of life not from wickedness, but from poverty consequent upon the war, Pompey settled in Mallus, Adana, and Epiphaneia, or any other uninhabited or thinly peopled town in Cilicia Tracheia. Some of them, too, he sent to Dyme in Achaia. Thus the war against the pirates, which it was supposed would prove very difficult, was brought to an end by Pompey in a few days. He took seventy-one ships by capture and 306 by surrender from the pirates, and about 120 of their towns, fortresses and other places of rendezvous. About 10,000 of the pirates were slain in battles.

He captures and destroys their strongholds

XV

CAP. XV

97. Ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις ὀξέως τε οὕτω καὶ παραδόξως γενομένοις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Πομπήιον μέγα ἐπαίροντες, ἔτι ὄντα περὶ Κιλικίαν εἵλοντο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁμοίας ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα, ὅπῃ θέλοι, συντίθεσθαί τε καὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ φίλους ἢ πολεμίους Ῥωμαίοις οὓς δοκιμάσειε ποιεῖσθαι· στρατιᾶς τε πάσης, ὅση πέραν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν ἔδωκαν. ἅπερ οὐδενί πω παντάπασι πρὸ τοῦδε ὁμοῦ πάντα ἐδόθη. καὶ ἴσως αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τάδε μέγαν ὀνομάζουσιν· ὁ γάρ τοι πόλεμος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν ἐξήνυστο ἤδη.

Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατὸν ἀγείρας μετεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ ἦν ἐπίλεκτος οἰκεῖος στρατός, τρισμύριοι πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς τρισχίλιοι, καὶ προὐκάθητο τῆς χώρας. ἄρτι δ' αὐτὴν Λευκόλλου διεφθαρκότος ἀπόρως εἶχεν ἀγορᾶς· ὅθεν αὐτομολίαις ἐπετίθεντο πολλοί. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐρευνώμενος ἐκρήμνη καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνώρυττε καὶ ἔκαιεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν αὐτομολιῶν ἧσσον ἠνώχλει διὰ φόβον τῶν κολάσεων, ἐπέτριβε δ' ἡ ἀπορία.

98. Πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Πομπήιον πέμψας ἠξίου μαθεῖν, τίς ἂν εἴη τοῦ πολέμου διάλυσις. ὁ δ' "ἐὰν τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἡμῖν παραδῷς" ἔφη, "καὶ σεαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψῃς." ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος τοῖς αὐτομόλοις τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔφρασε, καὶ δεδιότας ὁρῶν ὤμοσεν ὅτι οἱ τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους

XV

CHAP. XV

Extraordinary powers given to Pompey

97. For this victory, so swiftly and unexpectedly gained, the Romans extolled Pompey greatly; and while he was still in Cilicia they chose him commander of the war against Mithridates, giving him the same unlimited powers as before, to make war and peace as he liked, and to proclaim nations friends or enemies according to his own judgment. They gave him command of all the forces beyond the borders of Italy. All these powers together had never been given to any one general before; and this is perhaps the reason why they call him Pompey the Great, for the Mithridatic war had been already finished by his predecessors. He accordingly collected his army and marched to the territory of Mithridates. The latter had an army, selected from his own forces, of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, stationed on his frontier; but since Lucullus had lately devastated that region there was a scant supply of provisions, and for this reason many of his men deserted. The deserters whom he caught he crucified, put out their eyes, or burned them alive. But while the fear of punishment lessened the number of deserters, the scarcity of provisions weakened him.

He marches against Mithridates

98. So he sent envoys to Pompey asking on what terms he could obtain peace. Pompey replied, "By delivering up our deserters and surrendering at discretion." When Mithridates was made acquainted with these terms he communicated them to the deserters, and when he observed their consternation he swore that on account of the cupidity of the Romans he would never make

CAP. XV

ἐστὶν ἄσπονδα διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκδώσει τινά, οὐδὲ πράξει ποτὲ ὃ μὴ κοινῇ πᾶσι συνοίσει. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐνέδραν ποι καθεὶς ἱππέων, ἑτέρους ἔπεμπεν ἐκ φανεροῦ τοῖς προφύλαξι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ εἴρητο αὐτοῖς . . . ἐρεθίζειν καὶ ὑποφεύγειν ὥσπερ ἡττωμένους, . . . ἔστε περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας περιλαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ φεύγουσι τάχ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνεσεπήδησαν, εἰ μὴ δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς προήγαγε τὸ πεζόν. οἱ δ' ἀπεχώρουν. καὶ τέλος ἦν τοῦτο τῇ πρώτῃ Πομπηίου καὶ Μιθριδάτου πείρᾳ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἱππομαχίᾳ.

99. Ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄκων ὑπεχώρει, καὶ ἐσεδέχετο Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐλπίζων καθήμενον ἐν τῇδε τῇ διεφθαρμένῃ κακοπαθήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀγορὰν μὲν ἐπακτὸν ἐκ τῶν ὄπισθεν εἶχε, περιελθὼν δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἕω τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, καὶ φρούρια αὐτῷ καὶ στρατόπεδα πολλὰ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους περιθεὶς ἀπετάφρευε τοῦ μὴ σιτολογεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐμαρῶς. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποταφρεύοντι μὲν οὐκ ἐπετίθετο, εἴθ' ὑπὸ δέους εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας, ἣ πᾶσιν ἐγγίγνεται πλησιαζόντων τῶν κακῶν, κάμνων δ' αὖθις ἐξ ἀπορίας τὰ ὑποζύγια ὅσα εἶχε κατέκοπτε, τοὺς ἵππους μόνους περιποιούμενος, ἔστε μόλις ἐς πεντήκοντα διαρκέσας ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἀπεδίδρασκε σὺν σιωπῇ βαθείᾳ δι' ὁδῶν δυσχερῶν. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν μολις ἡμέρας ὁ Πομπήιος καταλαβὼν εἶχετο τῶν ὑστάτων, ὁ μὲν καὶ τότε τῶν φίλων

peace with them, nor would he give up anybody to them, nor would he ever do anything that was not for the common advantage of all. So spake Mithridates. Then Pompey placed a cavalry force in ambush, and sent forward others to harass the king's outposts openly, and ordered them to provoke <the enemy> and then retreat, as though vanquished. <This was done> until those in ambush took their enemy in the rear and put them to flight. The Romans might have broken into the enemy's camp along with the fugitives had not the king, apprehending this danger, led forward his infantry, whereupon the Romans retired. This was the result of the first trial of arms and cavalry engagement between Pompey and Mithridates. CHAP XV

99. The king, being distressed by lack of provisions, retreated reluctantly and allowed Pompey to enter his territory, expecting that he also would suffer from scarcity when encamped in the devastated region. But Pompey had arranged to have his supplies sent after him. He passed round to the eastward of Mithridates, established a series of fortified posts and camps in a circle of 150 stades, and drew a line of circumvallation around him in order to make foraging no longer easy for him. The king did not oppose this work, either from fear, or from that mental paralysis which afflicts all men on the approach of calamity. Being again pressed for supplies he slaughtered his pack animals, keeping only his horses. Finally, when he had scarcely fifty days' provisions left he fled by night, in profound silence, by bad roads. Pompey overtook him with difficulty in the daytime and assailed his rearguard. The king's friends then again urged him to prepare for B.C. 66

The king retreats by night

Pompey overtakes and defeats him

CAP. XV ἐκτάξαι κελευόντων οὐκ ἐμάχετο, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι μόνοις τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀνακόπτων ἐσπέρας ἐν ὕλαις ηὐλίσατο πυκναῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ χωρίον κατέλαβε περίκρημνον, οὗ μία ἐς αὐτὸ ἄνοδος ἦν, καὶ τέσσαρες αὐτὴν σπεῖραι προὐφύλασσον. ἀντεφύλασσον δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ διαφυγεῖν Μιθριδάτην.

100. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτῶν ὥπλιζεν ἑκάτερος, οἱ προφύλακες δ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ πρανὲς ἀπεπειρῶντο· καί τινες ἱππεῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χωρίς τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐβοήθουν τοῖς σφετέροις προφύλαξιν. πλειόνων δέ σφισι Ῥωμαίων ἱππέων ἐπιόντων, οἱ ἄνιπποι τῶν Μιθριδατείων οἵδε ἀθρόως ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, ἀναβησόμενοί τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι Ῥωμαίοις συνοισόμενοι. κατιδόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνω ἔτι ὁπλιζόμενοι σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ προσθέοντας, καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον οὐκ εἰδότες ἀλλὰ φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβόντες, ὡς εἰλημμένου σφῶν ἤδη καθ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τὰ ὅπλα μεθέντες ἔφευγον. ἀδιεξόδου δ' ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου προσέπταιον ἀλλήλοις ἀναστρεφόμενοι, μέχρι καθήλαντο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν. οὕτω μὲν ἡ στρατιὰ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ διὰ προπέτειαν τῶν ἄνευ προστάγματος τοῖς προμάχοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἑλομένων θορυβηθεῖσα διέφθαρτο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον εὔκολον ἦν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, κτείνοντι καὶ συλλαμβάνοντι ἀνόπλους ἔτι καὶ ἐν περικρήμνῳ συγκεκλεισμένους. καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν ἐς μυρίους, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅλῃ τῇ παρασκευῇ κατελήφθη.

101. Μιθριδάτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν

battle, but he would not fight. He merely drove back the assailants with his horse and retired into the thick woods in the evening. The following day he took up a strong position defended by rocks, to which there was access by only one road, which he held with an advance guard of four cohorts. The Romans put an opposing force on guard there to prevent Mithridates from escaping. CHAP. XV

100. At daybreak both commanders put their forces under arms. The outposts began skirmishing on the slope and some of the king's horsemen, without their horses and without orders, went to the assistance of their advance guard. A larger number of the Roman cavalry came up against them, and these horseless soldiers of Mithridates rushed in a body back to their camp to mount their horses and meet the advancing Romans on equal terms. When those who were still arming on the higher ground looked down and saw their own men running towards them with haste and outcries, but did not know the reason, they thought that they had been put to flight. They threw down their arms and fled, thinking that their camp had already been captured on either side. As there was no road out of the place they fell foul of each other in the confusion, until finally they leaped down the precipices. Thus the army of Mithridates perished through the rashness of those who caused a panic by going to the assistance of the advance guard without orders. Pompey was left the easy task of killing and capturing men not yet armed and shut up in a rocky defile. About 10,000 were slain and the camp with all its war-material was taken.

101. Mithridates, forcing his way to the cliffs, accom-

CAP. XV

μόνων ὡσάμενος ἐς τὰ κατάκρημνα καὶ διαφυγὼν ἐνέτυχέ τισιν ἱππεῦσι μισθοφόροις καὶ πεζοῖς ὡς τρισχιλίοις, οἳ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συνείποντο ἐς Σινόρηγα φρούριον, ἔνθα αὐτῷ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐσεσώρευτο· καὶ δωρεὰν καὶ μισθὸν ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῖς συμφυγοῦσι διέδωκεν. φέρων δ' ἐς ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πηγὰς ἠπείγετο ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐς Κόλχους περάσων. δρόμῳ δ' ἀπαύστῳ χρώμενος τὸν μὲν Εὐφράτην ὑπερῆλθεν ἡμέρᾳ μάλιστα τετάρτῃ, τρισὶ δ' ἄλλαις καθιστάμενος καὶ ὁπλίζων τοὺς συνόντας ἢ προσιόντας ἐς τὴν Χωτηνὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ἔνθα Χωτηνοὺς μὲν καὶ Ἴβηρας, κωλύοντας αὐτὸν βέλεσι καὶ σφενδόναις, ἐλαύνων διῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄψαρον ποταμόν. Ἴβηρας δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ οἱ μὲν προγόνους οἱ δ' ἀποίκους ἡγοῦνται τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἰβήρων, οἱ δὲ μόνον ὁμωνύμους· ἔθος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦν ὅμοιον, ἡ γλῶσσα. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐν Διοσκούροις χειμάζων, ἥν τινα πόλιν οἱ Κόλχοι σύμβολον ἡγοῦνται τῆς Διοσκούρων σὺν Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιδημίας, οὐδὲν σμικρόν, οὐδ' οἷον ἐν φυγῇ, διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τὸν Πόντον ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ Σκύθας ἐπὶ τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην ὑπερελθὼν ἐς Βόσπορον ἐμβαλεῖν, τήν τε Μαχάρους τοῦ παιδὸς ἀρχήν, ἀχαρίστου περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένου, παραλαβὼν αὖθις ἐκ μετώπου Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης οὖσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, τὸν πόρον ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος, ὃν κληθῆναι νομίζουσι Βόσπορον Ἰοῦς διανηξαμένης, ὅτε βοῦς γενομένη κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν Ἥρας ἔφευγεν.

panied only by his body-guard, effected his escape, and fell in with a troop of mercenary horse and about 3000 foot who followed him directly to the fortress of Sinorex, where he had accumulated a large sum of money. Here he gave rewards and a year's pay to those who had fled with him. Taking about 6000 talents he hastened to the head waters of the Euphrates, intending to proceed thence to Colchis. Marching without halt, he crossed the Euphrates on about the fourth day. Three days later he put in order and armed the forces that had accompanied or joined him, and entered Armenia at Chotene. There the Chotenean and Iberians tried with darts and slings to prevent him from coming in, but he advanced through them and proceeded to the river Apsarus. Some people think that the Iberians of Asia were the ancestors of the Iberians of Europe: others think that the former emigrated from the latter; still others think they merely have the same name, as their customs and languages were not similar. Mithridates wintered at Dioscurias in Colchis, which city, the Colchians think, preserves the remembrance of the sojourn there of the Dioscuri with the Argonautic expedition. Here he conceived the vast plan, a strange one for a fugitive, of making the circuit of the whole Pontus, and then of Scythia and the sea of Azov, thus arriving at the Bosporus. He intended to take away the kingdom of Machares, his ungrateful son, and confront the Romans once more; wage war against them from the side of Europe while they were in Asia, and put between them the strait which is believed to have been called the Bosporus because Io swam across it when she was changed into a cow and fled from the jealousy of Hera.

CHAP. XV

Mithridates flees to Armenia

And thence to the Scythians

CAP. XV

102. Ἐς τοσοῦτο παραδοξολογίας ἐπειγόμενος ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐφικέσθαι ὅμως ἐπενόει, καὶ διώδευεν ἔθνη Σκυθικὰ καὶ πολεμικὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια πείθων ἢ βιαζόμενος· οὕτω καὶ φεύγων καὶ ἀτυχῶν αἰδέσιμος ἔτι καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν. Ἡνιόχους μὲν οὖν δεχομένους αὐτὸν παρώδευεν, Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἐτρέψατο διώκων· οὓς ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπανιόντας φασὶν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐκπεσεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ παθεῖν ὡς Ἕλληνας ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, πέμψαντας δ' ἐπὶ ναῦς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας καὶ ὑπεροφθέντας μηνῖσαι τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ γένει, καὶ Σκυθικῶς ὅσους ἕλοιεν Ἑλλήνων καταθύειν, πρῶτα μὲν ἅπαντας ὑπ' ὀργῆς, σὺν χρόνῳ δὲ τοὺς καλλίστους αὐτῶν μόνους, μετὰ δὲ τοὺς κληρουμένους. καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν· ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν ἐμβαλών, ἧς εἰσὶ πολλοὶ δυνάσται, πάντων αὐτὸν κατὰ κλέος ἔργων τε καὶ ἀρχῆς, καὶ δυνάμεως ἔτι οἱ παρούσης ἀξιολόγου, δεχομένων τε καὶ παραπεμπόντων, καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ φερόντων καὶ κομιζομένων ἕτερα, ὁ δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐτίθετο, ἐπινοῶν ἕτερα καινότερα, διὰ Θρᾴκης ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ διὰ Μακεδόνων ἐς Παίονας ἐμβαλὼν ὑπερελθεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη· γάμους τε θυγατέρων ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δυνατωτέροις αὐτῶν ἠγγύα. Μαχάρης δ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς πυνθανόμενος ὁδόν τε τοσαύτην ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ ἄγρια ἔθνη καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κλεῖθρα Σκυθῶν, οὐδενί πω

102. Such was the chimerical project that Mithridates now eagerly pursued. He imagined nevertheless, that he should accomplish it. He pushed on through strange and warlike Scythian tribes, partly by permission, partly by force, so respected and feared was he still, although a fugitive and in misfortune. He passed through the country of the Heniochi, who recieved him willingly. The Achaeans, who resisted him, he put to flight. These, it is said, when returning from the siege of Troy, were driven by a storm into the Euxine sea and underwent great sufferings there at the hands of the barbarians because they were Greeks; and when they sent to their home for ships and their request was disregarded, they conceived such a hatred for the Grecian race that whenever they captured any Greeks they immolated them in Scythian fashion. At first in their anger they served all in this way, afterwards only the handsomest ones, and finally a few chosen by lot. So much for the Achaeans of Scythia. Mithridates finally reached the Azov country, of which there were many princes, all of whom received him, escorted him, and exchanged numerous presents with him, on account of the fame of his deeds, his empire, and his power, which was still not to be despised. He even formed an alliance with them in contemplation of other and more novel exploits, such as marching through Thrace to Macedonia, through Macedonia to Pannonia, and passing over the Alps into Italy. With the more powerful of these princes he cemented the alliance by giving them his daughters in marriage. When his son, Machares, learned that he had made such a journey in so short a time among savage tribes, and through the so-called Scythian

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CAP. XV γεγονότα περατά, διοδεῦσαι, πρέσβεις μέν τινας ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ἀπολογησομένους ὡς ἀνάγκῃ θεραπεύσειε Ῥωμαίους, ὀργὴν δὲ ἄκρον εἰδὼς ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ χερρόνησον, τὰς ναῦς διαπρήσας, ἵνα μὴ διώξειεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ. ἑτέρας δ' ἐπιπέμψαντος ἐκείνου, προλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιόντι ἐδεδώκει, πάντας ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπαθεῖς ὡς ὑπηρέτας ἰδίου φίλου γενομένους ἀφῆκεν.

103. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτὸν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ μέχρι Κόλχων ἐδίωξε, μετὰ δέ, οὐδαμὰ δύξας αὐτὸν οὔτε τὸν Πόντον οὔτε τὴν Μαιώτιδα λίμνην περιελεύσεσθαι, οὐδὲ μεγάλοις ἔτι πράγμασιν ἐγχειρήσειν ἐκπεσόντα, τοὺς Κόλχους ἐπῆει καθ' ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐπιδημίας, τὸ πάθος μάλιστα ἰδεῖν ἐθέλων ὃ Προμηθεῖ φασὶ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ Καύκασον ὄρος. χρυσοφοροῦσι δ' ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου πηγαὶ πολλαὶ ψῆγμα ἀφανές· καὶ οἱ περίοικοι κώδια τιθέντες ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα βαθύμαλλα, τὸ ψῆγμα ἐνισχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐκλέγουσιν. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν ἴσως καὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον Αἰήτου δέρος. τὸν οὖν Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἀνιόντα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρέπεμπον, ὅσα ἔθνη γείτονα· Ὀροίζης δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀλβανῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀρτώκης ὁ Ἰβήρων ἑπτὰ μυριάσιν ἐλόχων ἀμφὶ τὸν Κύρτον ποταμόν, ὃς δώδεκα στόμασι πλωτοῖς ἐς τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν ἐρεύγεται, πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόν-

Gates, which had never been passed by any one before, he sent envoys to him to defend himself, saying that he had been under the necessity of conciliating the Romans. But, knowing his father's violent temper, he fled to the Pontic Chersonesus, burning his ships to prevent his father from pursuing him. When the latter procured other ships and sent them after him, he anticipated his fate by killing himself. Mithridates put to death all of his own friends whom he had left here in places of authority when he went away, but those of his son he dismissed unharmed, as they had acted under the obligations of private friendship. 103. This was the state of things with Mithridates. CHAP XV

Pompey at once pursued Mithridates in his flight as far as Colchis, but he thought that his foe would never get round to Pontus or to the sea of Azov, or undertake anything great now that he had been driven out of his kingdom. He advanced to Colchis in order to gain knowledge of the country visited by the Argonauts, the Dioscuri, and Hercules, and he especially desired to see the place where they say that Prometheus was fastened to Mount Caucasus. Many streams issue from Caucasus bearing gold-dust so fine as to be invisible. The inhabitants put sheepskins with shaggy fleece into the stream and thus collect the floating particles; and perhaps the golden fleece of Aeetes was of this kind. All the neighbouring tribes accompanied Pompey on his exploring expedition. Only Oroezes, king of the Albanians, and Artoces, king of the Iberians, placed 70,000 men in ambush for him at the river Cyrtus, which empties into the Caspian sea by twelve navigable mouths, receiving the waters of several B.C. 66 Pompey advances to Colchis

CAP. XV

των ποταμῶν, καὶ μεγίστου παντων Αράξου. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Πομπήιος τὸν ποταμὸν ἐζεύγνυ, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους συνελάσας ἐς λόχμην βαθεῖαν (ὑλομαχῆσαι δ' εἰσὶ δεινοί, κρυπτόμενοί τε καὶ ἐπιόντες ἀφανῶς) αὐτῇ λόχμῃ τὸν στρατὸν περιστήσας ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ἅπαντες ὅμηρά τε καὶ δῶρα ἤνεγκαν. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε. πολλαὶ δὲ ἔν τε τοῖς ὁμήροις καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ηὑρέθησαν γυναῖκες, οὐ μείονα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τραύματα ἔχουσαι· καὶ ἐδόκουν Ἀμαζόνες εἶναι, εἴτε τι ἔθνος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς γειτονεῦον αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ἐπίκλητοι τότε ἐς συμμαχίαν γενόμεναι, εἴτε τινὰς πολεμικὰς ὅλως γυναῖκας οἱ τῇδε βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν Ἀμαζόνας.

104. Ἐπανιὼν δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐστράτευσεν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν, ἔγκλημα ἐς Τιγράνη τιθέμενος ὅτι συνεμάχει Μιθριδάτῃ· καὶ ἦν ἤδη περὶ Ἀρτάξατα τὴν βασίλειον. Τιγράνῃ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωστο μὲν πολεμεῖν ἔτι, παῖδες δ' ἐκ τῆς Μιθριδάτου θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ ἐγεγένηντο, ὧν δύο μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Τιγράνης ἀνῃρήκει, τὸν μὲν ἐν μάχῃ, πολεμοῦντά οἱ, τὸν δ' ἐν κυνηγεσίοις, αὐτοῦ πεσόντος ἀμελήσαντα καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενον ἔτι κειμένου. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, Τιγράνης, ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις ὑπεραλγήσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστεφάνωτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπὼν ἀπέστη καὶ ὅδε, καὶ πολεμῶν

large streams, the greatest of which is the Araxes. Pompey, discovering the ambush, bridged the river and drove the barbarians into a thick wood. These people are skilful forest-fighters, taking cover and attacking without shewing themselves. So Pompey surrounded the wood with his army, set it on fire, and pursued the fugitives when they ran out, until they all surrendered and brought him hostages and presents. Pompey was afterwards awarded one of his triumphs at Rome for these exploits. Among the hostages and prisoners many women were found, who had suffered wounds no less than the men. These were supposed to be Amazons, but whether the Amazons are a neighbouring nation, who were called to their aid at that time, or whether any warlike women are called Amazons by the barbarians there, is not known.

He fights a battle with the barbarians

104. On his return from that quarter Pompey marched against Armenia, making it a cause of war against Tigranes that he had assisted Mithridates. He was now not far from the royal residence, Artaxata. Tigranes was resolved to fight no longer. He had had three sons by the daughter of Mithridates, two of whom he had himself killed—one in battle, where the son was fighting against the father, and the other in the hunting-field because he had neglected to assist his father who had been thrown, but had put the diadem on his own head while the father was lying on the ground. The third one, whose name was Tigranes, had seemed to be much distressed by his father's hunting accident, and had received a crown from him, but, nevertheless, he also deserted him after a short interval, waged war against him, was defeated, and fled to

He marches against Tigranes

CAP. XV τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡττώμενος ἐς Φραάτην ἐπεφεύγει τὸν Παρθυαίων βασιλέα, ἄρτι τὴν Σιντρίκου τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν διαδεδεγμένον. πλησιάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου κοινωσάμενος Φραάτῃ, συγχωροῦντός τι κἀκείνου καὶ φιλίαν ἰδίαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον μνωμένου, κατέφυγεν ὁ παῖς ἱκέτης ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, καὶ ταῦτα ὢν Μιθριδάτου θυγατριδοῦς. ἀλλὰ μέγα δικαιοσύνης καὶ πίστεως κλέος ἦν τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ᾧ δὴ πίσυνος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Τιγράνης οὐδ' ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος ἦλθε, τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ δίκαια Πομπηίῳ, καὶ κατηγορήσων τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ Πομπηίου. χιλιάρχους δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἱππάρχους ἐπὶ τιμῇ κελεύσαντος ὑπαντᾶν τοῦ Πομπηίου, οἱ μὲν ὄντες ἀμφὶ τὸν Τιγράνη τὸ ἀκήρυκτον τῆς ὁδοῦ δεδιότες ἔφευγον ὀπίσω, ὁ δὲ Τιγράνης ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς κρείττονα βαρβαρικῶς προσεκύνησεν. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ λέγουσιν ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι, μετάπεμπτον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου γενόμενον. ὁποτέρως δ' ἦλθεν, ἐξελογεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ μὲν αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἑξακισχίλια, τῇ στρατιᾷ δὲ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἑκάστῳ, καὶ λοχαγῷ χιλίας, καὶ χιλιάρχῳ μυρίας.

105. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτῷ συνεγίγνωσκε τῶν γεγονότων καὶ συνήλασσε τῷ παιδί, καὶ διῄτησε τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἄρχειν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδυηνῆς, αἳ νῦν ἄρα εἰσὶν Ἀρμενία βραχυτέρα, τὸν δὲ πατέρα τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ παιδὶ κληρονόμῳ. τὴν δὲ ἐπίκτητον αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν ἐκέλευεν ἤδη μεθεῖναι. καὶ μεθίει Συρίαν τὴν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης· εἶχε γὰρ δὴ καὶ

Phraates, king of the Parthians, who had lately succeeded his father Sintricus in the government of that country. As Pompey drew near, this young Tigranes, after communicating his intentions to Phraates and receiving his approval (for Phraates also desired Pompey's friendship), took refuge with Pompey as a suppliant; and this although he was a grandson of Mithridates. But Pompey's reputation among the barbarians for justice and good faith was great, so that trusting to it Tigranes the father also came to him unheralded to submit all his affairs to Pompey's decision and to make complaint against his son. Pompey ordered tribunes and cavalry officers to meet him on the road, as an act of courtesy, but those who accompanied Tigranes feared to advance without the sanction of a herald and fled back. Tigranes came forward, however, and prostrated himself before Pompey as his superior, in barbarian fashion. There are those who relate that he was led up by lictors when sent for by Pompey. However that may be, he came and made explanations of the past, and gave to Pompey for himself 6000 talents, and for the army fifty drachmas to each soldier, 1000 to each centurion, and 10,000 to each tribune.

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Tigranes comes to him as a suppliant

105. Pompey pardoned him for the past, reconciled him with his son, and decided that the latter should rule Sophene and Gordyene (which are now called Lesser Armenia), and the father the rest of Armenia, and that at his death the son should succeed him in that also. He required that Tigranes should now give up the territory that he had gained by war. Accordingly he gave up the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the sea; for he held that and a part

Pompey pardons him and settles the affairs of Armenia

CAP. XV τήνδε καὶ Κιλικίας τινὰ ὁ Τιγράνης, Ἀντίοχον ἐκβαλὼν τὸν εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα. Ἀρμενίων δ' ὅσοι τὸν Τιγράνη πρὸς Πομπήιον ὁδεύοντα ἐγκατελελοίπεσαν, ἐν ὑποψίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες, τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔτι ὄντα πείθουσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρί. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλήφθη καὶ ἐδέθη, καὶ μεταξὺ Παρθυαίους ἐρεθίζων ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐθριαμβεύθη καὶ ἀνῃρέθη· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐκτετελέσθαι οἱ τὸν πάντα πόλεμον ἡγούμενος, ᾤκιζε πόλιν ἔνθα τὴν μάχην ἐνίκα Μιθριδάτην, ἣ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου Νικόπολις κλῄζεται, καὶ ἔστιν Ἀρμενίας τῆς βραχυτέρας λεγομένης. Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ δ' ἀπεδίδου βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας, καὶ προσεπέδωκε Σωφηνὴν καὶ Γορδυηνήν, ἃ τῷ παιδὶ ἐμεμέριστο τῷ Τιγράνους· καὶ στρατηγεῖται νῦν ἅμα τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τάδε. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν Καστάβαλα καὶ ἄλλας. Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τῷ παιδὶ περιὼν ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ πολλαὶ μεταβολαὶ μέχρι Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ, καθάπερ τὰ λοιπά, καὶ ἥδε ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν ἐς στρατηγίαν.

XVI

CAP. XVI 106. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερελθὼν ἐπολέμησε <μὲν> Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ, ἕως ἐς φιλίαν ὁ Ἀντίοχος αὐτῷ συνῆλθεν, ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ τῷ Μήδῳ, μέχρι ἔφυγεν, εἴτε Ἀντιόχῳ συμμαχῶν εἴτε Τιγράνῃ πρότερον. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Ἄραψι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις,

of Cilicia, which he had taken from Antiochus, surnamed Pius. Those Armenians who deserted Tigranes on the road, when he was going to Pompey, because they were suspicious, persuaded his son, who was still with Pompey, to make an attempt upon his father. Pompey thereupon seized and put him in chains. As he meanwhile tried to stir up the Parthians against Pompey, he was led in the latter's triumph and afterwards put to death. And now Pompey, thinking that the whole war was at an end, founded a city on the place where he had overcome Mithridates in battle, which is called Nicopolis (the city of victory) from that affair, and is situated in Lesser Armenia. To Ariobarzanes he gave back the kingdom of Cappadocia and added to it Sophene and Gordyene, which he had partitioned to the son of Tigranes, and which are now administered as parts of Cappadocia. He gave him also the city of Castabala and some others in Cilicia. Ariobarzanes, however, intrusted his whole kingdom to his son while he was still living. Many changes took place until the time of Caesar Augustus, under whom this kingdom, like the others, became a Roman province.

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106. Pompey then passed over Mount Taurus and made war against Antiochus, the king of Commagene, until the latter entered into friendly relations with him. He also fought against Darius the Mede, and put him to flight, either because he had helped Antiochus, or Tigranes before him. He made war against the Nabataean Arabs, whose king was

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Other wars of Pompey

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Ἀρέτα βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίοις, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστάντος, ἕως εἶλεν Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἁγιωτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν. καὶ Κιλικίας δὲ ὅσα οὔπω Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουε, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν, ὅση τε περὶ Εὐφράτην ἐστὶ καὶ κοίλη καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Παλαιστίνη λέγεται, καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίων καὶ Ἰτουραίων, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ὀνόματα Συρίας, ἐπιὼν ἀμαχὶ Ῥωμαίοις καθίστατο, ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐς Ἀντίοχον τὸν εὐσεβοῦς, παρόντα καὶ δεόμενον ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς πατρῴας, ἡγούμενος δέ, Τιγράνη τὸν κρατήσαντα τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τῆς γῆς ἀπελάσας, Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὴν κατὰ τόδε προσκεκτῆσθαι. ταῦτα δ' αὐτῷ διοικουμένῳ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο Φραάτου καὶ Τιγράνους ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις συμπεσόντων, οἱ μὲν Τιγράνους ὡς φίλῳ συμμαχεῖν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀξιοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Παρθυαίου φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τιθέμενοι. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀξιῶν Παρθυαίοις πολεμεῖν ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσματος, ἔπεμψεν ἀμφοτέροις διαλλακτάς.

107. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Μιθριδάτῃ δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἤνυστο τοῦ Πόντου· καὶ Παντικάπαιον, ἐμπόριον Εὐρωπαίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Πόντου καταλαβὼν κτείνει τῶν υἱέων Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου διὰ μητρὸς ἁμάρτημα τοιόνδε. φρούριον ἦν τι Μιθριδάτῃ, ἔνθα λανθάνοντες ὑπόγειοι θησαυροὶ πολλῶν σιδηροδέτων χαλκέων πολλὰ

Aretas, and against the Jews (whose king, Aristobulus, had revolted), until he had captured their holiest city, Jerusalem. He advanced against, and brought under Roman rule without fighting, those parts of Cilicia that were not yet subject to it, and the remainder of Syria which lies along the Euphrates, and the countries called Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, also Idumea and Ituraea, and the other parts of Syria by whatever name called; not that he had any complaint against Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Pius, who was present and asked for his paternal kingdom, but because he thought that, since he had himself dispossessed Tigranes, the conqueror of Antiochus, it belonged to the Romans by right of war. While he was settling these affairs ambassadors came to him from Phraates and Tigranes, who had gone to war with each other. Those of Tigranes asked Pompey to aid one who was his friend, while those of the Parthian sought to establish friendship between him and the Roman people. As Pompey did not think good to fight the Parthians without a decree of the Senate, he sent mediators to compose their differences.

He brings Syria under the Roman rule

107. While Pompey was about this business Mithridates had completed his circuit of the Euxine and occupied Panticapaeum, a European market-town at the outlet of that sea.[1] There at the Bosporus he put to death Xiphares, one of his sons, on account of the following fault of his mother. Mithridates had a castle where, in a secret underground treasury, a great deal of money lay concealed

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Mithridates in the Crimea

[1] On the contrary, Panticapaeum was at the outlet of the Palus Maeotis (Sea of Azov) on the site of the modern city of Kertsch.

CAP. XVI

χρήματα ἔκρυπτον. Στρατονίκη δέ, μία τῶν Μιθριδάτου παλλακῶν ἢ γυναικῶν, ἣ τοῦδε τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπετέτραπτο, περιιόντος ἔτι τὸν Πόντον τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὸ φρούριον ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀγνοουμένους ἐμήνυσεν, ἐπὶ συνθήκῃ μόνῃ τῇδε, ὅτι οἱ τὸν υἱὸν Ξιφάρην ὁ Πομπήιος, εἰ λάβοι, περισώσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπιτυχὼν ὑπέσχητο αὐτῇ τὸν Ξιφάρην καὶ ἐδεδώκει φέρεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια· αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ὁ Μιθριδάτης κτείνει τὸν Ξιφάρην ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου, ἐφορώσης τῆς μητρὸς πέραθεν, καὶ ἐξέρριψεν ἄταφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν υἱοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἐς ἀνίαν τῆς ἁμαρτούσης, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἔτι περὶ Συρίαν ὄντα καὶ οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον αὐτοῦ παρόντος, ἔπεμπεν, οἳ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις τελέσειν φόρους ὑπισχνοῦντο· Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δεῖσθαι τὸν Μιθριδάτην κελεύοντος, καθὰ καὶ Τιγράνης ἀφίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔφη ποτὲ ὑποστήσεσθαι, Μιθριδάτης γε ὤν, πέμψειν δὲ τῶν παίδων τινὰς καὶ φίλους. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ στρατιὰν ἀθρόως κατέλεγεν ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπήγνυ, φειδόμενος οὔτε τινὸς ὕλας οὔτε βοῶν ἀροτήρων ἐς τὰ νεῦρα, ἐσφοράς τε πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βραχύτατα τῆς περιουσίας ἐπέγραφεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται τούτου πολλοὺς ἐνύβριζον, οὐκ αἰσθανομένου τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· νόσον γάρ τινα ἑλκώδη τοῦ προσώπου νοσῶν ὑπὸ τριῶν εὐνούχων ἐθεραπεύετο καὶ ἐωρᾶτο.

in numerous iron-bound brazen vessels. Stratonice, one of the king's concubines or wives, had been put in charge of this castle, and while he was still making his journey round the Euxine she delivered it up to Pompey and revealed to him the secret treasures, on the sole condition that he should spare her son, Xiphares, if he should capture him. Pompey took the money and promised her that he would spare Xiphares, and also allowed her to take away her own things. When Mithridates learned these facts he killed Xiphares at the straits, while his mother was looking on from the opposite shore, and cast away his body unburied, thus wreaking his spite on the son in order to grieve the mother who had offended him. And now he sent ambassadors to Pompey, who was still in Syria and who did not know that the king was at the straits. They promised that the king would pay tribute to the Romans if they would let him have his paternal kingdom. When Pompey required that Mithridates should come himself and make his petition as Tigranes had done, he said that as long as he was Mithridates he would never agree to that, but that he would send some of his sons and his friends to do so. Even while he was saying these things he was levying an army of freemen and slaves promiscuously, manufacturing arms, projectiles, and engines, helping himself to timber, and killing plough-oxen for the sake of their sinews. He levied tribute on all, even those of the slenderest means. His ministers were often brutal in their exactions, without his knowledge, for he had fallen sick with ulcers on his face and allowed himself to be seen only by three eunuchs, who treated him.

CHAP. XVI

He prepares for another war

CAP. XVI 108. Ὡς δ' ἔληγε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ ἀγήγερτο ἤδη, ἐπίλεκτοι μὲν ἑξήκοντα σπεῖραι, ἀνὰ ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας, πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος καὶ νῆες, καὶ χωρία ὅσα οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρὰ τὴν νόσον ἠρήκεσαν, ἐπέρα τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος ἐς Φαναγόρειαν, ἕτερον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος, ὡς ἑκατέρωθεν ἔξων τὰς ἐσβολάς, ἔτι Πομπηίου περὶ Συρίαν ὄντος. Κάστωρ δὲ Φαναγορεὺς ἠκισμένος ποτὲ ὑπὸ Τρύφωνος εὐνούχου βασιλικοῦ, τὸν Τρύφωνα ἐσιόντα κτείνει προσπεσών, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐλευθερίαν συνεκάλει. οἱ δέ, καίπερ ἤδη τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐχομένης ὑπὸ Ἀρταφέρνους τε καὶ ἑτέρων υἱέων τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, ξύλα περιθέντες τὴν ἄκραν ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Ἀρταφέρνης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης καὶ Ὀξάθρης καὶ Εὐπάτρα, παῖδες τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, δείσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν Ἀρταφέρνης ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη μόνος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παῖδες εὔμορφοι. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ ἀντεῖχεν, ἑτέρα παῖς τοῦ Μιθριδάτου· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ἀγάμενος τῆς εὐψυχίας, δίκροτα πολλὰ ἐπιπέμψας ἐξήρπασεν. ὅσα δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν φρούρια, ἀρτίληπτα τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενα, πρὸς τὴν θερμουργίαν τῶν Φαναγορέων ἀφίστατο τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Χερρόνησός τε καὶ Θεοδοσία καὶ Νύμφαιον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐστὶν εὔκαιρα ἐς πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀποστάσεις ὁρῶν πυκνάς, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων μὴ οὐ βέβαιος ᾖ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς στρατείας καὶ δι' ἐσφορῶν βαρύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς ἡγεμόνας ἀτυχοῦντας ἀπιστίαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς

108. When he had recovered from his illness and his army was collected (it consisted of sixty picked cohorts of 600 men each and a great multitude of other troops, besides ships and strongholds that had been captured by his generals while he was sick) he sent a part of it across the strait to Phanagoria, another trading-place at the mouth of the sea, in order to possess himself of the passage on either side while Pompey was still in Syria. Castor of Phanagoria, who had once been maltreated by Trypho, the king's eunuch, fell upon him as he was entering the town, killed him, and summoned the citizens to revolt. Although the citadel was already held by Artaphernes and other sons of Mithridates, the inhabitants piled wood around it and set it on fire, in consequence of which Artaphernes, Darius, Xerxes, and Oxathres, sons, and Eupatra, a daughter, of Mithridates, in fear of the fire, surrendered themselves and were led into captivity. Of these Artaphernes alone was about forty years of age ; the others were handsome children. Cleopatra, another daughter, resisted, and her father, in admiration of her courageous spirit, sent a number of biremes and rescued her. All the neighbouring castles that had been lately occupied by Mithridates now revolted from him in emulation of the daring action of the Phanagoreans, namely, Chersonesus, Theodosia, Nymphaeum, and all the others around the Euxine which are well situated for purposes of war. Mithridates, observing these frequent defections, and having suspicions of the army itself, lest it should fail him because the service was compulsory and the taxes very heavy, and because soldiers always lack confidence in unlucky commanders, sent his daughters in charge

CHAP XVI
B.C. 64

Revolt against Mithridates

CAP. XVI Σκύθας δι' εὐνουχων τοῖς δυνάσταις τὰς θυγατέρας ἐς γάμους, αἰτῶν στρατιὰν κατὰ τάχος ἤδη οἱ παρεῖναι. πεντακόσιοι δ' αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἄνδρες· οἳ Μιθριδάτου βραχὺ διασχόντες ἔκτεινάν τε τοὺς ἄγοντας εὐνούχους, ἀεὶ πρὸς εὐνούχους κρατοῦντας τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πεπολεμωμένοι, καὶ τὰς κόρας ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπήγαγον.

109. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τέκνων τοσῶνδε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλης ἀφῃρημένος, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἀξιόμαχος ἔτι ὤν, οὐδὲ τῆς Σκυθῶν συμμαχίας ἡγούμενος ἂν τυχεῖν, ὅμως οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε ἢ ταπεινὸν ἢ συμφορῶν ἄξιον ἐνεθυμεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς Κελτούς, ἐκ πολλοῦ φίλους ἐπὶ τῷδέ οἱ γεγονότας, ἐπενόει διελθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐμβαλεῖν, ἐλπίζων οἱ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς ἔχθει Ῥωμαίων προσέσεσθαι, πυνθανόμενος ὧδε καὶ Ἀννίβαν πρᾶξαι πολεμούμενον ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ ἐπιφοβώτατον ἐκ τοῦδε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι. ᾔδει δὲ καὶ ἔναγχος τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσαν ὑπὸ ἔχθους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτοῖς πεπολεμηκυῖαν, Σπαρτάκῳ τε μονομάχῳ συστᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνδρὶ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιώσεως ὄντι. ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενος ἐς Κελτοὺς ἠπείγετο. τοῦ δὲ τολμήματος ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτάτου γενομένου, ὁ στρατὸς ὤκνει δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῆς τόλμης τὸ μέγεθος, ἐπί τε χρόνιον στρατείαν καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν γῆν ἀγόμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄνδρας ὧν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ κρατοῦσιν. αὐτόν τε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἡγούμενοι, πάντων ἀπογιγνώσκοντα,

of eunuchs to the Scythian princes as wives, asking them at the same time to send him reinforcements as quickly as possible. Five hundred soldiers accompanied them from his own army. Soon after the soldiers left the presence of Mithridates they killed the eunuchs who were leading the women (for they always hated these persons, who were all-powerful with Mithridates) and conducted the young women to Pompey. CHAP. XVI

109. Although bereft of so many children and castles and of his whole kingdom, and in no way fit for war, and although he could not expect any aid from the Scythians, there was still no trace in his designs of that humility which befitted his present fortunes. He proposed to turn his course to the Gauls, whose friendship he had cultivated a long time for this purpose, and with them to invade Italy, hoping that many of the Italians themselves would join him on account of their hatred of the Romans; for he had heard that such had been Hannibal's policy when the Romans were waging war against him in Spain, and that he had become in this way an object of the greatest terror to them. He knew also that almost all of Italy had lately revolted from the Romans by reason of their hatred and had waged war against them for a very long time, and had joined Spartacus, the gladiator, against them, although he was a man of no repute. Filled with these ideas he was for hastening to the Gauls; but the very boldness of the plan, which would have brought him great glory, made the soldiers shrink from prolonged service in a foreign land, against men whom they could not overcome even in their own country. They thought also that Mithridates, He plans an invasion of Italy

CAP. XVI βούλεσθαί τι δρῶντα καὶ βασιλιζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀργίας ἀποθανεῖν, ὅμως ἐνεκαρτέρουν καὶ ἡσύχαζον· οὐ γάρ τοι σμικρὸς οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητος ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς.

110. Ὧδε δ' ἐχόντων ἁπάντων, Φαρνάκης ὁ τῶν παίδων αὐτῷ τιμιώτατός τε καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδεδειγμένος ἔσεσθαι διάδοχος, εἴτε δείσας περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς νῦν μὲν ἔτι συγγνωσομένων τι Ῥωμαίων, ἀπολουμένης δὲ πάμπαν ὁλοκλήρως εἰ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ πατὴρ στρατεύσειεν, εἴθ' ἑτέραις αἰτίαις καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ πατρί. ληφθέντων δὲ τῶν συνεγνωκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς βασάνους ἀγομένων, Μηνοφάνης μετέπεισε τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὡς οὐ δέον, ἀποπλέοντα ἤδη, τὸν ἔτι οἱ τιμιώτατον υἱὸν ἀνελεῖν· εἶναι δ' ἔφη τὰς τοιαύτας τροπὰς ἔργα πολέμων, ὧν παυσαμένων καὶ τάδε καθίστασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς προὔτεινε τῷ παιδὶ συγγνώμην. ὁ δὲ δείσας τι μήνιμα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν εἰδὼς κατοκνοῦντα τὴν στρατείαν, νυκτὸς ἐς πρώτους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων αὐτομόλους, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπεδεύοντας, ἐσῆλθε, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅσος εἴη, σαφῶς εἰδόσιν ὑπερεπαίρων, πολλὰ δὲ μένουσιν ἐπελπίσας ἔσεσθαι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, προήγαγεν ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός. ὡς δ' ἐπείσθησαν οἵδε, τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰ ἐγγὺς ἄλλα στρατόπεδα ἔπεμπεν ὁ Φαρνάκης. συνθεμένων δὲ κἀκείνων, πρῶτοι μὲν ἅμα ἕῳ ἠλάλαξαν οἱ αὐτόμολοι, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις οἱ ἀεὶ

in utter despair, wanted to end his life in harness, like a king, rather than in idleness. However, they remained steadfast and silent, for there was nothing mean or contemptible about him even in his misfortunes. CHAP. XVI

110. While affairs were in this plight Pharnaces, the son who was most esteemed by him and whom he had often designated as his successor, either alarmed about the expedition and the kingdom (for he still had hopes of pardon from the Romans, but considered that the kingdom would be completely ruined if his father should invade Italy), or spurred by other motives and calculations of self-interest, formed a conspiracy against his father. His fellow-conspirators were captured and put to the torture, but Menophanes persuaded the king that it would not be seemly, just as he was starting on his expedition, to put to death the son who was still the dearest to him. Such aberrations were, he said, a common feature of wars, and subsided when the wars ended. In this way Mithridates was persuaded to pardon his son, but the latter, still fearing his father's anger, and knowing that the army shrank from the expedition, went by night first to the Roman deserters, who were encamped very near the king, and by magnifying to them the danger, which they well knew, of invading Italy, and by making them many promises if they would refuse to go, induced them to desert from his father. Then after he had persuaded them he sent emissaries the same night to the other camps near by, and won them over too. Early in the morning the deserters first raised a shout, and then those next to them took it up, one after another. Even the naval

B.C. 63

His son Pharnaces forms a plot against him

Mutiny in the army

CAP. XVI πλησίον τὴν βοὴν μετελάμβανον. καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπήχησεν, οὐ προειδότες μὲν ἅπαντες ἴσως, ὀξύρροποι δ' ὄντες ἐς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὸ δυστυχοῦν ὑπερορῶντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ καινῷ τὸ εὔελπι ἀεὶ τιθέμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν συνεγνωκότων, ἡγούμενοι πάντας διεφθάρθαι καὶ μόνοι ἔτι ὄντες ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πλείοσιν εὐκαταφρόνητοι, φόβῳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ἑκουσίῳ γνώμῃ συνεπήχουν. Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐγρόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς βοῆς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐρησομένους ὅ τι χρῄζοιεν οἱ βοῶντες. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐγκαλυψάμενοι, "τὸν υἱόν," ἔφασαν, "βασιλεύειν, νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος εὐνούχοις τε ἐκδεδομένου καὶ κτείναντος ἤδη πολλοὺς υἱέας τε καὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους."

111. Ὧν ὁ Μιθριδάτης πυθόμενος, ἐξῄει διαλεξόμενος αὐτοῖς. καί τι πλῆθος ἐκ φρουρίου τοῖς αὐτομόλοις συνέτρεχεν. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς προσήσεσθαι πρίν τι ἀνήκεστον ἐς πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, δεικνύντες ὁμοῦ τὸν Μιθριδάτην. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν ἵππον ἔφθασαν αὐτοῦ κτεῖναι φυγόντος, καὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ὡς ἤδη κρατοῦντες ἀνεῖπον βασιλέα· καὶ βύβλον τις πλατεῖαν φέρων ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἐστεφάνωσεν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ διαδήματος. ἅπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκ περιπάτου θεώμενος ἔπεμπεν ἐς τὸν Φαρνάκην ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, φυγὴν αἰτῶν ἀσφαλῆ. οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν πεμπομένων ἐπανιόντος, δείσας μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐκδοθείη, τοὺς μὲν σωματοφύλακας αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους ἔτι παραμένοντας ἐπαινέσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὸν νέον βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτῶν τινας

force joined in the cry, not because all of them had been advised beforehand perhaps, but being fickle, as ever, contemptuous of the unfortunate, and always ready to attach themselves to a new hope. Others, who were ignorant of the conspiracy, thought that all had been corrupted, and that if they remained alone they would not be able to offer a serious resistance against overwhelming numbers, and so from fear and necessity rather than inclination joined in the outcry. Mithridates, being awakened by the noise, sent messengers out to inquire what the shouters wanted. The latter made no concealment, but said, "We want your son to be king; we want a young man instead of an old one who is ruled by eunuchs, the slayer of so many of his sons, his generals, and his friends." CHAP XVI

111. When Mithridates heard this he went out to reason with them. A number of troops from a guard-post then ran to join the deserters, but the latter refused to admit them unless they would do some irreparable deed as a proof of their fidelity, pointing at the same time to Mithridates. The king fled, but they had killed his horse first, and at the same time saluted Pharnaces as king, as though the rebels were already victorious, and one of them brought a broad papyrus leaf from a temple and crowned him with it in place of a diadem. The king saw these things from a high portico, and he sent messenger after messenger to Pharnaces asking permission to fly in safety. When none of his messengers returned, fearing lest he should be delivered up to the Romans, he praised those of his bodyguard and friends who remained faithful to him, and sent them to the new king, but the army

CAP. XVI προσιόντας ἔκτεινεν· ἡ στρατιὰ παραλόγως, αὐτὸς δὲ παραλύσας ὃ περὶ τῷ ξίφει φάρμακον ἀεὶ περιέκειτο ἐκίρνη. δύο δ' αὐτῷ θυγατέρες ἔτι κόραι συντρεφόμεναι, Μιθριδᾶτίς τε καὶ Νύσσα, τοῖς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου βασιλεῦσιν ἠγγυημέναι, προλαβεῖν τοῦ φαρμάκου παρεκάλουν, καὶ σφόδρα εἶχοντο, καὶ πίνοντα κατεκώλυον ἕως ἔπιον· λαβοῦσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ φάρμακον ἥπτετο, τοῦ δὲ Μιθριδάτου, καίτοι συντόνως ἐξεπίτηδες βαδίζοντος, οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτο δι' ἔθος καὶ συντροφίαν ἑτέρων φαρμάκων, οἷς ἐς ἄμυναν δηλητηρίων ἐχρῆτο συνεχῶς· καὶ νῦν ἔτι φάρμακα Μιθριδάτεια λέγεται. Βίτοιτον οὖν τινὰ ἰδών, ἡγεμόνα Κελτῶν, "πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς σῆς," ἔφη, "δεξιᾶς ἐς πολεμίους ὠνάμην, ὀνήσομαι δὲ μέγιστον εἰ νῦν με κατεργάσαιο, κινδυνεύοντα ἐς πομπὴν ἀπαχθῆναι θριάμβου τὸν μέχρι πολλοῦ τοσῆσδε ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ βασιλέα, ἀδυνατοῦντα ἐκ φαρμάκων ἀποθανεῖν δι' εὐήθη προφυλακὴν ἑτέρων φαρμάκων· τὸ γὰρ δὴ χαλεπώτατον καὶ σύνοικον ἀεὶ βασιλεῦσι φάρμακον, ἀπιστίαν στρατοῦ καὶ παίδων καὶ φίλων, οὐ προειδόμην ὁ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ πάντα προϊδὼν καὶ φυλαξάμενος." ὁ μὲν δὴ Βίτοιτος ἐπικλασθεὶς ἐπεκούρησε χρήζοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, 112. καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθνησκεν, ἑκκαιδέκατος ὢν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου Περσῶν

killed some of them under a misapprehension as they were approaching. Mithridates then took out some poison that he always carried in his sheath with his sword, and mixed it. Then two of his daughters, who were still girls growing up together, named Mithridatis and Nyssa, who had been betrothed to the kings of Egypt and of Cyprus, asked him to let them have some of the poison first, and insisted strenuously and prevented him from drinking it until they had taken some and swallowed it. The drug took effect on them at once; but upon Mithridates, although he walked about rapidly to hasten its action, it had no effect, because he had accustomed himself to other drugs by continually trying them as a means of protection against poisoners; and these are still called "Mithridatic drugs." Seeing a certain Bituitus there, an officer of the Gauls, he said to him, "I have profited much from your right arm against my enemies. I shall profit from it most of all if you will kill me, and save from the danger of being led in a Roman triumph one who has been so many years the absolute monarch of so great a kingdom, but who is now unable to die by poison because, like a fool, he has used other drugs as antidotes. Although I have kept watch and ward against all the poisons that a man takes with his food, I have not provided against that most deadly of all poisons, which is to be found in every king's house, the faithlessness of army, children and friends." Bituitus, much moved, rendered the king the service that he desired.

CHAP. XVI

Mithridates takes poison, but without effect

His death

112. So died Mithridates, who was the sixteenth in descent from Darius, the son of Hystaspes, king of

Character and career of Mithridates

CAP. XVI βασιλέως, ὄγδοος δ' ἀπὸ Μιθριδάτου τοῦ Μακεδόνων ἀποστάντος τε καὶ κτησαμένου τὴν Ποντικὴν ἀρχήν. ἐβίω δ' ὀκτὼ ἢ ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑξήκοντα ἔτεσι, καὶ τούτων ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐβασίλευσεν· ἐς γὰρ ὀρφανὸν ὄντα περιῆλθεν ἡ ἀρχή. ἐχειρώσατο δὲ τὰ περίοικα τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ Σκυθῶν ὑπηγάγετο πολλούς, Ῥωμαίοις τεσσαρακοντούτη πόλεμον ἐγκρατῶς ἐπολέμησεν, ἐν ᾧ Βιθυνίας ἐκράτησε πολλάκις καὶ Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίαν τε ἐπέδραμε καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐμβαλὼν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔδρασε, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἦρξε, μέχρι Σύλλας αὐτὸν αὖθις ἐς τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν συνέκλεισεν, ἐκκαίδεκα στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἀποβαλόντα. καὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι συμπεσὼν ὅμως ἀνεκίνησε τὸν πόλεμον εὐμαρῶς. στρατηγοῖς τε συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, Σύλλα μὲν ἡττᾶτο καὶ Λευκόλλου καὶ Πομπηίου, πολλὰ καὶ τῶνδε πλεονεκτήσας πολλάκις, Λεύκιον δὲ Κάσσιον καὶ Ὄππιον Κόιντον καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον αἰχμαλώτους ἑλὼν περιήγετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἔκτεινεν, αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Φιμβριαν καὶ Μουρήναν καὶ Κότταν ὕπατον καὶ Φάβιον καὶ Τριάριον. τὸ φρόνημα δ' ἦν ἀεί, κἂν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, μέγας καὶ φερέπονος. οὐδεμίαν γέ τοι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὁδὸν ἐς ἐπιχείρησιν, οὐδ' ἡττώμενος,

the Persians, and the eighth [1] from that Mithridates who left the Macedonians and acquired the kingdom of Pontus. He lived sixty-eight or sixty-nine years, and of these he reigned fifty-seven, for the kingdom came to him when he was an orphan. He subdued the neighbouring barbarians and many of the Scythians, and waged a hard-fought war against the Romans for forty years, during which he frequently conquered Bithynia and Cappadocia, besides making incursions into the Roman province of Asia and into Phrygia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Macedonia. He invaded Greece, where he performed many remarkable exploits, and ruled the sea from Cilicia to the Adriatic, until Sulla confined him again to his paternal kingdom after destroying 160,000 of his soldiers. Notwithstanding this great disaster he renewed the war without difficulty. He fought with the greatest generals of his time. He was vanquished by Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey, although several times he got the better of them also. Lucius Cassius, Quintus Oppius, and Manius Aquilius he took prisoners and carried about with him. The last he killed because he was the cause of the war. The others he surrendered to Sulla. He defeated Fimbria, Murena, the consul Cotta, Fabius, and Triarius. He was always high-spirited and indomitable even in misfortunes. Even when beaten he left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried. He made

CHAP XVI

[1] In Section 9, *supra*, Mithridates Eupator is called the sixth in line from the first of that name, which is probably the truth.

CAP. XVI παρέλειπεν, ὃς καὶ Σαυνιταις καὶ Κελτοῖς συνετίθετο, καὶ ἐς Σερτώριον ἔπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. τρωθείς τε τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις ὑπὸ πολεμίων, καὶ ἑτέρων κατ' ἐπιβουλάς, οὐκ ἀπέστη τινὸς οὐδ' ὥς, καίπερ ὢν πρεσβύτης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν τις αὐτὸν ἔλαθεν, οὐδ' ἡ τελευταία, ἀλλ' ἑκὼν ταύτην ὑπεριδὼν ἀπώλετο δι' αὐτήν· οὕτως ἀχάριστον ἡ πονηρία συγγνώμης τυγχάνουσα. φονικὸς δὲ καὶ ὠμὸς ἐς πάντας ἦν, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔκτεινε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τῶν παίδων τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρας. τὸ σῶμα δ' ἦν μέγας μέν, ὡς ὑποδεικνύουσιν ὅσα ὅπλα αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν ἐς Νεμέαν τε καὶ Δελφούς, εὔρωστος δέ, ὡς μέχρι τέλους ἱππεῦσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίσαι καὶ χίλια στάδια τῆς ἡμέρας, περιμενόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ διαστημάτων ἵππων, δραμεῖν. καὶ ἅρμα ἤλαυνεν ἑκκαίδεκα ἵππων ὁμοῦ. καὶ παιδείας ἐπεμέλετο Ἑλληνικῆς, διὸ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἤσθετο τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ μουσικὴν ἠγάπα. καὶ σώφρων ἐς πολλὰ καὶ φερέπονος ὢν περὶ μόνας ἡττᾶτο τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἡδόνας.

113. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐπάτωρ τε καὶ Διόνυσος ἐπικληθεὶς Μιθριδάτης ὧδε ἐτελεύτα, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες ἑώρταζον ὡς ἐχθροῦ δυσχεροῦς ἀπηλλαγμένοι· Φαρνάκης δὲ Πομπηίῳ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Σινώπην ἐπὶ τριήρους ἔπεμπε, καὶ τοὺς Μάνιον ἑλόντας, ὅμηρά τε πολλὰ ὅσα ἦν Ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βαρβαρικά, δεόμενος ἢ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἢ Βοσπόρου γε βασιλεύειν μόνου, ἥν τινα καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν παρὰ Μιθριδάτου παρειλήφει. Πομπήιος δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Μιθριδάτου χορηγίαν ἔδωκε, καὶ θάψαι

alliances with the Samnites and the Gauls, and he sent legates to Sertorius in Spain. He was often wounded by enemies and by conspirators, but he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man. None of the conspiracies ever escaped his detection, not even the last one, but he voluntarily overlooked it and perished in consequence of it—so ungrateful is the wickedness that has been once pardoned. He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all—the slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons and three daughters. He had a large frame, as his armour, which he himself sent to Nemea and to Delphi, shows, and was so strong that he rode on horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride 1000 stades in one day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with sixteen horses at once. He cultivated Greek learning, and thus became acquainted with the religious cult of Greece, and was fond of music. He was abstemious and patient of labour for the most part, and yielded only to pleasures with women. CHAP. XVI

113. Such was the end of Mithridates, who bore the surnames of Eupator and Dionysus. When the Romans heard of his death, they held a festival because they were delivered from a troublesome enemy. Pharnaces sent his father's corpse to Pompey at Sinope in a trireme, together with the persons who captured Manius, and all the numerous hostages, both Greek and barbarian, and asked that he should be allowed to rule either his paternal kingdom, or Bosporus alone, which his brother, Machares, had received from Mithridates. Pompey provided for the expenses of the funeral of Mithri- He is buried at Sinope

CAP. XVI βασιλείῳ ταφῇ τοῖς θεραπευτῆρσιν αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν Σινώπῃ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνθέσθαι τάφοις, ἀγάμενος αὐτὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας ὡς τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν βασιλέων ἄριστον· Φαρνάκην δὲ ἀπαλλάξαντα πόνου πολλοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποιήσατο, καὶ βασιλεύειν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Βοσπόρου, χωρὶς Φαναγορέων, οὓς ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι πρῶτοι μάλιστα οἵδε ἀναρρωνυμένῳ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὁρμητήρια ἔχοντι, ἐπεχείρησαν, ἡγεμόνες τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποστάσεως ἐγένοντο, καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ καταλύσεως αἴτιοι.

XVII

CAP. XVII 114. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνὶ τῷδε πολέμῳ τά τε λῃστήρια καθήρας καὶ βασιλέα καθελὼν μέγιστον, καὶ συνεχθεὶς ἐς μάχας, ἄνευ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ πόλεμου, Κόλχοις τε καὶ Ἀλβανοῖς καὶ Ἴβηρσι καὶ Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Μήδοις καὶ Ἄραψι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις καὶ ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν ἑῴοις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡρίσατο Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι Αἰγύπτου. ἐς δὲ Αἴγυπτον αὐτὴν οὐ παρῆλθε, καίτοι στασιάζουσαν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτῷ δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐσθῆτας ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα, εἴτε δείσας μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἔτι εὐτυχούσης, εἴτε φυλαξάμενος ἐχθρῶν φθόνον ἢ χρησμῶν ἀπαγόρευσιν, εἴτε ἑτέροις λογισμοῖς, οὓς ἐξοίσω κατὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. τῶν δὲ εἰλημμένων ἐθνῶν τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα ἠφίει συμμαχίας οὕνεκα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις

dates and directed his servants to give his remains a royal burial, and to place them in the tombs of the kings at Sinope, because he admired his great achievements and considered him the first of the kings of his time. Pharnaces, for delivering Italy from much trouble, he inscribed as a friend and ally of the Romans, and gave him Bosporus as his kingdom, except Phanagoria, whose inhabitants he made free and independent because they were about the first to resist Mithridates when he was recovering his strength, and in possession of a fleet, a new army and military posts, and because they led others to revolt and were the cause of his final collapse. CHAP. XVI

XVII

114. Pompey, having cleared out the robber dens, and prostrated the greatest king then living, in one and the same war, and having fought successful battles, besides those of the Pontic war, with Colchians, Albanians, Iberians, Armenians, Medes, Arabs, Jews and other Eastern nations, extended the Roman sway as far as Egypt. But he did not advance into Egypt itself, although the king of that country invited him there to suppress a sedition, and sent gifts to himself and money and clothing for his whole army. He either feared the greatness of this still prosperous kingdom, or wished to guard against the envy of his enemies, or the warning voice of oracles, or for other reasons which I will publish in my Egyptian history. He let some of the subjugated nations go free, in order to make them allies. Others he placed at once under Roman rule, and CHAP. XVII Pompey's exploits in the East

CAP. XVII εὐθὺς ἐγίγνετο, τὰ δ' ἐς βασίλεια διεδίδου, Τιγράνει μὲν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Φαρνάκῃ Βόσπορον καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ ὅσα προεῖπον ἕτερα. Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ τῷ Κομμαγηνῷ Σελεύκειαν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἄλλα κατέδραμεν. ἐποίει δὲ καὶ τετράρχας, Γαλλογραικῶν μέν, οἳ νῦν εἰσὶ Γαλάται Καππαδόκαις ὅμοροι, Δηιόταρον καὶ ἑτέρους, Παφλαγονίας δὲ Ἄτταλον καὶ Κόλχων Ἀρίσταρχον δυνάστην. ἀπέφηνε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις θεᾶς Ἀρχέλαον ἱερέα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυναστεία βασιλική, καὶ τὸν Φαναγορέα Κάστορα Ῥωμαίων φίλον. πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις χώραν τε καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκεν.

115. Καὶ πόλεις ᾤκισεν ἐν μὲν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ βραχυτέρᾳ Νικόπολιν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἐν δὲ Πόντῳ Εὐπατορίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ εὐπάτωρ Μιθριδάτης ἔκτισε καὶ Εὐπατορίαν ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὑποδεξαμένην δὲ Ῥωμαίους καθηρήκει, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐγείρας Μαγνόπολιν ἐκάλει. ἐν δὲ Καππαδοκίᾳ Μάζακα, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λελυμασμένην ἐς τέλος, ἤγειρεν αὖθις. καὶ ἑτέρας πολλαχοῦ κατενεχθείσας ἢ βεβλαμμένας διωρθοῦτο περί τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἐν ᾗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς λῃστὰς συνῴκιζε. καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ πάλαι Σόλοι νῦν Πομπηιόπολις ἐστίν. ἐν δὲ Ταλαύροις, ἥν τινα πόλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης εἶχε ταμιεῖον τῆς κατασκευῆς, δισχίλια μὲν ἐκπώματα λίθου τῆς ὀνυχίτιδος λεγομένης ηὑρέθη χρυσοκόλλητα, καὶ φιάλαι καὶ ψυκτῆρες πολλοὶ καὶ ῥυτὰ καὶ κλῖναι καὶ θρόνοι κατάκοσμοι, καὶ ἵππων χαλινοὶ καὶ προστερνίδια καὶ ἐπωμίδια, πάντα ὁμοίως διάλιθα

others he distributed to kings—to Tigranes, Armenia; to Pharnaces, Bosporus; to Ariobarzanes, Cappadocia and the other provinces before mentioned. To Antiochus of Commagene he handed over Seleucia and the parts of Mesopotamia that he conquered. He made Deïotarus and others tetrarchs of the Gallograecians, who are now the Galatians bordering on Cappadocia. He made Attalus prince of Paphlagonia and Aristarchus prince of Colchis. He also appointed Archelaus to the priesthood of the goddess worshipped at Comana, which is a royal office. Castor of Phanagoria was inscribed as a friend of the Roman people. Much territory and money were bestowed upon others. CHAP. XVII

115. He founded cities also,—in Lesser Armenia Nicopolis, named after Victory; in Pontus Eupatoria, which Mithridates Eupator had built and named after himself, but destroyed because it had received the Romans. Pompey rebuilt it and named it Magnopolis. In Cappadocia he rebuilt Mazaca, which had been completely ruined by the war. He restored other towns in many places, that had been destroyed or damaged, in Pontus, Palestine, Coele-Syria, and also in Cilicia, where he had settled the greater part of the pirates, and where the city formerly called Soli is now known as Pompeiopolis. In the city of Talauri, which Mithridates used as a storehouse of furniture, were found 2000 drinking-cups made of onyx welded with gold, and many cups, wine-coolers, and drinking-horns, also ornamental couches and chairs, bridles for horses, and trappings for their breasts and shoulders, all ornamented in like manner with precious stones and gold. The quantity Cities founded by him

CAP. XVII καὶ κατάχρυσα, ὧν ἡ παράδοσις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τριάκοντα ἡμέρας παρέτεινεν. καὶ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίων ἀρχῆς, ὅσα Κλεοπάτρα Κῴοις παρέθετο καὶ Κῷοι Μιθριδάτῃ ἐδεδώκεσαν· τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου κατεσκεύαστο καὶ συνείλεκτο, φιλοκάλου καὶ περὶ κατασκευὴν γενομένου.

116. Λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος διέδωκεν ὁ Πομπήιος ἀριστεῖα τῷ στρατῷ, καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα χιλίας πεντακοσίας Ἀττικάς, καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν ἀνάλογον· καί φασι γενέσθαι τάλαντα μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια. αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Ἔφεσον καταβὰς διέπλευσεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, διαφεὶς ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα· ἐφ' ὅτῳ μάλιστα ὡς δημοτικῷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐξέπληξεν. καὶ αὐτῷ προσιόντι ἀπήντων κατὰ μέρος, πορρωτάτω μὲν οἱ νέοι, ἐξῆς δὲ ὡς ἐδύναντο καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστοι, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡ βουλὴ θαυμάζουσα τῶν γεγονότων· οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐχθρὸν τηλικοῦτον ἑλὼν τοσάδε ὁμοῦ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσειλήφει, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡρίκει. ὁ δὲ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ λαμπροτάτης καὶ ἧς οὔτις πρὸ τοῦ δόξης, ἔτη ἔχων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, δύο ἐφεξῆς ἡμέραις, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀπό τε τοῦ Πόντου καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας ὅλης καὶ Ἀλβανῶν καὶ Ἡνιόχων καὶ Ἀχαίων τῶν ἐν Σκύθαις καὶ Ἰβηρίας τῆς ἑῴας. καὶ παρῆγεν ἐς μὲν τοὺς λιμένας ἑπτακοσίας ναῦς ἐντελεῖς, ἐς δὲ

of this store was so great that the transfer of it occupied thirty days. Some of these things had been inherited from Darius, the son of Hystaspes; others came from the kingdom of the Ptolemies, having been deposited by Cleopatra at the island of Cos and given by the inhabitants to Mithridates; still others had been made or collected by Mithridates himself, as he was a lover of the beautiful in furniture as well as in other things. CHAP. XVII

116. At the end of the winter Pompey distributed rewards to the army; 1500 Attic drachmas to each soldier and in like proportion to the officers, the whole, it is said, amounting to 16,000 talents. Then he marched to Ephesus, embarked for Italy, and hastened to Rome, having dismissed his soldiers at Brundusium to their homes, a democratic action which greatly surprised the Romans. As he approached the city he was met by successive processions, first of youths, farthest from the city, then bands of men of different ages came out as far as they severally could walk; last of all came the Senate, which was lost in wonder at his exploits, for no one had ever before vanquished so powerful an enemy, and at the same time brought so many great nations under subjection and extended the Roman rule to the Euphrates. He was awarded a triumph exceeding in brilliancy any that had gone before, being now only thirty-five years of age. It occupied two successive days, and many nations were represented in the procession from Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia and all Syria, besides Albanians, Heniochi, Achaeans of Scythia, and Eastern Iberians. Seven hundred undamaged ships were brought into the harbours. In the triumphal procession were two- B.C. 62

His triumph

CAP. XVII

τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ θριάμβου ζεύγη καὶ φορεῖα χρυσοφόρα καὶ ἕτερα κόσμου ποικίλου, καὶ τὴν Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου κλίνην, καὶ τὸν τοῦ εὐπάτορος αὐτοῦ θρόνον. καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκόνα ὀκτάπηχυν ἀπὸ στερεοῦ χρυσίου παρῆγε, καὶ ἐπισήμου ἀργυρίου μυριάδας ἑπτακισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας καὶ δέκα, ἁμάξας δὲ ὅπλων ἀπείρους τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ νεῶν ἔμβολα, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων τε καὶ λῃστῶν, οὐδένα δεδεμένον ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἐσταλμένους.

117. Αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου προῆγον ὅσοι τῶν πεπολεμημένων βασιλέων ἡγεμόνες ἢ παῖδες ἢ στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αἰχμάλωτοι ὄντες οἱ δὲ ἐς ὁμηρείαν δεδομένοι, τριακόσιοι μάλιστα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Τιγράνους ἦν παῖς Τιγράνης, καὶ πέντε Μιθριδάτου, Ἀρταφέρνης τε καὶ Κῦρος καὶ Ὀξάθρης καὶ Δαρεῖος καὶ Ξέρξης, καὶ θυγατέρες Ὀρσάβαρίς τε καὶ Εὐπάτρα. παρήγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κόλχων σκηπτοῦχος Ὀλθάκης, καὶ Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ οἱ Κιλίκων τύραννοι, καὶ Σκυθῶν βασίλειοι γυναῖκες, καὶ ἡγεμόνες τρεῖς Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν δύο, καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ Λαοδικεύς, ἵππαρχος τοῦ Μιθριδάτου γενόμενος. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀφικομένων εἰκόνες παρεφέροντο, Τιγράνους καὶ Μιθριδάτου, μαχομένων τε καὶ νικωμένων καὶ φευγόντων. Μιθριδάτου δὲ καὶ ἡ πολιορκία, καὶ ἡ νὺξ ὅτε ἔφευγεν, εἴκαστο, καὶ ἡ σιωπή. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ ἐδείχθη καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανεν αἵ τε παρθένοι αἱ συναποθανεῖν αὐτῷ ἑλόμεναι παρεζωγράφηντο, καὶ τῶν προαποθανόντων υἱέων καὶ θυγατέρων ἦσαν γραφαί, θεῶν τε βαρβαρικῶν εἰκόνες καὶ κόσμοι πάτριοι. παρεφέρετο

horse-carriages and litters laden with gold or with other ornaments of various kinds, also the couch of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the throne and sceptre of Mithridates Eupator himself, and his image, eight cubits high, made of solid gold, and 75,100,000 drachmas of silver coin; also an infinite number of wagons carrying arms and beaks of ships, and a multitude of captives and pirates, none of them bound, but all arrayed in their native costumes.

Captives led in his procession

117. Before Pompey himself, at the head of the procession, went the satraps, sons, and generals of the kings against whom he had fought, who were present (some having been captured and others given as hostages) to the number of 324. Among them were Tigranes, the son of Tigranes, and five sons of Mithridates, namely, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Oxathres, Darius and Xerxes, also his daughters, Orsabaris and Eupatra. Olthaces, chief of the Colchians, was also led in the procession, and Aristobulus, king of the Jews, the tyrants of the Cilicians, and the female rulers of the Scythians, three chiefs of the Iberians, two of the Albanians, and Menander the Laodicean, who had been chief of cavalry to Mithridates. There were carried in the procession images of those who were not present, of Tigranes and of Mithridates, representing them as fighting, as vanquished, and as fleeing. Even the besieging of Mithridates and his silent flight by night were represented. Finally it was shown how he died, and the daughters who chose to perish with him were pictured also, and there were figures of the sons and daughters who died before him, and images of the barbarian gods decked out in the fashion of their coun-

CAP. XVII δὲ καὶ πίναξ ἐγγεγραμμένων τῶνδε· "νῆες ἑάλωσαν χαλκέμβολοι ὀκτακόσιαι· πόλεις ἐκτίσθησαν Καππαδοκῶν ὀκτώ, Κιλίκων δὲ καὶ κοίλης Συρίας εἴκοσι, Παλαιστίνης δὲ ἡ νῦν Σελευκίς· βασιλεῖς ἐνικήθησαν Τιγράνης Ἀρμένιος, Ἀρτώκης Ἴβηρ, Ὀροίζης Ἀλβανός, Δαρεῖος Μῆδος, Ἀρέτας Ναβαταῖος, Ἀντίοχος Κομμαγηνός." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐδήλου τὸ διάγραμμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε λιθοκολλήτου, χλαμύδα ἔχων, ὡς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ τῳ πίστον ἐστίν· ἔοικε δ' αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν ἐν Μιθριδάτου, Κῴων παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας λαβόντων. εἵποντο δὲ αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἅρμα οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων οἱ δὲ πεζοί. παρελθὼν δ' ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον οὐδένα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἕτεροι τῶν θριάμβους παραγόντων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἔπεμψε δημοσίοις δαπανήμασι, χωρὶς τῶν βασιλικῶν. καὶ τούτων μόνος Ἀριστόβουλος εὐθὺς ἀνῃρέθη, καὶ Τιγράνης ὕστερον. ὁ μὲν δὴ θρίαμβος ἦν τοιόσδε.

118. Ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι Βιθυνοὺς καὶ Καππαδόκας ὅσα τε αὐτοῖς ὅμορα ἔθνη ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον κατοικεῖ τὸν Εὔξεινον, βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἔτεσι μάλιστα καθελόντες, ὑπηγάγοντο σφίσιν ὑπήκοα εἶναι. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ πολέμῳ καὶ Κιλικίας τὰ μήπω σφίσι κατήκοα καὶ Συρίας τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ μεσόγειον ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ προσήκοντα, ῥύμῃ τῇσδε τῆς νίκης προσέλαβον, καὶ φόρους τοῖς μὲν αὐτίκα τοῖς δὲ ὕστερον ἔταξαν. Παφλαγονίαν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ

tries. Moreover, a tablet was carried along with this inscription: "Ships with brazen beaks captured, 800; cities founded in Cappadocia, 8; in Cilicia and Coele-Syria, 20; in Palestine the one which is now Seleucis. Kings conquered: Tigranes the Armenian, Artoces the Iberian, Oroezes the Albanian, Darius the Mede, Aretas the Nabataean, Antiochus of Commagene." These were the facts recorded on the inscription. Pompey himself was borne in a chariot studded with gems, wearing, it is said, a cloak of Alexander the Great, if anyone can believe that. It seems to have been found among the possessions of Mithridates that the inhabitants of Cos had received from Cleopatra. His chariot was followed by the officers who had shared the campaigns with him, some on horseback and others on foot. When he arrived at the Capitol he did not put any of the prisoners to death, as had been the custom of other triumphs, but sent them all home at the public expense, except the kings. Of these Aristobulus alone was at once put to death and Tigranes somewhat later. Such was the character of Pompey's triumph.

Inscription on his tablet

118. Thus the Romans, having conquered King Mithridates at the end of about forty-two years, reduced to subjection Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the other neighbouring peoples dwelling near the Euxine sea. In the same war that part of Cilicia which was not yet subject to them, together with the Syrian countries, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, and the country inland as far as the Euphrates, although they did not belong to Mithridates, were gained by the impetus of the victory over him and were required to pay tribute, some immediately and others later. Paphlagonia, Galatia, Phrygia, and the ad-

New countries added to the Roman sway

CAP. XVII Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὅμορον τῇ Φρυγίᾳ Μυσίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Λυδίαν καὶ Καρίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ἀσίας τῆς περὶ τὸ Πέργαμόν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν, Μιθριδάτου περισπάσαντος ὀξέως ἀνελάβοντο· καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτῶν, οὔπω σφίσιν ὑποτελέσιν οὖσιν, ἐπέθηκαν φόρους. δι' ἃ μοι καὶ μάλιστα δοκοῦσι τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡγεῖσθαι μέγαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ νίκην μεγάλην καλεῖν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγήσαντα Πομπήιον μέγαν τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ μέχρι νῦν ἐπονομάζειν, ἐθνῶν τε πλήθους ἕνεκα ὧν ἀνέλαβον ἢ προσέλαβον, καὶ χρόνου μήκους, τεσσαρακονταετοῦς γενομένου, τόλμης τε αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ φερεπονίας, δυνατοῦ σφίσιν ἐς ἅπαντα ὀφθέντος, 119. ᾧ νῆες μὲν ἦσαν οἰκεῖαι πολλάκις πλείους τετρακοσίων, ἱππεῖς δ' ἔστιν ὅτε πεντακισμύριοι καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ μηχαναὶ καὶ βέλη κατὰ λόγον, συνεμάχουν δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται ὅ τε Ἀρμένιος καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐπί τε Μαιώτιδα λίμνην καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὸν Θρᾴκιον Βόσπορον περιπλέοντι. ἔς τε τοὺς Ῥωμαίων δυνατούς, στασιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις τότε μάλιστα καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἀνιστάντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, περιέπεμπε, καὶ Κελτοῖς φιλίαν ἐτίθετο ὡς καὶ τῇδε ἐσβαλῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, λῃστῶν τε ἐνεπίμπλη τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἐπὶ στήλας Ἡρακλείους, οἳ πάντα ἄμικτα καὶ ἄπλωτα ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐποίουν, καὶ λιμὸν ἐπίπονον ἐξειργάσαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀνδρὶ δυνατὸν ἐξέλιπεν ἢ πράττων ἢ διανοούμενος, ὡς

joining country of Mysia, and in addition Lydia, Caria, Ionia, and all the rest of Asia Minor in the neighbourhood of Pergamus, together with old Greece and Macedonia, of which Mithridates had deprived them, were quickly recovered. Most of these people, who did not pay them tribute before, were now subjected to it. For these reasons especially I think they considered this a great war and called the victory which ended it the Great Victory and gave the title of Great (in Latin Magnus[1]) to Pompey who gained it for them (by which appellation he is called to this day); on account of the great number of nations recovered or added to their dominion, the length of time (forty years) that the war had lasted, and the courage and endurance of Mithridates, who had shown himself capable of meeting all emergencies. CHAP. XVII

119. Many times he had over 400 ships of his own, and on some occasions as many as 50,000 cavalry, and 250,000 infantry, with engines and missiles in proportion. For allies he had the king of Armenia and the princes of the Scythian tribes round the Euxine and the sea of Azov and beyond, as far as the Thracian Bosporus. He held communications with the leaders of the Roman civil wars, which were then fiercely raging, and with those who were inciting insurrection in Spain. He established friendly relations with the Gauls for the purpose of invading Italy by that route also. From Cilicia to the Pillars of Hercules he filled the sea with pirates, who stopped all commerce and navigation between cities and caused severe famine for a long time. In short, he left nothing within the power of man undone or unplanned in starting the The armament of Mithridates

[1] See note on p. 477.

CAP. XVII μέγιστον δὴ τόδε τὸ κίνημα ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν γενόμενον ἐνοχλῆσαι πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ πολεμουμένοις ἢ συμμαχοῦσιν ἢ λῃστευομένοις ἢ γειτονεύουσιν. τοσόσδε εἷς οὗτος πόλεμος καὶ ποικίλος ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λήγων συνήνεγκε Ῥωμαίοις· ὡρίσαντο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκ δύσεως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην. διελεῖν δ' αὐτὰ κατὰ ἔθνος οὐκ ἦν, ὁμοῦ τε πραχθέντα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀναπεπλεγμένα. ἃ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐδύνατο αὐτῶν κεχωρίσθαι, κατὰ μέρη τέτακται.

120. Φαρνάκης δ' ἐπολιόρκει Φαναγορέας καὶ τὰ περίοικα τοῦ Βοσπόρου, μέχρι τῶν Φαναγορέων διὰ λιμὸν ἐς μάχην προελθόντων ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ βλάψας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ φίλους ποιησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὅμηρα, ἀνεχώρει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Σινώπην εἷλε καὶ Ἀμισὸν ἐνθυμιζόμενος καὶ Καλουίνῳ στρατηγοῦντι ἐπολέμησεν, ᾧ χρόνῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἦσαν, ἕως αὐτὸν Ἄσανδρος ἐχθρὸς ἴδιος, Ῥωμαίων οὐ σχολαζόντων, ἐξήλασε τῆς Ἀσίας. ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καθελόντι Πομπήιον, ἐπανιόντι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, περὶ τὸ Σκότιον ὄρος, ἔνθα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τριάριον ἐκεκρατήκει· καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφευγε σὺν χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἐς Σινώπην. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀσχολίας οὐ διώξαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπιπέμψαντος αὐτῷ Δομίτιον, παραδοὺς τὴν Σινώπην Δομιτίῳ ὑπόσπονδος ἀφείθη μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ τοὺς ἵππους

greatest possible movement, extending from the east to the west, so as to trouble practically the whole world, which was attacked in war, tangled in alliances, harassed by pirates, or affected by the nearness of the warfare. Such and so diversified was this one war; but in the end it brought the greatest gains to the Romans, for it pushed the boundaries of their dominion from the setting of the sun to the river Euphrates. It has been impossible to distinguish all these exploits by nations, since they were performed at the same time and were complicated with each other. Those, however, which could be separated I have arranged each by itself. CHAP. XVII

120. Pharnaces besieged the Phanagoreans and the towns round the Bosporus until the former were compelled by hunger to come out and fight, when he overcame them in battle; yet he did them no harm, but made friends with them, took hostages, and withdrew. Not long afterwards he took Sinope, and had a mind to take Amisus also, for which reason he made war against Calvinus, the Roman commander, at the time when Pompey and Caesar were contending against each other, until Asander, an enemy of his own, drove him out of Asia, while the Romans were still preoccupied. Afterwards he fought with Caesar himself (when the latter had overthrown Pompey and was returning from Egypt), near Mount Scotius, where his father had defeated the Romans under Triarius. He was beaten and fled to Sinope with 1000 cavalry. Caesar was too busy to follow him, but sent Domitius against him. He surrendered Sinope to Domitius, who agreed to let him go away with his cavalry. He killed his horses, though his men were extremely Career of Pharnaces B.C. 47

CAP. XVII ἔκτεινε πολλὰ δυσχεραινόντων τῶν ἱππέων, ναυσὶ δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔφυγε, καὶ Σκυθῶν τινας καὶ Σαυροματῶν συναγαγὼν Θευδοσίαν καὶ Παντικάπαιον κατέλαβεν. ἐπιθεμένου δ' αὖθις αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος Ἀσάνδρου, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀπορίᾳ τε ἵππων καὶ ἀμαθίᾳ πεζομαχίας ἐνικῶντο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκης μόνος ἠγωνίζετο καλῶς, μέχρι κατατρωθεὶς ἀπέθανε, πεντηκοντούτης ὢν καὶ βασιλεύσας Βοσπόρου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν.

121. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Φαρνάκης ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Γάιος μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔδωκε Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ συμμαχήσαντί οἱ προθύμως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· νῦν δ' εἰσὶν οἰκεῖοι, Πόντου δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας πέμπεταί τις ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στρατηγὸς ἐτήσιος τὰ δ' ἑτέροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου δεδομένα ὁ μὲν Γάιος, ἐπιμεμψάμενος τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὅτι Πομπηίῳ καθ' αὑτοῦ συνεμάχουν, ὅμως ἐφύλαξε, πλὴν τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις ἱερωσύνης, ἣν ἐς Λυκομήδην μετήνεγκεν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου· πάντα δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, καὶ τάδε καὶ ὅσα Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἢ Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος ἔχειν ἑτέροις ἐδεδώκεσαν, ἐς στρατηγίας Ῥωμαίων περιῆλθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἑλόντος Αἴγυπτον, ὀλίγης ἔτι Ῥωμαίων προφάσεως ἐς ἑκάστους δεομένων. ὅθεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ προελθούσης ἔς τε τὸν Πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον καὶ ἐπὶ ψάμμον τὴν πρὸ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν παρὰ στήλαις Ἡρακλείοις, εἰκότως ἥ τε νίκη

dissatisfied at this, then took ship and fled to the Bosporus.[1] Here he collected a force of Scythians and Sarmatians and captured Theodosia and Panticapaeum. His enemy, Asander, attacked him again, and his men were defeated for want of horses, and because they were not accustomed to fighting on foot. Pharnaces alone fought valiantly until he died of his wounds, being then fifty years of age and having been king of Bosporus fifteen years. CHAP. XVII

Later history of Pontus

121. Thus Pharnaces was cut off from his kingdom and Caesar bestowed it upon Mithridates of Pergamus, who had rendered him very important help in Egypt. But the people of Bosporus are now a part of the Roman empire, and a praetor is sent by the Senate yearly to govern Pontus and Bithynia. Although Caesar was offended with the other rulers who held their possessions as gifts from Pompey, since they had aided Pompey against him, nevertheless he confirmed their titles, except the priesthood of Comana which he took from Archelaus and gave to Lycomedes. Not long after, all these countries, and those which Gaius Caesar or Mark Antony had given to others, were made Roman provinces by Augustus Caesar, after he had taken Egypt, as the Romans needed only the slightest pretext in each case. Thus, since their dominion had been advanced, in consequence of the Mithridatic war, from Spain and the Pillars of Hercules to the Euxine sea, and the sands which border Egypt, and the river Euphrates, it was fitting that this victory should be called the great one, and

[1] The text says, "to the Euxine," but Pharnaces, being at Sinope, was already at the Euxine. So Schweighäuser suggests "to the Bosporus."

CAP. XVII μεγάλη καὶ ὁ στρατηγήσας Πομπήιος μέγας ἐκλήθη. ἔχουσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Λιβύην, ὅση μέχρι Κυρήνης (Κυρήνην γὰρ αὐτὴν Ἀπίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ Λαγιδῶν γένους νόθος ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπεν), Αἴγυπτος ἐς περίοδον τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης ἔτι ἔλειπεν.

that Pompey, who accompanied the army, should be styled the Great.[1] As they held Africa also as far as Cyrene (for Apion, the king of that country, a bastard of the house of the Lagidae, left Cyrene itself to the Romans in his will), Egypt alone was lacking to complete the whole circuit of the Mediterranean.

[1] This is an anachronism. The title of Great was bestowed upon Pompey by Sulla, in consequence of his victory over the Marian faction in Africa, in the year 81 B.C.

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III

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

IN FOUR VOLUMES
III

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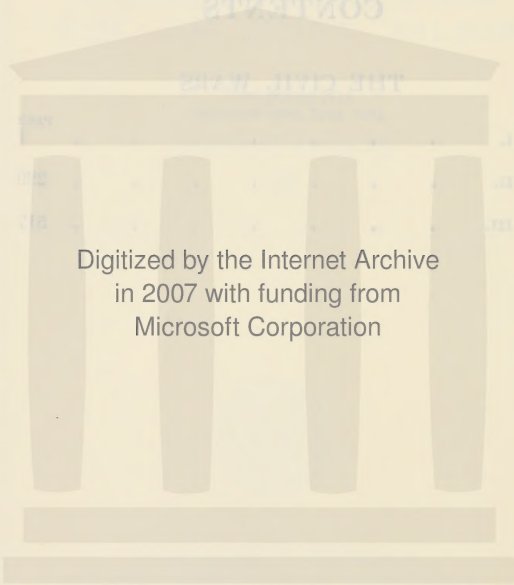
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NOTE

The last two volumes of the present edition have been revised and prepared for the press by E. Iliff Robson, of Christ's College, Cambridge. The text is Viereck's recension of Mendelssohn, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1905, with a few unimportant changes of punctuation.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ

Α'

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περί τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἢ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐστασίασαν· οὐ μήν τι χειρῶν ἔργον ἔμφυλον ἦν, ἀλλὰ διαφοραὶ μόναι καὶ ἔριδες ἔννομοι, καὶ τάδε μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς εἴκοντες ἀλλήλοις διετίθεντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμός ποτε καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐς τοιάνδε ἔριν ἐμπεσὼν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅπλοις παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐκδραμών, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληζόμενον ἱερόν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε χειρῶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτιν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἐκάλεσε δημαρχίαν ἐς κώλυσιν μάλιστα τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἱρουμένων μὴ ἐντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶναι. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS

BOOK I

Introduction

1. The plebeians and Senate of Rome were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not, however, bring them to blows; there were dissensions merely and contests within the limits of the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for each other. Once when the plebeians were entering on a campaign they fell into a controversy of this sort, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from that time on was called the Sacred Mount. Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the Tribune of the Plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate,[1] so that political power should not be exclusively in their hands. From this arose still B.C. 494

[1] The Consuls were not chosen by the Senate during the republican era, but by the whole people.

δυσμενέστερον ἔτι καὶ φιλονικότερον ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ ἀρχαὶ διετίθεντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐς αὐτὰς ἐμερίζετο ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε πλεονεξίαις ἑκάτεροι τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες. Μάρκιός τε ὁ Κοριολανὸς ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἔρισιν ἐξελαθεὶς παρὰ δίκην ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἔφυγέ τε καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πατρίδι.

2. Καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἄν τις εὕροι τῶν πάλαι στάσεων ἔργον ἔνοπλον, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτομόλου γενόμενον, ξίφος δὲ οὐδέν πω παρενεχθὲν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐδὲ φόνον ἔμφυλον, πρίν γε Τιβέριος Γράκχος δημαρχῶν καὶ νόμους ἐσφέρων πρῶτος ὅδε ἐν στάσει ἀπώλετο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον εἱλούμενοι περὶ τὸν νεὼν ἀνῃρέθησαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχον ἔτι αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ μύσει, διαιρουμένων ἑκάστοτε σαφῶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐγχειρίδια πολλάκις φερόντων κτιννυμένης τέ τινος ἀρχῆς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἀγοραῖς, δημάρχων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ ὑπάτων ἢ τῶν ἐς ταῦτα παραγγελλόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιφανῶν. ὕβρις τε ἄκοσμος ἐπεῖχεν αἰεὶ δι' ὀλίγου καὶ νόμων καὶ δίκης αἰσχρὰ καταφρόνησις. προιόντος δ' ἐς μέγα τοῦ κακοῦ, ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φανεραὶ καὶ στρατεῖαι μεγάλαι καὶ βίαιοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐγίγνοντο φυγάδων ἀνδρῶν ἢ καταδίκων ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς τινος ἢ στρατοπέδου φιλονικούντων ἐς ἀλλήλους. δυναστεῖαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ στασίαρχοι μοναρχικοί, οἱ μὲν οὐ μεθιέντες ἔτι τὰ πιστευθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ

greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed B.C. 494
in stronger animosity to each other from this time on, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the power of its own magistrates. It was in the midst of contests of this kind that Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished contrary to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war 492
against his country.

2. This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly, and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, while serving as tribune 133
and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion ; and with him many others, who were crowded together at the Capitol round the temple, were also slain. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and from time to time in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some tribune, or praetor, or consul, or candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against their country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There arose chiefs of factions quite frequently, aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops entrusted to them by the people, others even hiring

δήμου στρατόπεδα, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατ' ἀλλήλων ξενολογοῦντες. ὁπότεροι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν προλάβοιεν, τοῖς ἑτέροις ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· ἐσέβαλλον γὰρ ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν, καὶ σφαγαὶ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἐγίγνοντο νηλεεῖς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ δημεύσεις, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ βάσανοι πάμπαν ἐπαχθεῖς.

3. Ἔργον τε οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς ἀπῆν, μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν στασιάρχων εἷς ἔτει πεντηκοστῷ μάλιστα ἀπὸ Γράκχου, Κορνήλιος Σύλλας, κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰώμενος μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον· οὓς δικτάτορας ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φοβερωτάταις χρείαις ἐξαμήνους τιθέμενοι ἐκ πολλοῦ διελελοίπεσαν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας βίᾳ μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, λόγῳ δ' αἱρετός, ἐς αἰεὶ δικτάτωρ γενόμενος ὅμως, ἐπεί τε ἐκορέσθη τῆς δυναστείας, πρῶτος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε μοι δοκεῖ θαρρῆσαι τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ἑκὼν ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ἐπειπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μεμφομένοις εὐθύνας ὑφέξει, ἰδιώτης τε ὁρώντων ἁπάντων ἐς πολὺ βαδίσαι κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπαθὴς οἴκαδε. τυσοῦτον ἦν ἄρα τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ δέος ἢ τῆς ἀποθέσεως κατάπληξις ἢ τῶν εὐθυνῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αἰδὼς ἢ ἄλλη φιλανθρωπία καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τὴν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι.

Ὧδε μὲν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἔληξαν αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ

forces against each other on their own account, B.C. 133
without public authority. Whenever either side first got possession of the city, the opposition party made war nominally against their own adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like an enemy's capital, and ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Some were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and prisoners were even subjected to excruciating tortures.

3. No unseemly deed was left undone until, about fifty years after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius 82
Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the sole master of the state for a very long time. Such officials were formerly called dictators—an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. But Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated with power and was the first man, so far as I know, 82
holding supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down voluntarily and to declare that he would 79
render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call him to account, or entertained other good feeling toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state.

Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short

Σύλλα, καὶ κακῶν ἀντίδοσις ἦν ὧν ὁ Σύλλας εἰργάζετο· 4. μετὰ δὲ Σύλλαν αὖθις ὅμοια ἀνερριπίζετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αἱρετὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ δυναστεύων ἐν Γαλατίᾳ, τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι κελευούσης αἰτιώμενος οὐ τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλὰ Πομπήιον, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα οἱ καὶ στρατοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγούμενον, ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα παραλύειν, προυτίθει προκλήσεις ἢ ἄμφω τὰ στρατεύματα ἔχειν ἐς τῆς ἔχθρας τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἢ καὶ Πομπήιον οὓς ἔχοι μεθέντα ἰδιωτεύειν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ νόμοις. οὐ πείθων δ' ἐς οὐδέτερα ἐκ Γαλατίας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἐσβαλών τε ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ διώκων ἐκφυγόντα περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἐνίκησε μεγάλῃ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐδίωκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ὑποφεύγοντα. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Πομπηίου πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐργασάμενός τε καὶ ἐπιμείνας, μέχρι καταστήσαιτο αὐτῇ τοὺς βασιλέας. στασιώτην τε μέγιστον, ᾧ διὰ μεγαλουργίαν πολεμικὴν Μέγας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφῶς καθελών, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντειπεῖν, δεύτερος ἐπὶ Σύλλᾳ δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἠρέθη· καὶ στάσεις αὖθις κατεπαύοντο πᾶσαι, ἔστε καὶ τόνδε Βροῦτος καὶ Κάσσιος ζήλῳ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατέκανον, δημοτικώτατον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον ἀρχῆς γενόμενον. ὅ γέ τοι δῆμος αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων

time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the B.C. 79
evils which he had wrought, 4. but after his death
similar troubles broke out and continued until
Gaius Caesar, who had held the command in Gaul 49
by election for some years, when ordered by the
Senate to lay down his command, excused himself on
the ground that this was not the wish of the Senate,
but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an
army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. So
he sent proposals that either both should retain their
armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity,
or that Pompey also should dismiss his forces and live
as a private citizen under the laws in like manner with
himself. Both suggestions being refused, he marched
from Gaul against Pompey into Roman territory,
entered Rome, and finding Pompey fled, pursued
him into Thessaly, won a brilliant victory over him in
a great battle,[1] and followed him to Egypt. After 48
Pompey had been slain by certain Egyptians Caesar
set to work on Egyptian affairs and remained there
until he could settle the dynasty of that country.
Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered
by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed
the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits,
he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any
longer to dispute with him about anything, and was
chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all
civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius,
envious of his great power and desiring to restore 44
the government of their fathers, slew in the Senate-
house one who had proved himself truly popular, and
most experienced in the art of government. The
people certainly mourned for him greatly. They

[1] At Pharsalus.

ἐπεπόθησε, καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐζήτουν περιιόντες καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ καὶ νεὼν ἐπῳκοδόμησαν τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ.

5. Αἱ δὲ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὖθις ἐπανελθοῦσαί τε καὶ αὐξηθεῖσαι δυνατώτατα ἐς μέγα προῆλθον, καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ βουλευτῶν τε καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, κατὰ πλῆθος ἀθρόως ἑκατέρων, ἐγίγνοντο, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεχόντων καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἀμελούντων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν· τοσοῦτον ἐκράτει τῆς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα εὐνοίας ἡ ἐς τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονικία. προιόντες τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὡς ἰδιωτικὸν σφῶν κτῆμα διενείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς οἵδε ἄνδρες, Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ὅτῳ πρότερον μὲν Ὀκτάουιος ὄνομα ἦν, Καίσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὢν καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθήκαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καῖσαρ ἐκ τοῦδε μετωνομάζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῇδε μετὰ βραχὺ συμπεσόντες, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν συνέσει τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προύχων Λέπιδον μὲν πρότερον αὐτῶν ἣν ἐκεκλήρωτο Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀρχήν. ἐπί τε τούτοις, μεγίστοις δὴ φανεῖσι καὶ ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἅπαντας ἐμβαλοῦσιν, εἶλε καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπιπλεύσας, ἣ χρονιωτάτη τε ἦν ἐς τότε καὶ δυνατωτάτη μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρχὴ καὶ μόνη Ῥωμαίοις ἔλειπεν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, ὥστε Σεβαστὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἔτι περιών,

scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers, buried him in the middle of the forum, built a temple on the site of his funeral pyre, and offer sacrifice to him as a god. B.C. 44

5. And now civil discord broke out again worse than ever and increased enormously. Massacres, 43
banishments, and proscriptions of both senators and knights took place straightway, including great numbers of both classes, the chiefs of factions surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much did animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but afterward Caesar from his relationship to the other Caesar and adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octavius, who was the superior in understanding and skill, first deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had 36
fallen to his lot, and afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from Antony all the provinces 31
lying between Syria and the Adriatic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire as it now stands. In immediate consequence of these exploits 27
he was, while still living, the first to be regarded by

ὅδε πρῶτος ὀφθῆναί τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, αὐτός τε ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ Γάιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δυνατώτερον ἔτι Γαΐου, ἄρχοντα ἀποφῆναι τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, οὐδὲν αἱρέσεως ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ προσποιήματος ἔτι δεηθείς. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, ἐπιτυχὴς ἐς πάντα καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν γένος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαδοχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπεν.

6. Ὧδε μὲν ἐκ στάσεων ποικίλων ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη· ταῦτα δ' ὅπως ἐγένετο, συνέγραψα καὶ συνήγαγον, ἀξιοθαύμαστα ὄντα τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἰδεῖν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνδρῶν ἄμετρον καὶ φιλαρχίαν δεινὴν καρτερίαν τε ἄτρυτον καὶ κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων, μάλιστα δ', ὅτι μοι τῆς Αἰγυπτίας συγγραφῆς τάδε προηγούμενα καὶ τελευτήσοντα εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προαναγράψασθαι· ὧδε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἑλήφθη, διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν, Ἀντωνίῳ Κλεοπάτρας συμμαχούσης. διήρηται δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνθάδε μέν, ὅσα ἐπὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν ἀπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου, ἑξῆς δ', ὅσα μέχρι Γαΐου Καίσαρος τῆς τελευτῆς. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν, ὅσα οἱ τρεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, μέχρι τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τῶν στάσεων καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, τὸ περὶ Ἄκτιον Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτραν γενόμενον, ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς συγγραφῆς ἔσται.

the Romans as 'august,'[1] and to be called by them B.C. 27
"Augustus." He assumed to himself an authority like Caesar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Caesar's, no longer needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government proved both lasting and masterful, and being himself successful in all things and dreaded by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

6. Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into harmony and monarchy. To show how these things came about I have written and compiled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. And it is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and will end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Caesar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, up to the grand climax of these conflicts, the battle of Actium fought by Octavius Caesar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

[1] The title "Augustus" definitely connoted monarchical power. We might paraphrase "as His Majesty."

I

CAP. 1

7. Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμῳ κατὰ μέρη, χειρούμενοι γῆς μέρος ἐλάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ἐνῴκιζον ἢ ἐς τὰς πρότερον οὔσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφῶν κατέλεγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀντὶ φρουρίων ἐπενόουν, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς δορικτήτου σφίσιν ἑκάστοτε γιγνομένης τὴν μὲν ἐξειργασμένην αὐτίκα τοῖς οἰκιζομένοις ἐπιδιήρουν ἢ ἐπίπρασκον ἢ ἐξεμίσθουν, τὴν δ' ἀργὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὖσαν, ἣ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθυεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές πω σχολὴν διαλαχεῖν ἐπεκήρυττον ἐν τοσῷδε τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐκπονεῖν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, δεκάτῃ μὲν τῶν σπειρομένων, πέμπτῃ δὲ τῶν φυτευομένων. ὥριστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς προβατεύουσι τέλη μειζόνων τε καὶ ἐλαττόνων ζῴων. καὶ τάδε ἔπραττον ἐς πολυανδρίαν τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, φερεπονωτάτου σφίσιν ὀφθέντος, ἵνα συμμάχους οἰκείους ἔχοιεν. ἐς δὲ τοὐναντίον αὐτοῖς περιῄει. οἱ γὰρ πλούσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες οὔ τινα σφᾶς ἔτι ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τά τε ἀγχοῦ σφίσιν ὅσα τε ἦν ἄλλα βραχέα πενήτων, τὰ μὲν ὠνούμενοι πειθοῖ, τὰ δὲ βίᾳ λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων ἐγεώργουν, ὠνητοῖς ἐς αὐτὰ γεωργοῖς καὶ ποιμέσι χρώμενοι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας περισπᾶν, φερούσης ἅμα καὶ τῆσδε τῆς κτήσεως αὐτοῖς πολὺ κέρδος ἐκ

I

CHAP. I

The Roman Domain

7. The Romans, as they subdued the Italian peoples successively in war, used to seize a part of their lands and build towns there, or enrol colonists of their own to occupy those already existing, and their idea was to use these as outposts;[1] but of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to the colonists, or sold or leased it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a toll of the yearly crops, a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a toll of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, absorbing any adjacent strips and their poor neighbours' allotments, partly by purchase under persuasion and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using slaves as labourers and herdsmen, lest free labourers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. At the same time the ownership of slaves brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because

[1] Appian is neither clear nor convincing here. He seems to confuse war-colonies and peace-colonies, those founded as '*propugnacula*' and those which grew up on conquered territory.

CAP. 1 πολυπαιδίας θεραπόντων ἀκινδύνως αὐξομένων διὰ τὰς ἀστρατείας. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ πάμπαν ἐπλούτουν, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων γένος ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπλήθυε, τοὺς δ' Ἰταλιώτας ὀλιγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, τρυχομένους πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ στρατείαις. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἀργίας διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.

8. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσφόρει μὲν ὡς οὔτε συμμάχων ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔτι εὐπορήσων οὔτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ γενησομένης ἀκινδύνου διὰ πλῆθος τοσόνδε θεραπόντων· διόρθωσιν δ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦντες, ὡς οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ὂν οὐδὲ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἄνδρας τοσούσδε ἐκ τοσοῦδε χρόνου κτῆσιν τοσήνδε ἀφελέσθαι φυτῶν τε ἰδίων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, μόλις ποτὲ τῶν δημάρχων εἰσηγουμένων ἔκριναν μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα μηδὲ προβατεύειν ἑκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπέταξαν, οἳ τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάξειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν ἔμελλον.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε νόμῳ περιλαβόντες ἐπώμοσαν ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ζημίαν ὥρισαν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν λοιπὴν γῆν αὐτίκα τοῖς πένησι κατ' ὀλίγον διαπεπράσεσθαι· φροντὶς δ' οὐδεμία ἦν οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε τῶν ὅρκων, ἀλλ' οἵτινες καὶ ἐδόκουν φροντίσαι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπὶ ὑποκρίσει

they were exempt from military service. Thus certain powerful men became extremely rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators. CHAP I

8. For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. As they did not perceive any remedy, for it was not easy, nor in any way just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a law was at last passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera[1] of this land,[2] or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that there should be a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on. B.C. 367 The Licinian Law

Having thus comprehended all this in a law, they took an oath over and above the law, and fixed penalties for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater

[1] About 330 acres

[2] "Of this land" (*ager publicus*), not land in general.

CAP. 1 διένεμον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τέλεον κατεφρόνουν,
9. μέχρι Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος, ἀνὴρ
ἐπιφανὴς καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν εἰπεῖν τε
δυνατώτατος καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ὁμοῦ πάντων γνωριμώ-
τατος ἅπασι, δημαρχῶν ἐσεμνολόγησε περὶ τοῦ
Ἰταλικοῦ γένους ὡς εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγ-
γενοῦς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ἀπορίαν
καὶ ὀλιγανδρίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς
διόρθωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνας ὡς
ἀστρατεύτῳ καὶ οὔποτε ἐς δεσπότας πιστῷ, τὸ
ἔναγχος ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δεσποτῶν πάθος
ὑπὸ θεραπόντων γενόμενον, ἠὐξημένων κἀκείνων
ἀπὸ γεωργίας, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων
πόλεμον οὐ ῥᾴδιον οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλὰ ἔς τε μῆκος
χρόνου καὶ τροπὰς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκτραπέντα.
ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μηδένα τῶν
πεντακοσίων πλέθρων πλέον ἔχειν. παισὶ δ'
αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ
ἡμίσεα τούτων· καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τρεῖς αἱρετοὺς
ἄνδρας, ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος, διανέμειν τοῖς
πένησι.

10. Τοῦτο δ' ἦν, ὃ μάλιστα ἠνώχλει τοὺς
πλουσίους, οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ὡς πρότερον τοῦ
νόμου καταφρονεῖν διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας οὐδὲ
ὠνεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν κληρουμένων· ὁ γάρ τοι
Γράκχος καὶ τόδε προϊδόμενος ἀπηγόρευε μὴ
πωλεῖν. συνιστάμενοι δὴ κατὰ μέρος ὠλοφύροντο
καὶ προύφερον τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχαιά τε ἔργα

part disregarded it altogether, 9. till at length Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustrious man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and related in blood to the Romans, were declining little by little into pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily,[1] where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicissitudes and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than the 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by three elected commissioners,[2] who should be changed annually.

B.C. 133

The Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus

10. This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating

Struggle over its enactment

[1] The reference is to the slave rebellion in 135.

[2] *Triumviri agris dividendis.*

CAP. I

ἑαυτῶν καὶ φυτὰ καὶ οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τιμὴν ἔνιοι δεδομένην γείτοσιν, εἰ καὶ τήνδε μετὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπολέσουσι, τάφους τε ἔνιοι πατέρων ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ὡς πατρῴοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ προῖκας γυναικῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλωμένας ἢ τὴν γῆν παισὶν ἐμπροίκιον δεδομένην, δανεισταί τε χρέα καὶ ταύτης ἐπεδείκνυον, καὶ ἄκοσμος ἦν ὅλως οἰμωγὴ καὶ ἀγανάκτησις. οἱ δ' αὖ πένητες ἀντωδύροντο ἐξ εὐπορίας ἐς πενίαν ἐσχάτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς ἀγονίαν, οὐ δυνάμενοι παιδοτροφεῖν, περιφέρεσθαι. στρατείας τε ὅσας στρατεύσαιντο τὴν γῆν τήνδε περιποιούμενοι, κατέλεγον καὶ ἠγανάκτουν, εἰ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποστερήσονται, ὠνείδιζόν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς αἱρουμένοις ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν θεράποντας, ἄπιστον ἔθνος καὶ δυσμενὲς αἰεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀστράτευτον. τοιαῦθ' ἑκατέρων ὀδυρομένων τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικαλούντων, πλῆθος ἄλλο, ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀποίκοις πόλεσιν ἢ ταῖς ἰσοπολίτισιν ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει τῆσδε τῆς γῆς, δεδιότες ὁμοίως ἐπῆεσαν καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν διεμερίζοντο. πλήθει τε θαρροῦντες ἐξετραχύνοντο καὶ στάσεις ἐξάπτοντες ἀμέτρους τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νόμου περιέμενον, οἱ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ συγχωρήσοντες αὐτὸν γενέσθαι κύριον, οἱ δ' ὡς κυρώσοντες ἐξ ἅπαντος.

the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbours. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor—that they were being reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-disposed and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were thus lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they kindled considerable disturbances, and waited eagerly for the voting on the new law, some intending to prevent its enactment by all means, and others to enact it at all costs. In addition to personal interest the spirit of

CHAP. I B.C. 188

CAP. 1 φιλονικία δὲ ἑκατέροις προσέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ ἐς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμέραν παρασκευὴ κατ' ἀλλήλων.

11. Γράκχῳ δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ βουλεύματος ἦν οὐκ ἐς εὐπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς εὐανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου τῇ ὠφελείᾳ μάλιστα αἰωρούμενος, ὡς οὔ τι μεῖζον οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον δυναμένης ποτὲ παθεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας, τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸ δυσχεροῦς οὐδὲν ἐνεθυμεῖτο. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα προεῖπεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ μακρά, διηρώτα δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ δίκαιον τὰ κοινὰ κοινῇ διανέμεσθαι καὶ εἰ γνησιώτερος αἰεὶ θεράποντος ὁ πολίτης καὶ χρησιμώτερος ὁ στρατιώτης ἀπολέμου καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐνούστερος ὁ κοινωνός. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν ὡς ἄδοξον ἐπενεγκὼν αὖθις ἐπῄει τὰς τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας καὶ φόβους διεξιών, ὅτι πλείστης γῆς ἐκ πολέμου βίᾳ κατέχοντες καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης χώραν ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχοντες κινδυνεύουσιν ἐν τῷδε περὶ ἁπάντων, ἢ κτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' εὐανδρίαν ἢ καὶ τάδε δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ φθόνον ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ὧν τοῦ μὲν τὴν δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ φόβον ὑπερεπαίρων ἐκέλευε τοὺς πλουσίους ἐνθυμουμένους ταῦτα ἐπιδόσιμον, εἰ δέοι, παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰς μελλούσας ἐλπίδας τοῖς παιδοτροφοῦσι χαρίσασθαι καὶ μή,

rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the appointed day. CHAP. 1

11. What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not money, but men. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to let the commons divide the common property; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans possessed most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world; but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not, Public harangue of Gracchus

CAP. 1 ἐν ᾧ περὶ μικρῶν διαφέρονται, τῶν πλεόνων ὑπεριδεῖν, μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεπονημένης ἐξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένους τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἄνευ τιμῆς κτῆσιν ἐς αἰεὶ βέβαιον ἑκάστῳ πεντακοσίων πλέθρων, καὶ παισίν, οἷς εἰσὶ παῖδες, ἑκάστῳ καὶ τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεα. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὁ Γράκχος εἰπὼν τούς τε πένητας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πόθῳ κτήσεως ἐχρῶντο, ἐρεθίσας ἐκέλευε τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον ἀναγνῶναι.

12. Μᾶρκος δ' Ὀκτάουιος δήμαρχος ἕτερος, ὑπὸ τῶν κτηματικῶν διακωλύειν παρεσκευασμένος, καὶ ὢν ἀεὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ κωλύων δυνατώτερος. ἐκέλευε τὸν γραμματέα σιγᾶν. καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ μεμψάμενος ὁ Γράκχος ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀγορὰν ἀνέθετο . . . φυλακήν τε παραστησάμενος ἱκανὴν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος Ὀκτάουιον ἐκέλευε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγινώσκειν. καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε καὶ Ὀκταουίου κωλύοντος ἐσιώπα. λοιδοριῶν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐς ἀλλήλους γενομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου θορυβοῦντος ἱκανῶς, οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἠξίουν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ βουλῇ, περὶ ὧν διαφέρονται, καὶ ὁ Γράκχος ἁρπάσας τὸ λεχθέν, ὡς δὴ πᾶσι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀρέσοντος τοῦ νόμου, διέτρεχεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον. ἐκεῖ δ' ὡς ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, αὖθις ἐκδραμὼν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔφη διαψηφίσειν προθήσειν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀγορὰν περί τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ὀκταουίου, εἰ χρὴ δήμαρχον ἀντιπράττοντα τῷ

by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since for any labour they had spent they were receiving ample compensation in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son in the case of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the clerk to read the proposed law. CHAP. I

12. Marcus Octavius, however, another tribune, who had been induced by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the negative veto always defeats an affirmative proposal), ordered the clerk to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day.[1] Then he stationed near himself a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the clerk with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again forbade he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. But, as he had only a few followers there and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the official rights of Octavius, to deter- The tribune Octavius vetoes the bill

[1] There is probably a gap in the text here.

CAP. I δήμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν. καὶ ἔπραξεν οὕτως· ἐπείτε γὰρ Ὀκτάουιος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεὶς αὖθις ἐνίστατο, ὁ δὲ πρότεραν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψῆφον ἀνεδίδου.

Καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς καταψηφισαμένης τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἀποθέσθαι, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Γράκχος ἐδεῖτο μεταθέσθαι. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ψήφους ἐπῆγεν. οὐσῶν δὲ τότε φυλῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ συνδραμουσῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῇ τῶν προτέρων ἑπτακαίδεκα, ἡ μὲν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη τὸ κῦρος ἔμελλεν ἐπιθήσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος αὖθις, ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου, τότε μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντι τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ λιπαρῶς ἐνέκειτο μὴ ἔργον ὁσιώτατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον Ἰταλίᾳ πάσῃ συγχέαι μηδὲ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου τοσήνδε ἀνατρέψαι, ᾧ τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προθυμουμένῳ δήμαρχον ὄντα ἤρμοζε, καὶ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρουμένην περιιδεῖν ἐπὶ καταγνώσει. καὶ τάδε λέγων καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ἄκων ἄνδρα σύναρχον ἀτιμοῦν, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐπῆγε τὴν ψῆφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκτάουιος αὐτίκα ἰδιώτης γενόμενος διαλαθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε, Κόιντος δὲ Μούμμιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ᾑρεῖτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυροῦτο.

13. Διανέμειν τε αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνηντο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτός, ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνου καὶ ὃς ἐκήδευε τῷ νομοθέτῃ Κλαύδιος Ἄππιος, πάνυ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὡς δεδιότος, μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἐκλειφθείη τοῦ νόμου, εἰ μὴ Γράκχος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατάρχοιτο. Γράκχος δὲ

mine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold office. And this Gracchus did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus proposed to take the vote on him first. CHAP. I

When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from his veto. As he would not yield, he took the votes of the other tribes. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first passionately supported the motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent a work which was most righteous and useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved. Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted. Gracchus deposes him

13. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name,[1] and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should take the lead with his whole family. Gracchus The bill passed

[1] Gaius Gracchus, at this time 20 years of age.

CAP. I μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οἷα δὴ κτίστης οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἑνὸς γένους, ἀλλὰ πάντων, ὅσα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμπετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν κεκρατηκότες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀνεχώρουν, ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐληλύθεσαν, οἱ δ' ἡσσημένοι δυσφοροῦντες ἔτι παρέμενον καὶ ἐλογοποίουν οὐ χαιρήσειν Γράκχον, αὐτίκα ὅτε γένοιτο ἰδιώτης, ἀρχήν τε ὑβρίσαντα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ στάσεως τοσήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβαλόντα.

II

CAP. II 14. Θέρος δ' ἦν ἤδη καὶ προγραφαὶ δημάρχων ἐς τὸ μέλλον· καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι τῆς χειροτονίας πλησιαζούσης ἔνδηλοι σαφῶς ἦσαν ἐσπουδακότες ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς μάλιστα Γράκχῳ πολεμίοις. ὁ δ' ἐγγὺς τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένου δείσας, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔσοιτο δήμαρχος, συνεκάλει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀσχολουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἐν θέρει, συνελαυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς προθεσμίας ὀλίγης ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἔτι οὔσης ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἄστει δῆμον κατέφευγε, καὶ περιὼν κατὰ μέρος ἑκάστων ἐδεῖτο δήμαρχον αὑτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑλέσθαι, κινδυνεύοντα δι' ἐκείνους. γιγνομένης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας δύο μὲν ἔφθασαν αἱ πρῶται φυλαὶ Γράκχον ἀποφῆναι, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων ἐνισταμένων οὐκ ἔννομον εἶναι δὶς ἐφεξῆς τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν καὶ Ῥουβρίου δημάρχου τοῦ

became immensely popular by reason of the law and was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling aggrieved, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had sown in Italy so many seeds of future strife. CHAP. I

II

14. It was now summer, and the election of tribunes was imminent. As the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich had earnestly promoted the election of those most inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be re-elected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the election, but as they were occupied with harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he was incurring for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to CHAP. II

B.C. 133

New election of tribunes

CAP. II προεστάναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης διειληχότος ἐνδοιάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, Μούμμιος αὐτόν, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ δημαρχεῖν ᾑρημένος, ἐκέλευεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτρέψαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι περὶ τῆς ἐπιστασίας ἠξίουν ἀνακληροῦσθαι· Ῥουβρίου γὰρ τοῦ λαχόντος ἐκστάντος αὖθις ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν διακλήρωσιν περιιέναι. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε πολλῆς γενομένης ὁ Γράκχος ἐλαττούμενος τὴν μὲν χειροτονίαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀνέθετο, πάντα δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἐμελανειμόνει τε ἔτι ὢν ἔναρχος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπάγων ἑκάστοις συνίστη καὶ παρετίθετο ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτίκα ἀπολούμενος.

15. Οἴκτου δὲ πολλοῦ σὺν λογισμῷ τοὺς πένητας ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ὑπέρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἰσονόμῳ πολιτευσόντων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ δουλευσόντων κατὰ κράτος τοῖς πλουσίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γράκχου, τοιαῦτα δεδιότος τε καὶ πάσχοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, σύν τε οἰμωγῇ προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἑσπέρας καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐπικελευόντων, ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ Γράκχος ἔτι νυκτὸς τοὺς στασιώτας συναγαγὼν καὶ σημεῖον, εἰ καὶ μάχης δεήσειεν, ὑποδείξας κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὸν νεών, ἔνθα χειροτονήσειν ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οὐκ ἐώντων ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν, ἀνέσχε τὸ σημεῖον. καὶ βοῆς ἄφνω παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων γενομένης χεῖρές τε ἦσαν ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ τῶν Γρακχείων οἱ

preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to hand over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again by all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he went about in black, though still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he himself felt that death, at the hands of his enemies, were at hand. CHAP. II

15. The poor when they had time to think were moved with deep sorrow, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free estate under equal laws, but would be reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who was in such fear and torment in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed if there were need for fighting. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who knew of it, and violence followed. Some of the

Riot on the Capitoline hill

CAP. II μὲν αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττον οἱά τινες δορυφόροι, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι, ῥάβδους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἁρπάσαντές τε καὶ διακλάσαντες ἐς πολλά, τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξήλαυνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σὺν τοσῷδε ταράχῳ καὶ τραύμασιν, ὡς τούς τε δημάρχους δείσαντας διαφυγεῖν ἐκ μέσου, καὶ τὸν νεὼν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπικλεῖσαι, δρόμον τε πολλῶν ἄκοσμον εἶναι καὶ φυγὴν καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἀκριβῆ, τῶν μὲν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημάρχους ὁ Γράκχος παραλύσειε τῆς ἀρχῆς (οὐ γὰρ ὁρωμένων αὐτῶν εἴκαζον οὕτως), τῶν δ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον δήμαρχον ἄνευ χειροτονίας ἀποφαίνοι.

16. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ βουλὴ συνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τῆς Πίστεως ἱερόν. καί μοι θαῦμα καταφαίνεται τὸ πολλάκις ἐν τοιοῖσδε φόβοις διὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διασεσωσμένους τότε μηδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμώτατον τοῖς προτέροις τόδε τὸ ἔργον εὑρεθὲν μηδ' ἐν μνήμῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄρα γενέσθαι μήτε τότε μήθ' ὕστερον. κρίναντες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνῆεσαν. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς λεγόμενος ἐξῆρχε τῆς ὁδοῦ, Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς· ἐβόα τε μέγιστον ἕπεσθαί οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σῴζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσύρατο, εἴτε τῷ παρασήμῳ τοῦ σχήματος πλέονάς οἱ συντρέχειν ἐπισπώμενος, εἴτε πολέμου τι σύμβολον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ὡς κόρυθα ποιούμενος, εἴτε θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὧν ἔμελλε δράσειν. ἀνελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς Γρακχείοις ἐπιδραμόντι εἶξαν μὲν ὡς κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἀνδρὶ ἀρίστῳ,

partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded up their cloaks, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the lictors and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumours. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be seen. Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election. CHAP. II

16. In these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides. It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril; but a resource which had been found most useful in former times was never even recollected by the people, either then or later. After reaching such decision as they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save our country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who saw it, or in order to conceal himself from the gods on account of what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded out of regard for so excellent a citizen, and because they observed the

CAP. II καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἅμα οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐπιοῦσαν· οἱ δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῶν Γρακχείων αὐτῶν περισπάσαντες, ὅσα τε βάθρα καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνενήνεκτο διελόντες, ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημνα κατερρίπτουν. κἀν τῷδε τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοί τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ Γράκχος αὐτός, εἱλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀνῃρέθη κατὰ τὰς θύρας παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδριάντας. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ἐξέρριψαν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

17. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ δὶς ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφελομένου παῖς, ἀρίστου βουλεύματος ἕνεκα, βιαίως αὐτῷ προσιών, ἀνῃρητο ἔτι δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τόδε μύσος γενόμενον οὐ διέλιπεν, αἰεί τινος ὁμοίου γιγνομένου παρὰ μέρος. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Γράκχου φόνῳ διῃρητο ἐς λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν, οἱ μὲν οἰκτείροντες αὐτούς τε κἀκεῖνον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὡς οὐκέτι πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ χειροκρατίαν καὶ βίαν, οἱ δ' ἐξειργάσθαι σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι πᾶν, ὅσον ἐβούλοντο.

III

CAP. III 18. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν, ὅτε Ἀριστόνικος Ῥωμαίοις περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ· ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Γράκχου καὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου, ἀντικαθίστανται μὲν ἐς τὸ τὴν γῆν ἅμα

Senators following with him. The latter wresting their clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or breaking up benches and other furniture that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice.[1] In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself, vainly circling round the temple,[2] was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber. CHAP. II Death of Gracchus

17. So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of that Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who robbed Carthage of her supremacy. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design too violently pursued; and this abominable crime, the first that was perpetrated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that their dearest wishes were accomplished.

III

18. These things took place at the time when Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia; but after Gracchus was slain and Appius Claudius died, Fulvius Flaccus and CHAP. III B.C. 132

[1] Appian seems to mean not the slopes of the Capitoline Hill but the Tarpeian rock. He evidently exaggerates.

[2] Or "huddled up near the temple" of Jupiter Capitolinus.

CAP. III τῷ νεωτέρῳ Γράκχῳ διανέμειν Φούλβιος Φλάκκος καὶ Παπίριος Κάρβων, ἀμελούντων δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὴν ἀπογράφεσθαι κατηγόρους ἐκήρυττον ἐνδεικνύναι. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν δικῶν χαλεπῶν· ὅση γὰρ ἄλλη πλησιάζουσα τῇδε ἐπέπρατο ἢ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιδιῄρητο, διὰ τὸ τῆσδε μέτρον ἐξητάζετο ἅπασα, ὅπως τε ἐπέπρατο καὶ ὅπως ἐπιδιῄρητο, οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια οὔτε τὰς κληρουχίας ἔτι ἐχόντων ἁπάντων· ἃ δὲ καὶ εὑρίσκετο, ἀμφίλογα ἦν. ἀναμετρουμένης τε αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐκ πεφυτευμένης καὶ ἐπαύλεων ἐς ψιλὴν μετετίθεντο, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐνεργῶν ἐς ἀργὸν ἢ λίμνας ἢ τέλματα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ δορικτήτοις ἀκριβῆ πεποιημένοι. καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν ἀνέμητον ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα προλέγον, ἐπῆρε πολλοὺς τὰ πλησίον ἐκπονοῦντας τὴν ἑκατέρας ὄψιν συγχέαι· χρόνος τε ἐπελθὼν ἐνεόχμωσε πάντα. καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀδίκημα καίπερ ὂν μέγα δυσεπίγνωστον ἦν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ πάντων ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο μεταφερομένων τε καὶ μετοικιζομένων ἐς ἀλλότρια.

19. Ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπείξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς Καγχηδόνα ἐπόρθησεν,

Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field adjoining an old one had been bought, or divided among the allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the land having originally been so much loot, the survey had never been carefully done. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarcation between public and private had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy to ascertain. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settling down in other people's.

CHAP. III

Litigation under the Law of Gracchus

19. The Italian allies who complained of these disturbances, and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the

B.C. 129

CAP. III ἠξίουν προστάτην σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἐς τοὺς πολέμους αὐτοῖς κεχρημένος προθυμοτάτοις ὑπεριδεῖν τε ὤκνησε καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸν μὲν Γράκχου νόμον οὐκ ἔψεγε διὰ τὸν δῆμον σαφῶς, τὴν δὲ τοῦδε δυσχέρειαν ἐπεξιὼν ἠξίου τὰς δίκας οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν διαιρούντων ὡς ὑπόπτων τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑτέρων λέγεσθαι. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔπεισεν, εἶναι δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ· καὶ Τουδιτανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπατεύων ἐδόθη δικάζειν. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν ἀψάμενος τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἰδὼν ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐστράτευε, πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος τοῦ μὴ δικάζειν· οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν διανέμοντες, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς ἐς δίκην, ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦσαν. καὶ μῖσος ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο εἰς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγανάκτησις, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθόνως καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐναντιωθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὕπατόν τε δὶς ἑλόμενοι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀντιπεπραχότα σφίσιν ἑώρων. ταῦτα δ', ὅσοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἦσαν ἐχθροί, κατιδόντες ἐβόων, ὡς λῦσαι τὸν Γράκχου νόμον ὅλως διεγνωκὼς μέλλοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔνοπλον φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.

20. Ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἀκροώμενος ἐδεδίει, μέχρις ὁ Σκιπίων, ἑσπέρας παραθέμενος ἑαυτῷ δέλτον, εἰς ἣν νυκτὸς ἔμελλε γράψειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, νεκρὸς ἄνευ τραύματος εὑρέθη, εἴτε Κορνηλίας αὐτῷ, τῆς Γράκχου μητρός, ἐπιθεμένης, ἵνα μὴ ὁ νόμος ὁ Γράκχου λυθείη, καὶ συλλαβούσης ἐς τοῦτο Σεμπρωνίας τῆς θυγατρός. ἢ τῷ

destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very zealous support in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and urged that these causes should not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be assigned to other courts. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took up the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they remained idle. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw a man, in whose favour they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against themselves. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and for that end was about to inaugurate armed strife aud bloodshed.

CHAP. III

Scipio Aemilianus assists the Allies

20. When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who though

His mysterious death

CAP. 111 Σκιπίωνι γαμουμένη διὰ δυσμορφίαν καὶ ἀπαιδίαν οὔτ' ἐστέργετο οὔτ' ἔστεργεν, εἴθ', ὡς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἑκὼν ἀπέθανε συνιδών, ὅτι οὐκ ἔσοιτο δυνατὸς κατασχεῖν ὧν ὑπόσχοιτο. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ βασανιζομένους φασὶ θεράποντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ξένοι δι' ὀπισθοδόμου νυκτὸς ἐπεισαχθέντες ἀποπνίξαιεν καὶ οἱ πυθόμενοι ὀκνήσαιεν ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τὸν δῆμον ὀργιζόμενον ἔτι καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ συνηδόμενον.

Σκιπίων μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει καὶ οὐδὲ δημοσίας ταφῆς ἠξιοῦτο, μέγιστα δὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὠφελήσας· οὕτως ἡ παραυτίκα ὀργὴ τῆς ποτὲ χάριτος ἐπικρατεῖ. καὶ τόδε ὂν τηλικοῦτον οἷα πάρεργον ἐπὶ τῇ Γράκχου στάσει συνέπεσε.

21. Τὴν δὲ διαίρεσιν τῆς γῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ προφάσεσι ποικίλαις διέφερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. καί τινες εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, οἳ δὴ περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἀναγράψαι, ὡς μείζονι χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ διοισομένους. καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἄσμενοι τοῦθ' οἱ Ἰταλιῶται, προτιθέντες τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν. συνέπρασσέ τε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων Φούλβιος Φλάκκος, ὑπατεύων ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν διανέμων. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐχαλέπαινε, τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἰσοπολίτας εἰ ποιήσονται.

Καὶ τόδε μὲν τὸ ἐγχείρημα οὕτω διελύθη, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐλπίδι τέως τῆς γῆς γενόμενος ἠθύμει·

married to Scipio was both unloved and unloving because she was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves under torture testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death. CHAP. III

So died Scipio, and although he had been of extreme service to the Roman power he was not even honoured with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as a mere incident of the sedition of Gracchus. B.C. 129

21. Even after these events those who were in possession of the lands postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some proposed that all the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, should be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favour, they might no longer quarrel about the land. The Italians were ready to accept this, because they preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the senators were angry at the thought of making their subjects equal citizens with themselves. B.C. 125

For this reason the attempt was abandoned, and the populace, who had been so long in the hope of B.C. 124

CAP. III

ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀσπάσιος ἐκ τῶν τὴν γῆν διαιρούντων ἐς δημαρχίαν ἐπιφαίνεται Γάιος Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ νομοθέτου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἡσυχάσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συμφορᾷ· πολλῶν δ' αὐτοῦ καταφρονούντων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, παρήγγειλεν ἐς δημαρχίαν. καὶ περιφανέστατα αἱρεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῇ βουλῇ, σιτηρέσιον ἔμμηνον ὁρίσας ἑκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς διαδίδοσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀξέως οὕτως ἐνὶ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ὑπηγάγετο, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ Φουλβίου Φλάκκου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ᾔρητο δημαρχεῖν· καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη νόμος κεκύρωτο, εἰ δήμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις, τὸν δῆμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπιλέγεσθαι.

22. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γάιος Γράκχος οὕτως ἐδημάρχει τὸ δεύτερον· οἷα δ' ἔχων τὸν δῆμον ἔμμισθον, ὑπήγετο καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας, οἳ τὴν ἀξίωσίν εἰσι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν μέσῳ, δι' ἑτέρου τοιοῦδε πολιτεύματος. τὰ δικαστήρια, ἀδοξοῦντα ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν μετέφερε, τὰ ὑπόγυα μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι Αὐρήλιος Κόττας καὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ τρίτος ἐπὶ τούτοις Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑλών, σαφῶς δεδωροδοκηκότες ἀφεῖντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικασάντων, οἵ τε πρέσβεις οἱ κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτι παρόντες σὺν φθόνῳ ταῦτα περιιόντες ἐκεκράγεσαν. ἅπερ ἡ βουλὴ

acquiring land, became disheartened. While they were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made himself agreeable to them as a triumvir, offered himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been quiet for some time after his brother's death, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he announced himself as a candidate for the office of tribune. Being elected with flying colours he began to lay plots against the Senate, and made the unprecedented suggestion that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense. Thus he quickly got the leadership of the people by one political measure, in which he had the cooperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose further tribunes from the whole body of citizens.

CHAP. III

Gaius Gracchus elected tribune

22. Thus Gaius Gracchus was tribune a second time. Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manœuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He transferred the courts of justice, which had become discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the subduer of Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain of their conduct were still present, going around uttering bitter accusations against them.

He gives the judicial power to the knights

CAP. III μάλιστα αἰδουμένη ἐς τὸν νόμον ἐνεδίδου· καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ἐκύρου. καὶ μετηνέχθη μὲν ὧδε ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δικαστήρια· φασὶ δὲ κυρωθέντος μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Γράκχον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀθρόως τὴν βουλὴν καθῃρήκοι, τοῦ δ' ἔργου προϊόντος ἐς πεῖραν μειζόνως ἔτι ἐκφανῆναι τὸ ἔπος τὸ Γράκχου. τό τε γὰρ δικάζειν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευταῖς, ἐπὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ, χρημάτων τε πέρι καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οἷά τινας ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὑπερεπῆρε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἴσα καὶ ὑπηκόους ἐποίει. συνιστάμενοί τε τοῖς δημάρχοις οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐς τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅ τι θέλοιεν, ἐπὶ μέγα φόβου τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐχώρουν· ταχύ τε περιῆν ἀνεστράφθαι τὸ κράτος τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν μόνην ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐχούσης, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν ἱππέων. προϊόντες γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάστευον μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ἐνύβριζον τοῖς βουλευταῖς παρὰ τὰς δίκας. τήν τε δωροδοκίαν μεταλαβόντες καὶ γευσάμενοι καὶ οἵδε κερδῶν ἀθρόων αἰσχρότερον ἔτι καὶ ἀμετρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο. κατηγόρους τε ἐνετοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐπήγοντο καὶ τὰς τῶν δωροδοκιῶν δίκας, συνιστάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ βιαζόμενοι, πάμπαν ἀνῄρουν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἔθος ὅλως τῆς τοιᾶσδε εὐθύνης ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ στάσιν ἄλλην τὸν δικαστικὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐλάσσω τῶν προτέρων ἐς πολὺ παρασχεῖν.

23. Ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁδοὺς ἔτεμνεν ἀνὰ τὴν

The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all, and the saying of Gracchus received a deeper and deeper significance by the course of events. For this power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights to be rulers over them, and put senators on the level of subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes, and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being in the hands of the knights, and the honour only remaining with the Senate. The knights indeed went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and when they too had tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done. They suborned accusers against the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by agreement among themselves and partly by open violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones. CHAP. III

23. Gracchus also made long roads throughout Italy

CAP. III

Ἰταλίαν μακράς, πλῆθος ἐργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, ἑτοίμων ἐς ὅ τι κελεύοι, καὶ ἀποικίας ἐσηγεῖτο πολλάς. καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπὶ πάντα ἐκάλει τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς συγγενέσι τῆς βουλῆς ἀντιστῆναι δυναμένης· τῶν τε ἑτέρων συμμάχων, οἷς οὐκ ἐξῆν ψῆφον ἐν ταῖς Ῥωμαίων χειροτονίαις φέρειν, ἐδίδου φέρειν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν καὶ τούσδε ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν νόμων αὐτῷ συντελοῦντας. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ διαταραχθεῖσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδένα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψῆφον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων παρὰ τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ τῶνδε τῶν νόμων χειροτονίαν. Λίβιόν τε Δροῦσον, ἕτερον δήμαρχον, ἔπεισε κωλῦσαι τοὺς Γράκχου νόμους, οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς αἰτίας· δέδοται δὲ τῷ κωλύοντι μηδ' ἐπιλέγειν. ἔδωκαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι τὸν δῆμον δώδεκα ἀποικίαις· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἡσθεὶς τῶν Γράκχου νόμων κατεφρόνησεν.

24. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ δημοκοπήματος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἅμα Φουλβίῳ Φλάκκῳ, κἀκείνῳ μεθ' ὑπατείαν διὰ τάδε δημαρχεῖν ἑλομένῳ, διέπλευσεν, ἐψηφισμένης κατὰ δόξαν εὐκαρπίας ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίας καὶ τῶνδε αὐτῶν οἰκιστῶν ἐπίτηδες ῥηθέντων, ἵνα μικρὸν ἀποδημούντων ἀναπαύσαιτο ἡ βουλὴ τῆς δημοκοπίας. οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀποικίᾳ τὴν

and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies. He also called on the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to men of the same race. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades[1] of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they scoffed at the laws proposed by Gracchus.

CHAP. III

He demands Roman citizenship for Italian allies

24. Having lost the favour of the rabble, Gracchus sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. It had been decided to send a colony to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a

B.C. 122

He sails for Africa with Fulvius Flaccus

[1] A short five miles.

CAP. III πόλιν διέγραφον, ἔνθα ποτὲ ἦν ἡ Καρχηδονίων, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες, ὅτι Σκιπίων αὐτήν, ὅτε κατέσκαπτεν, ἐπηράσατο ἐς ἀεὶ μηλόβοτον εἶναι. διέγραφον δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὸν δῆμον ὑπαξόμενοι. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην συνεκάλουν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους. ἐπιστειλάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ τὴν πόλιν ἔτι διαγραφόντων, ὅτι λύκοι τοὺς ὅρους Γράκχου τε καὶ Φουλβίου διέρριψαν ἀνασπάσαντες, καὶ τῶν μάντεων τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγουμένων ἀπαίσιον, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ προέγραφεν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ τὸν νόμον ἔμελλε τὸν περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἀποικίας λύσειν· ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φούλβιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦδε ἐξέπιπτον, μεμηνόσιν ἐοικότες ἐψεῦσθαι τὴν βουλὴν ἔφασκον περὶ τῶν λύκων. οἵ τε θρασύτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὗ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκκλησιάσειν ἔμελλον.

25. Ἤδη δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνειλεγμένου καὶ Φουλβίου τι περὶ τούτων ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Γράκχος ἀνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεμένων δορυφορούμενος. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότοις βουλεύμασι τὴν μὲν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέκλινεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν στοὰν παρελθὼν διεβάδιζεν, ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς ἐσομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου κατιδὼν δημότης ἀνὴρ Ἀντύλλος ἐν τῇ στοᾷ θύων, ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα, εἴτε τι πυθόμενος ἢ ὑποπτεύων ἢ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν λόγον ὑπαχθείς, ἠξίου

respite from demagogism. They marked out the city for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with solemn imprecations to sheep-pasturage for ever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favour with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony. CHAP. III

25. Now the people had come together already, and Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Conscience-stricken by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meeting-place of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, laid his hand upon him, either because he had heard or suspected something, or was moved to Rioting in Rome after his return

CAP. III φείσασθαι τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ μᾶλλόν τε θορυβηθεὶς καὶ δείσας ὡς κατάφωρος ἐνέβλεψεν αὐτῷ δριμύ· καί τις τῶν παρόντων, οὔτε σημείου τινὸς ἐπαρθέντος οὔτε προστάγματός πω γεγονότος, ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντύλλον Γράκχου δριμύτητος εἰκάσας ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν ἥκειν καὶ χαριεῖσθαί τι τῷ Γράκχῳ δόξας πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἔργου, τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐπισπάσας διαχρῆται τὸν Ἀντύλλον. βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ σώματος ὀφθέντος ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεπήδων σὺν ὁμοίου κακοῦ φόβῳ.

Γράκχος δ' ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελθὼν ἐβούλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκλογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος· οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένου, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐναγῆ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων, ὁ μὲν Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἀπορούμενοι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὧν ἐβουλεύοντο διὰ τὸ φθάσαι τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀπολωλεκότες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας διέτρεχον, καὶ οἱ συνθέμενοι αὐτοῖς συνῄεσαν ἐς αὐτάς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τινι κακῷ τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατελάμβανον. καὶ ὃς ἐπεδήμει τῶν ὑπάτων, Ὀπίμιος, διέτασσε μέν τινας ἐνόπλους ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα ἕῳ συνιέναι καὶ τὴν βουλὴν διὰ κηρύκων συνεκάλει, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

26. Τάδε ἦν τοιάδε. ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Γράκχον καὶ Φλάκκον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβεντῖνον λόφον, ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ τόνδε προλάβοιεν, ἐνδώσειν πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τι τὴν βουλήν. διαθέοντές τε τοὺς θεράποντας

speak to him for some other reason, and begged him to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the man a sharp look. Then one of his party, although no signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the angry glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favour to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate. CHAP III

Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed, but nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. So both he and Flaccus were at their wits' end and, having lost through this hasty act the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened to their homes, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum after midnight as though some calamity were impending, and Opimius the consul who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to gather in the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

26. When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. As they

CAP. III συνεκάλουν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, σὺν ὅσοις εἶχον ἀμφ' αὑτούς, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταλαβόντες ἐκρατύνοντο καὶ Κόιντον Φλάκκου παῖδα ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεμπον, δεόμενοι διαλλαγῶν τυχεῖν καὶ βιοῦν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα ἥκειν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν, ὅ τι θέλοιεν, ἢ μηκέτι πέμπειν μηδένα. τῶν δ' αὖθις τὸν Κόιντον ἐπιπεμψάντων, τόνδε μὲν Ὀπίμιος ὁ ὕπατος διὰ τὴν προαγόρευσιν, ὡς οὐκέτι πρεσβευτὴν ὄντα, συνελάμβανε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράκχον τοὺς ὡπλισμένους ἐπέπεμπεν.

Καὶ Γράκχος μὲν διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης γεφύρας ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγὼν ἐς ἄλσος τι μεθ' ἑνὸς θεράποντος ὑπέσχε τῷ θεράποντι τὴν σφαγὴν καταλαμβανόμενος· Φλάκκου δ' ἐς ἐργαστήριον ἀνδρὸς γνωρίμου καταφυγόντος, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες, τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅλον ἐμπρήσειν τὸν στενωπὸν ἠπείλουν, ὁ δ' ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὤκνησε μηνῦσαι τὸν ἱκέτην, ἑτέρῳ δὲ προσέταξε μηνῦσαι. καὶ συλληφθεὶς ὁ Φλάκκος ἀνῃρέθη. Γράκχου μὲν δὴ καὶ Φλάκκου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔφερόν τινες Ὀπιμίῳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ὀπίμιος ἰσοβαρὲς χρυσίον ἀντέδωκεν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαζε, καὶ τοὺς συμφρονήσαντας ὁ Ὀπίμιος συλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ ἀποπνιγῆναι προσέταξε. Κοΐντῳ δὲ τῷ Φλάκκου παιδὶ συνεχώρησεν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς θέλοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθαιρεν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεὼν Ὁμονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγεῖραι.

ran through the city they offered freedom to the slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in harmony. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, and tell them what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent his armed men against the Gracchans. CHAP. III

Gracchus fled across the river by the wooden bridge[1] with one slave to a grove, and there, being on the point of arrest, he presented his throat to the slave. Flaccus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them, but the people plundered their houses. Opimius then arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled; but he allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration of the city was performed for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum. B.C. 121 Death of Gracchus and Flaccus

[1] The *Pons Sublicius*, which rested on wooden piles.

IV

CAP. IV

27. Καὶ ἡ στάσις ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου Γράκχου ἐς τάδε ἔληγε· νόμος τε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐκυρώθη τὴν γῆν, ὑπὲρ ἧς διεφέροντο, ἐξεῖναι πιπράσκειν τοῖς ἔχουσιν· ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐκ Γράκχου τοῦ προτέρου καὶ τόδε· καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ πλούσιοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἐωνοῦντο, ἢ ταῖσδε ταῖς προφάσεσιν ἐβιάζοντο. καὶ περιῆν ἐς χεῖρον ἔτι τοῖς πένησι, μέχρι Σπούριος Θόριος δημαρχῶν εἰσηγήσατο νόμον, τὴν μὲν γῆν μηκέτι διανέμειν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ δήμῳ κατατίθεσθαι καὶ τάδε τὰ χρήματα χωρεῖν ἐς διανομάς. ὅπερ ἦν μέν τις τοῖς πένησι παρηγορία διὰ τὰς διανομάς, ὄφελος δ' οὐδὲν ἐς πολυπληθίαν. ἅπαξ δὲ τοῖς σοφίσμασι τοῖσδε τοῦ Γρακχείου νόμου παραλυθέντος, ἀρίστου καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτου, εἰ ἐδύνατο πραχθῆναι, γενομένου, καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον διέλυσε δήμαρχος ἕτερος, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀθρόως ἁπάντων ἐξεπεπτώκει. ὅθεν ἐσπάνιζον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁμοῦ πολιτῶν τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ γῆς προσόδου καὶ διανομῶν καὶ νομῶν, πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Γράκχου νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ δίκαις ἐν ἀργίᾳ γεγονότες.

IV

CHAP. IV

Failure of the Agrarian law

27. Thus the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end. Not long afterward a law was enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about which they had quarrelled; for even this had been forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. At once the rich began to buy the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts[1] for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Thorius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed; and this distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not help to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus —a most excellent and useful one, if it could have been carried out—was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was abolished at the instance of another tribune. So the plebeians lost everything, and hence resulted a still further decline in the numbers both of citizens and soldiers, and in the revenue from the land and the distribution thereof and in the allotments themselves; and about fifteen years after the enactment of the law of Gracchus, by reason of a series of lawsuits, the people were reduced to unemployment.[2] B.C. 118

[1] The Greek seems corrupt here. Read, perhaps, *ταῖς καὶ ταῖς*: "found various pretexts."

[2] The reading is not certain. Perhaps we should understand "[the Commissioners for distributing the land] were reduced to idleness by a series of lawsuits."

CAP. IV

28. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Σκιπίων ὕπατος καθεῖλε τὸ θέατρον, οὗ Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ἦρκτο (καὶ ἤδη που τέλος ἐλάμβανεν), ὡς καὶ τόδε στάσεων ἄρξον ἑτέρων ἢ οὐ χρήσιμον ὅλως Ἑλληνικαῖς ἡδυπαθείαις Ῥωμαίους ἐθίζεσθαι. τιμητὴς δὲ Κόιντος Καικίλιος Μέτελλος Γλαυκίαν τε βουλεύοντα καὶ Ἀπουλήιον Σατορνῖνον δεδημαρχηκότα ἤδη τῆς ἀξιώσεως παρέλυεν, αἰσχρῶς βιοῦντας, οὐ μὴν ἐδυνήθη· ὁ γάρ οἱ συνάρχων οὐ συνέθετο. μικρὸν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ὡς ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Μέτελλον ἐς ἑτέραν παρήγγελλε δημαρχίαν, φυλάξας στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Γλαυκίαν καὶ τῆσδε τῶν δημάρχων τῆς χειροτονίας προεστῶτα. Νώνιος μὲν οὖν, ἐπιφανὴς ἀνήρ, ἔς τε τὸν Ἀπουλήιον παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ Γλαυκίαν ἐξονειδίζων δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη. δείσαντες δ' ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος, μὴ δημαρχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀμύναιτο, ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπιόντι ἐπιπέμπουσι σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ ἔς τι πανδοχεῖον συμφυγόντα κατεκέντησαν. τοῦ δὲ πάθους οἰκτροῦ καὶ δεινοῦ φανέντος οἱ περὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, οὔπω τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος, ἄμ' ἕῳ χειροτονοῦσι δήμαρχον τὸν Ἀπουλήιον.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν Νωνίου πάθος ὧδε ἐσιγήθη διὰ τὴν δημαρχίαν Ἀπουληίου, δεδιότων αὐτὸν ἔτι ἐξελέγχειν· 29. ἐξηλάθη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, προσλαβόντων Γάιον Μάριον ἕκτην ἄρχοντα ὑπατείαν, ἐχθρὸν ἀφανῆ τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ συνέπραξαν ὧδε ἅπαντες ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν Ἀπουλήιος νόμον ἐσέφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν, ὅσην ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένῃ Γαλατίᾳ Κίμβροι γένος

28. About this time the consul Scipio [Nasica] demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also a likely source of new seditions, or because he thought it far from desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Grecian pleasures. The censor, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, attempted to degrade Glaucia, a senator, and Apuleius Saturninus, who had already been a tribune, on account of their disgraceful mode of life, but was not able to do so because his colleague would not agree to it. Accordingly Apuleius, a little later, in order to have revenge on Metellus, became again a candidate for the tribuneship, seizing the occasion when Glaucia held the office of praetor, and presided over the election of the tribunes; but Nonius, a man of noble birth, who used much plainness of speech in reference to Apuleius and reproached Glaucia bitterly, was chosen for the office. They, fearing lest he should punish them as tribune, made a rush upon him with a crowd of ruffians just as he was going away from the comitia, pursued him into an inn, and stabbed him. As this murder bore a pitiful and shocking aspect, the adherents of Glaucia came together early the next morning, before the people had assembled, and elected Apuleius tribune.

CHAP. IV

B.C. 101

The killing of Nonius

In this way the killing of Nonius was hushed up, since everybody was afraid to call Apuleius to account because he was a tribune; 29. and Metellus also was banished by his enemies with the help of Gaius Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, and was his secret enemy. Thus they all worked with each other. Then Apuleius brought forward a law to divide the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe

B.C. 100

Division of the Gallic land

CAP. IV

Κελτῶν κατειλήφεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἔναγχος ἐξελάσας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους περιεσπάκει. προσέκειτο δέ, εἰ κυρώσειε τὸν νόμον ὁ δῆμος, τὴν βουλὴν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐπομόσαι πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἢ τὸν οὐκ ὀμόσαντα μήτε βουλεύειν καὶ ὀφλεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τάλαντα εἴκοσιν, ὑπονοοῦντες οὕτως ἄλλους τε τῶν δυσχεραινόντων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ Μέτελλον ὑπὸ φρονήματος οὐκ ἐνδώσοντα ἐς τὸν ὅρκον. ὁ μὲν δὴ νόμος ὧδε εἶχεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ προυτίθει καὶ περιέπεμπε τοὺς ἐξαγγέλλοντας τοῖς οὖσιν ἀνὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐθάρρυνε ὑπεστρατευμένοις Μαρίῳ. πλεονεκτούντων δ', ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσχέραινε.

30. Καὶ στάσεως ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ γενομένης, ὅσοι μὲν ἐκώλυον τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς νόμους, ὑβριζόμενοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπουληίου κατεπήδων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἔτι κυροῦν. βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ὡς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον οἱ πολιτικοὶ τά τε ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα ἁρπάσαντες τοὺς ἀγροίκους διέστησαν. οἱ δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπουληίου συγκαλούμενοι μετὰ ξύλων καὶ οἵδε τοῖς ἀστικοῖς ἐπῄεσαν καὶ βιασάμενοι τὸν νόμον ἐκύρωσαν. κυρωθέντος δ' αὐτίκα Μάριος οἷα ὕπατος τῇ βουλῇ προυτίθει σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὅρκου· καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον εἰδὼς στερρόν τε τῇ

lately driven out by Marius) had seized in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, and which was considered as now no longer Gallic but Roman territory. It was provided also in this law that, if the people should enact it, the senators should take an oath within five days to obey it, and that any one who should refuse to do so should be expelled from the Senate and should pay a fine of twenty talents for the benefit of the people. Thus they intended to punish those who should take it with a bad grace, and especially Metellus, who was too high-spirited to submit to the oath. Such was the proposed law. Apuleius appointed the day for holding the comitia and sent messengers to inform those in country districts, in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies the city people were not pleased with it. CHAP. IV

Sedition of Apuleius Saturninus

30. A disturbance broke out in the comitia. Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the laws proposed by the tribunes were assaulted by Apuleius and driven away from the rostra. The city crowd exclaimed that thunder was heard in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the adherents of Apuleius nevertheless persisted, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rustics. The latter were rallied by Apuleius; they attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them, and passed the law. As soon as this was done Marius, as consul, proposed to the Senate that they should consider the question of the oath. Knowing that Metellus was a man of stiff opinions and resolute

CAP. IV γνώμῃ καὶ βέβαιον ἐφ' ὅ τι φρονήσειεν ἢ εἰπεῖν φθάσειεν, ἐτίθει πρῶτος ἐς μέσον τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετ' ἐνέδρας καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὔποτε τὸν ὅρκον ἑκὼν τόνδε αὐτὸς ὀμόσει. συναποφηναμένου δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεσάντων, ὁ Μάριος διέλυσε τὴν βουλήν. εἶτα τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἢ τῷ ὅρκῳ τελευταία κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἦν, ἀμφὶ δεκάτην ὥραν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδὴν συναγαγὼν ἔφη τὸν δῆμον ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τὸν νόμον δεδιέναι, μηχανὴν δ' ὁρᾶν καὶ σόφισμα τοιόνδε· ὀμόσειν γάρ, ᾗ νόμος ἐστί, τῷδε πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὕτω διασκεδᾶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐνηδρευμένους, ὕστερον δ' οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐπιδείξειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ὠνομασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.

31. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἀναμείνας, πάντων ἔτι σιωπώντων ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ δεδαπανημένῳ, οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι παρασχὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νεών, οὗ τοῖς ταμίαις ἐχρῆν ὀμνύναι, καὶ ὤμνυε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτος. ὤμνυον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποί, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δεδιὼς ἕκαστος· Μέτελλος δ' οὐκ ὤμοσε μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως διέμεινεν ἀφόβως. καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπιπέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐξεῖλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ῥυομένων δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων δημάρχων, ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐς τοὺς ἀγροίκους ἐκδραμόντες οὐκ ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον κύριον, εἰ μὴ Μέτελλος ἐξελαθείη. ψήφισμά τε φυγῆς

about anything he either felt or had committed himself to by word of mouth, he himself first gave his own opinion publicly, but hypocritically, saying that he would never willingly take this oath himself. When Metellus had agreed with him in this, and the others had approved them both, Marius adjourned the Senate. On the fifth day thereafter (the last day prescribed in the law for taking the oath) he called them together in haste about the tenth hour, saying that he was afraid of the people because they were so zealous for the law. He saw a way, however, to avoid it, and he proposed the following trick—to swear that they would obey this law as far as it was a law, and thus at once disperse the country people by stratagem. Afterward it could be easily shown that this law, which had been enacted by violence and after thunder had been reported, contrary to the custom of their ancestors, was not really a law. CHAP IV B.C. 100

31. After speaking thus he did not wait for the result, but while all were in silent amazement at the plot, and confused because there was no time to be lost, giving them no opportunity for thinking, he rose and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quaestors were accustomed to administer oaths, and took the oath first with his friends. The rest followed his example, as each one feared for his own safety. Metellus alone refused to swear, but stood fearlessly by his first determination. Apuleius at once on the next day sent his officer for him and tried to drag him out of the senate-house. But when the other tribunes defended him Glaucia and Apuleius hastened to the country people and told them that they would never get the land, and that the law would not be executed, unless Metellus were banished. They

CAP. IV ἐπέγραφον αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρῦξαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλῳ κοινωνεῖν πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ στέγης· ἔς τε τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἡμέραν προύγραφον. δεινῆς δὲ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἀγανακτήσεως οὔσης καὶ παραπεμπόντων Μέτελλον αἰεὶ σὺν ξιφιδίοις, ὁ Μέτελλος αὐτοὺς ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔφη δι' ἑαυτὸν ἐάσειν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ἐπιγενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐκύρου, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι Μάριος ἐπεκήρυττεν.

32. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Μέτελλος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμώτατος, ἔφευγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον ἐδημάρχει. καί τις αὐτῷ συνῆρχε δραπέτης εἶναι νομιζόμενος, Γράκχον ἑαυτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον πατέρα ἐπιγράφων. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνεπεπράχει περὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν πόθῳ Γράκχου. προτεθείσης δὲ ὑπάτων χειροτονίας, Μᾶρκος μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀναμφιλόγως ᾑρέθη, τὴν δὲ ὑπόλοιπον Γλαυκίας ὅδε καὶ Μέμμιος μετῄεσαν. Μεμμίου δ' ὄντος ἐπιδοξοτέρου παρὰ πολύ, δείσας ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπιπέμπουσί τινας αὐτῷ σὺν ξύλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, οἳ τὸν Μέμμιον παίοντες ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ὁρώντων συνέκοψαν.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία θορυβηθεῖσα διελύετο οὔτε νόμων οὔτε δικαστηρίων οὔτε τινὸς αἰδοῦς ἔτι ὑπούσης· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν μετ' ὀργῆς συνέτρεχεν ὡς κτενοῦντες τὸν Ἀπουλήιον. ὁ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἁλίσας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν μετὰ Γλαυκίου καὶ Γαΐου Σαυφηίου ταμίου

Banishment of Metellus

then proposed a decree of banishment against him and directed the consuls to interdict him from fire, water, and shelter, and appointed a day for the ratification of this decree. Great was the indignation of the city people, who constantly escorted Metellus, carrying daggers. He thanked them and praised them for their good intentions, but said that he could not allow any danger to befall the country on his account. After saying this he withdrew from the city. Apuleius got the decree ratified, and Marius made proclamation of the contents of the decree.

32. In this way was Metellus, a most admirable man, sent into banishment. Thereupon Apuleius was tribune a third time and had for a colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus, and the multitude supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent, while the aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrous man by far, and Glaucia and Apuleius were anxious about the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election was going on, who fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all.

Murder of Memmius

The assembly was broken up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor sense of shame remained. The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Apuleius, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quaestor, seized the Capitol.

CAP. IV τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβε. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ψηφισαμένης ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ὤπλιζέ τινας σὺν ὄκνῳ· καὶ βραδύνοντος ἕτεροι τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπιρρέον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. καὶ Σαυφήιος μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸν νεών, ὑπὸ δίψης ἀπολλύμενος, ἠξίου, Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ Ἀπουλήιος ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσειν Μάριον παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, οἵδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὁ Σαυφήιος. Μάριος δ', αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν κελευόντων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέκλεισεν ὡς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρόφασιν τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίσαντες τὸν κέραμον ἐξέλυον τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἔβαλλον, ἕως ἀπέκτειναν, ταμίαν τε καὶ δήμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν, ἔτι περικειμένους τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

33. Πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἐν τῇ στάσει διέφθαρτο καὶ δήμαρχος ἕτερος, ὁ τοῦ Γράκχου παῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, πρώτην δημαρχῶν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν, οὐδένα ἔτι ὠφελούσης οὔτε ἐλευθερίας οὔτε δημοκρατίας οὔτε νόμων οὔτε ἀξιώσεως οὔτε ἀρχῆς, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἕς τε κώλυσιν ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ἐς ἐπικούρησιν τῶν δημοτῶν γενομένη, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὖσα, τοιάδε ὕβριζε καὶ τοιάδε ἔπασχεν. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἡ μὲν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκεκράγεσαν κατακαλεῖν Μέτελλον, Πούπλιος δὲ Φούριος δήμαρχος, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου πατρός, ἀλλ' ἐξελευθέρου, θρασέως ἐνίστατο αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲ Μετέλλου τοῦ Μετέλλου παιδὸς ἱκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ δακρύοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπίπτοντος ἐνεκλάσθη.

The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Apuleius, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death at once, Marius shut them up in the senate-house as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext, tore the tiles off the roof, and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office.

CHAP. IV

Punishment of Apuleius

33. Very many others were swept out of existence in this sedition. Among them was that other tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, and who perished on the first day of his magistracy. Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the office of tribune, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now was guilty of such outrages and suffered such indignities. When the party of Apuleius was destroyed the Senate and people clamoured for the recall of Metellus, but Publius Furius, a tribune who was not the son of a free citizen but of a freedman, boldly resisted them. Not even Metellus, the son of Metellus, who besought him in the presence of the people with tears in his eyes, and threw himself at his feet, could move him. From this dramatic appearance the

Reign of Terror

CAP. IV ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὄψεως Εὐσεβὴς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐκλήθη, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Φούριον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐς δίκην Γάιος Κανουλήιος δήμαρχος ὑπῆγε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους ὑπομείνας διέσπασε τὸν Φούριον· οὕτως αἰεί τι μύσος ἑκάστου ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγίγνετο· Μετέλλῳ δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καί φασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιουμένῳ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας.

V

CAP. V Τρίτον μὲν δὴ τόδε ἔργον ἐμφύλιον ἦν τὸ Ἀπουληίου, μετὰ δύο τὰ Γράκχεια, καὶ τοσάδε εἴργαστο Ῥωμαίους· 34. οὕτω δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ συμμαχικὸς καλούμενος πόλεμος ἐπιγίγνεται ἐθνῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῶν, ἀρξάμενός τε παραδόξως, καὶ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ μέγα προελθών, καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ σβέσας ὑπὸ δέους ἐπὶ πολύ. λήγων δὲ καὶ ὅδε στάσεις τε ἄλλας καὶ στασιάρχους δυνατωτέρους ἀνέθρεψεν οὐ νόμων εἰσηγήσεσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ δημοκοπίαις, ἀλλὰ ἀθρόοις στρατεύμασι κατ' ἀλλήλων χρωμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τάδε συνήγαγον ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφήν, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσεως ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐς πολὺ χείρονα στάσιν ἑτέραν ἐκπεσόντα. ἤρξατο δὲ ὧδε.

Φούλβιος Φλάκκος ὑπατεύων μάλιστα δὴ πρῶτος ὅδε ἐς τὸ φανερώτατον ἠρέθιζε τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ὡς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσομένους. εἰσηγούμενος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτῇ καρτερῶς, ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπί τινα στρατείαν

son ever afterward bore the name of Metellus Pius. CHAP. IV
The following year Furius was called to account for his obstinacy by the new tribune, Gaius Canuleius. B.C. 99
The people did not wait for his excuses, but tore Furius in pieces. Thus every year some new abomination was committed in the forum. Metellus, however, was allowed to return, and it is said that a whole day was not sufficient for the greetings of those who went to meet him at the city gates.

V

Such was the third civil strife (that of Apuleius) CHAP. V
which succeeded those of the two Gracchi, and such the results it brought to the Romans. 34. While they were thus occupied the so-called Social War, in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew rapidly to great proportions and extinguished the Roman seditions for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it also gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by the tricks of the demagogue, but by matching whole armies against each other. I have treated it in this history because it had its origin in the sedition in Rome and resulted in another much worse. It began in this way.

Origin of the Social War

Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship first and foremost B.C. 125
openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the empire instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in

CAP. V

ἐξεπέμφθη διὰ τόδε. ἐν ᾗ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῷ δεδαπανημένης, ὁ δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἵλετο μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπραξε γενέσθαι σὺν Γράκχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοιάδε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσφέροντι κἀκείνῳ. ἀναιρεθέντοιν δὲ ἀμφοῖν, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἠρέθιστο ἡ Ἰταλία· οὔτε γὰρ ἠξίουν ἐν ὑπηκόων ἀντὶ κοινωνῶν εἶναι μέρει οὔτε Φλάκκον καὶ Γράκχον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε παθεῖν.

35. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ Λίβιος Δροῦσος δημαρχῶν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐκ γένους, δεηθεῖσι τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις νόμον αὖθις ἐσενεγκεῖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπέσχετο· τούτου γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν ὡς ἐνὶ τῷδε αὐτίκα ἡγεμόνες ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο προθεραπεύων ὑπήγετο ἀποικίαις πολλαῖς ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ, γεγονυίαις δὲ οὔπω. τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἳ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὰ δικαστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ συναγαγεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, σαφῶς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανενεγκεῖν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δ' ἐς ἑκατέρους ὧδε. τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις τότε ὄντων μόλις ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἑτέρους τοσούσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων εἰσηγεῖτο ἀριστίνδην προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε πάντων ἐς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια· εὐθύνας τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγραφεν, ἐγκλήματος ἴσα δὴ καὶ ἀγνοουμένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς δωροδοκίας ἀνέδην ἐπιπολαζούσης.

the course of which his consulship expired; but he obtained the tribuneship after that and contrived to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with whose co-operation he brought forward other measures in favour of the Italians. When they were both killed, as I have previously related, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should have suffered such calamities while working for their political advantage. CHAP. V B.C. 123 B.C. 121

35. After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man of most illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at their urgent request, that he would bring forward a new law to give them citizenship. They especially desired this because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavoured to bring together by an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice to reconcile them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number, he brought forward a law that an equal number, chosen according to merit, should be added to their enrolment from the knights, and that the courts of justice should be made up thereafter from the whole number. He added a clause in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint. B.C. 91 Measures of Livius Drusus

CAP. V

Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἐπενόει, περιῆλθε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον αὐτῷ. ἥ τε γὰρ βουλὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀθρόως αὐτῇ τοσούσδε προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐξ ἱππέων ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα μεταβῆναι, οὐκ ἀδόκητον ἡγουμένη καὶ βουλευτὰς γενομένους κατὰ σφᾶς ἔτι δυνατώτερον τοῖς προτέροις βουλευταῖς στασιάσειν· οἵ τε ἱππεῖς ὑπώπτευον, ὅτι τῇδε τῇ θεραπείᾳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν μόνην τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων περιφέροιτο, γευσάμενοί τε κερδῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐξουσίας οὐκ ἀλύπως τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔφερον. τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ σφᾶς ἐποίει καὶ ὑποψίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἀξιώτεροι δοκοῦσιν ἐς τοὺς τριακοσίους καταλεγῆναι· καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς φθόνος ἐς τοὺς κρείττονας ἐσῄει· ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ἠγανάκτουν ἀναφυομένου τοῦ τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐγκλήματος, ὃ τέως ἡγοῦντο καρτερῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόρριζον ἐσβέσθαι.

36. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή, καίπερ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις διαφόρως, ἐς τὸ Δρούσου μῖσος συνεφρόνουν, καὶ μόνος ὁ δῆμος ἔχαιρε ταῖς ἀποικίαις. οἱ Ἰταλιῶται δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτα ἐτέχνάζε, καὶ οἵδε περὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς τῆς δημοσίας Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἣν ἀνέμητον οὖσαν ἔτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ βίας, οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐγεώργουν, αὐτίκα σφῶν ἀφαιρεθησομένης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχλησόμενοι. Τυρρηνοί τε καὶ

This was the plan that he contrived for both of them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them, too, fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which of them seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all the knights were angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been ere this entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned. CHAP. V

36. Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the colonies. Even the Italians, in whose especial interest Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would at once be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans B.C. 91

CAP. V

Ὀμβρικοὶ ταὐτὰ δειμαίνοντες τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις καί, ὡς ἐδόκει, πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαχθέντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Δρούσου, λόγῳ δ' ἐς κατηγορίαν, τοῦ νόμου φανερῶς κατεβόων καὶ τὴν τῆς δοκιμασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. ὧν ὁ Δροῦσος αἰσθανόμενός τε καὶ οὐ θαμινὰ προϊών, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐν περιπάτῳ βραχὺ φῶς ἔχοντι χρηματίζων ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ ἑσπέραν τὸ πλῆθος ἀποπέμπων ἐξεβόησεν ἄφνω πεπλῆχθαι καὶ λέγων ἔτι κατέπεσεν. εὑρέθη δὲ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν αὐτῷ σκυτοτόμου μαχαίριον ἐμπεπηγμένον.

37. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Δροῦσος ἀνῄρητο δημαρχῶν. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπίβασιν ἐς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ πολίτευμα αὐτοῦ τιθέμενοι, Κόιντον Οὐράιον δήμαρχον ἔπεισαν εἰσηγήσασθαι κρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ τῶν τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ φανερῶς ἢ κρύφα βοηθούντων, ἐλπίσαντες τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἅπαντας αὐτίκα εἰς ἔγκλημα ἐπίφθονον ὑπάξεσθαι καὶ δικάσειν μὲν αὐτοί, γενομένων δ' ἐκείνων ἐκποδὼν δυνατώτερον ἔτι τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρξειν. τὸν μὲν δὴ νόμον ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν ἑτέρων δημάρχων μὴ τίθεσθαι, περιστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν ξιφιδίοις γυμνοῖς ἐκύρωσαν· ὡς δ' ἐκεκύρωτο, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπεγράφοντο κατήγοροι. καὶ Βηστίας μὲν οὐδ' ὑπακούσας ἑκὼν ἔφευγεν ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσων ἑαυτὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν, καὶ Κόττας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ

and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians,[1] and when they were summoned to the city, as was thought, by the consuls, for the ostensible purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually to kill him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lighted. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell down while uttering the words. A shoemaker's knife was found thrust into his hip. CHAP. V

Murder of Drusus

37. Thus was Drusus also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of vexatious accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship, hoping thus to bring all the senators under an odious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when they were out of the way they themselves would be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court,

B.C. 90

[1] Until the end of the third century B.C. the word "Italy" applied only to that part of the peninsula south of Etruria and Umbria.

CAP. V παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, σεμνολογήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπεπολίτευτο, καὶ λοιδορησάμενος τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φανερῶς, ἐξῄει τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅδε πρὸ τῆς ψήφου· Μούμμιος δ', ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑλών, αἰσχρῶς ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ὑποσχομένων αὐτὸν ἀπολύσειν κατεκρίθη φεύγειν καὶ ἐν Δήλῳ διεβίωσεν.

38. Ἐπιπολάζοντος δ' ἐς πολὺ τοῦ κακοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, ὅ τε δῆμος ἤχθετο τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσάδε εἰργασμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ οἱ Ἰταλοὶ τοῦ τε Δρούσου πάθους πυνθανόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν τούτων προφάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν σφίσιν ἔτι ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε πάσχειν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ μηχανὴν ἐλπίδος ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔτι ὁρῶντες, ἔγνωσαν ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων ἄντικρυς καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος. κρύφα τε διεπρεσβεύοντο συντιθέμενοι περὶ τῶνδε καὶ ὅμηρα διέπεμπον ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις.

Ὧν ἐς πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐπήσθοντο Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει κρίσεις τε καὶ στάσεις· ὡς δ' ἐπύθοντο, περιέπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπὸ σφῶν τοὺς ἑκάστοις μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους, ἀφανῶς τὰ γιγόμενα ἐξετάζειν. καί τις ἐκ τούτων μειράκιον ὅμηρον ἰδὼν ἐξ Ἄσκλου πόλεως ἐς ἑτέραν ἀγόμενον ἐμήνυσε τῷ περὶ τὰ χωρία ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουιλίῳ. ἦσαν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τότε καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄρχοντες ἀνθύπατοι κατὰ μέρη· ὃ καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ἄρα μιμούμενος ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, ἀνεκαίνισε,

made an impressive defence of his administration of public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He, too, departed from the city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, the conqueror of Greece, was basely ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He passed the remainder of his life at Delos. CHAP. V

38. As this malice against the aristocracy grew more and more, the people were grieved because they were deprived all at once of so many distinguished men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the murder of Drusus and of the reasons alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer tolerable that those who were labouring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with might and main. They sent envoys secretly to each other, formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith. Continued sedition

The Romans were in ignorance of these facts for a long time, being busy with the trials and the seditions in the city. When they heard what was going on they sent men round to the towns, choosing those who were best acquainted with each, to collect information quietly. One of these agents saw a young man who was being taken as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, and informed Servilius, the praetor, who was in those parts. (It appears that there were praetors with consular power at that time governing the various parts of Italy; the emperor Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward, but

CAP. V καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμεινεν ἐς βραχύ. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος θερμότερον ἐσδραμὼν ἐς τὸ Ἄσκλον καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις χαλεπῶν ἀπειλῶν ἀνηρέθη ὡς ὑπὸ ἤδη πεφωραμένων. ἐπανηρέθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Φοντήιος, ὃς ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἑπομένους ἐς βοήθειαν. πεσόντων δὲ τῶνδε, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τις ἦν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι πάντας οἱ Ἀσκλαῖοι συνεκέντουν ἐπιτρέχοντες καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς διήρπαζον.

39. Ἐκραγείσης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἅπαντα, ὅσα τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἔθνη γείτονα ἦν, συνεξέφαινε τὴν παρασκευήν, Μάρσοι τε καὶ Παιλιγνοὶ καὶ Οὐηστῖνοι καὶ Μαρρουκῖνοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πικεντῖνοι καὶ Φρεντανοὶ καὶ Ἰρπῖνοι καὶ Πομπηιανοὶ καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ Ἰάπυγες, Λευκανοί τε καὶ Σαυνῖται, χαλεπὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πρὶν ἔθνη γενόμενα, ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀπὸ Λίριος ποταμοῦ, ὃν νῦν μοι δοκοῦσι Λίτερνον ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν ἐστι τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου πεζεύοντι καὶ περιπλέοντι. πέμψασι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις αἰτιωμένους, ὅτι πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνεργασάμενοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται τῆς τῶν βεβοηθημένων πολιτείας, ἡ βουλὴ μάλα καρτερῶς ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰ μεταγινώσκουσι τῶν γεγονότων, πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτήν, ἄλλως δὲ μή. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντα ἀπογνόντες ἐς παρασκευὴν καθίσταντο· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ πόλιν στρατῷ κοινὸς ἦν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἕτερος ἐς δέκα μυριάδας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἀντεξέπεμπον ἀπό τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔτι συμμαχούντων σφίσιν ἐθνῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας.

it did not long survive him.) Servilius hastened to Asculum and indulged in very menacing language to the people, who were celebrating a festival, and they, supposing that the plot was discovered, put him to death. They also killed Fonteius, his legate (for so they call those of the senatorial order who accompany the governors of provinces as assistants). After these were slain none of the other Romans in Asculum were spared. The inhabitants fell upon them, slaughtered them all, and plundered their goods. CHAP. V

39. When the revolt broke out all the neighbouring peoples declared war at the same time, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; and after them the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeiians, the Venusini, the Apulians, the Lucanians, and the Samnites, all of whom had been hostile to the Romans before; also all the rest extending from the river Liris (which is now, I think, the Liternus) to the extremity of the Adriatic gulf, both inland and on the sea coast.[1] They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that although they had co-operated in all ways with the Romans in building up the empire, the latter had not been willing to admit their helpers to citizenship. The Senate answered sternly that if they repented of what they had done they could send ambassadors, otherwise not. The Italians, in despair of any other remedy, went on with their mobilization. Besides the soldiers which were kept for guards at each town, they had forces in common amounting to about 100,000 foot and horse. The Romans sent an equal force against them, made up of their own citizens and of the Italian peoples who were still in alliance with them. B.C. 90 Revolt of the Italians

[1] Appian's geography is here inexact.

CAP. V

40. Ἡγοῦντο δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὕπατοι Σέξστος τε Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πόπλιος Ῥουτίλιος Λοῦπος· ἄμφω γὰρ ὡς ἐς μέγαν τε καὶ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐξῄεσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ ὑπόλοιποι καὶ τὰ τείχη διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα ἔργῳ. τό τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερὲς ἐνθυμούμενοι ὑποστρατήγους τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεμψαν τοὺς τότε ἀρίστους, ὑπὸ μὲν Ῥουτιλίῳ Γναῖόν τε Πομπήιον, τὸν πατέρα Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου παρονομασθέντος, καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα καὶ Γάιον Περπέννην καὶ Γάιον Μάριον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Μεσσάλαν, ὑπὸ δὲ Σέξστῳ Καίσαρι Πούπλιον Λέντλον, ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Τίτον Δίδιον καὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον καὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. τοσοίδε μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις διελόμενοι τὴν χώραν ὑπεστρατήγουν. καὶ πάντας ἐπεπορεύοντο οἱ ὕπατοι· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἑτέρους ὡς ἐς μέγαν ἀγῶνα ἔπεμπον ἑκάστοτε. Ἰταλοῖς δ' ἦσαν μὲν στρατηγοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἕτεροι, κοινοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοκράτορες Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Γάιος Ποντίλιος καὶ Μάριος Ἐγνάτιος καὶ Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος καὶ Γάιος Πάπιος καὶ Μᾶρκος Λαμπώνιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ Ἔριος Ἀσίνιος καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων, οἳ τὸν στρατὸν ὁμοίως μερισάμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἀντεκαθέζοντο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρασαν, πολλὰ δ' ἔπαθον. ὧν ἑκατέρων, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἦν τοιάδε.

41. Οὐέττιος μὲν Σκάτων Σέξστον Ἰούλιον τρεψάμενός τε καὶ δισχιλίους κτείνας ἐπὶ Αἰσερνίαν ἤλασε ῥωμαΐζουσαν· καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν

The Social War

40. The Romans were led by the consuls Sextus Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius Lupus, for in this great civil war both consuls marched forth at once, leaving the gates and walls in charge of others, as was customary in cases of danger arising at home and very near by. When the war was found to be complex and many-sided, they sent their most renowned men as lieutenant-generals to aid the consuls: to Rutilius, Gnaeus Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, Quintus Caepio, Gaius Perpenna, Gaius Marius, and Valerius Messala; to Sextus Caesar, Publius Lentulus, a brother of Caesar himself, as well as Titus Didius, Licinius Crassus, Cornelius Sulla, and Marcellus. All these served under the consuls and the country was divided among them. The consuls visited all parts of the field of operations, and the Romans sent them additional forces continually, realizing that it was a serious conflict. The Italians had generals for their united forces besides those of the separate towns. The chief commanders were Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompaedius, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius, Gaius Vidacilius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Scaton. They divided their army in equal parts, took their positions against the Roman generals, performed many notable exploits, and suffered many disasters. The most memorable events of either kind I shall here summarize.

Leaders on either side

B.C. 90

Various battles

41. Vettius Scaton defeated Sextus Julius, killed 2000 of his men, and marched against Aesernia, which adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who

CAP. V συντάττοντες, Λεύκιός τε Σκιπίων καὶ Λεύκιος Ἀκίλιος θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ παρεστήσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι. Μάριος δὲ Ἐγνάτιος Οὐέναφρον ἑλὼν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔκτεινε δύο Ῥωμαίων σπείρας ἐν αὐτῇ. Πρησενταῖος δὲ Πόπλιος Περπένναν μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἡγούμενον ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους τὰ ὅπλα ἔλαβε· ἐφ' ὅτῳ Περπένναν Ῥουτίλιος ὕπατος παρέλυσε τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ Γαΐῳ Μαρίῳ προσέθηκεν. Μᾶρκος δὲ Λαμπώνιος τῶν ἀμφὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον ἀνεῖλεν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς Γρούμεντον πόλιν συνεδίωξε.

42. Γάιος δὲ Πάπιος Νῶλάν τε εἷλεν ἐκ προδοσίας καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίοις, δισχιλίοις οὖσιν, ἐκήρυξεν, εἰ μεταθοῖντο, στρατεύσειν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ Πάπιος μεταθεμένους ἐστράτευεν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες τῷ κηρύγματι ἑλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ λιμῷ πρὸς τοῦ Παπίου διεφθάρησαν. Πάπιος δὲ καὶ Σταβίας εἷλε καὶ Μινέρουιον καὶ Σάλερνον, ἦ Ῥωμαίων ἄποικος ἦν· καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα κατέπρησεν, αἱ πλησίον αὐτῷ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι προσετίθεντο στρατιάν τε αἰτοῦντι παρέσχον ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους· μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πάπιος Ἀχέρραις παρεκάθητο. Σέξστου δὲ Καίσαρος Γαλατῶν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ Νομάδας Μαυρουσίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς προσλαβόντος τε καὶ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχέρρας, ὁ Πάπιος

were in command here, escaped in the disguise of slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presentaeus defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum. CHAP. V

42. Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but their officers refusing the proposal were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. He also captured Slabiae, Minervium[1] and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into the military service. But when he also plundered the entire country around Nuceria, the towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerrae. When Sextus Caesar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced towards Acerrae, Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of

[1] Surrentum.

CAP. V

Ὀξύνταν, υἱὸν Ἰογόρθου τοῦ Νομάδων ποτὲ βασιλέως, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Οὐενουσίᾳ φυλαττόμενον, ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς Οὐενουσίας καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ πορφύραν βασιλικὴν ἐπεδείκνυ θαμινὰ τοῖς Νομάσι τοῖς σὺν Καίσαρι. πολλῶν δ' ὡς πρὸς ἴδιον βασιλέα αὐτομολούντων ἀθρόως, τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς τῶν Νομάδων ὡς ὑπόπτους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψε, Πασίου δὲ πελάσαντος αὐτῷ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ μέρος ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος διασπῶντος, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμψας κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἔκτεινε τοῦ Παπίου περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξ Ἀχερρῶν ἀνεζεύγνυεν, Οὐιδακιλίῳ δ' ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσετίθεντο Κανύσιοι καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ ἕτεραι πόλεις πολλαί. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπειθούσας ἐξεπολιόρκει, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ δημότας καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευε.

43. Ῥουτίλιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Λίριος ποταμοῦ γεφύρας ἐς διάβασιν ἐξ οὗ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐπήγνυντο· καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευε παρὰ τὴν Μαρίου μάλιστα γέφυραν ἔλαθέ τε νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν Ῥουτιλίου γέφυραν λόχους ἐν φάραγξιν ἐνεδρεύσας. ἅμα δ' ἕῳ τὸν Ῥουτίλιον διελθεῖν ὑπεριδὼν ἀνέστησε τὰς ἐνέδρας καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατῶσεν· ὅ τε Ῥουτίλιος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ βέλει τρωθεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπέθανε. καὶ Μάριος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτέρας ὢν γεφύρας τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα σωμάτων εἰκάσας τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ὤσατο

Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Caesar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to their own king, so that Caesar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. But when Papius attacked him contemptuously, and had already made a breach in his palisaded camp, Caesar debouched with his horse through the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Caesar withdrew from Acerrae. Canusia and Venusia and many other towns in Apulia sided with Vidacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his army. CHAP. V B.C. 90

43. The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built bridges over the river Liris[1] at no great distance from each other. Vettius Scaton pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines near the bridge of Rutilius. Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he drove back those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp The Consul Rutilius killed

[1] Really the Tolenus.

CAP. V καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα περάσας τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Σκάτωνος ὑπ' ὀλίγων φυλαττόμενον εἶλεν, ὥστε τὸν Σκάτωνα νυκτερεῦσαί τε, ἔνθαπερ ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀποροῦντα ἀγορᾶς ἀναζεῦξαι περὶ τὴν ἕω. Ῥουτιλίου δὲ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ ταφὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐνεχθέντων ἥ τε ὄψις ἀηδὴς ἦν ὑπάτου καὶ τοσῶνδε ἄλλων ἀνῃρημένων καὶ πολυήμερον ἐπὶ τῷδε πένθος ἠγέρθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς ἀποθνῄσκοντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔκρινεν, ἔνθαπερ ἂν θάνωσι, θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν στρατειῶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πυθόμενοι περὶ σφῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

VI

CAP. VI 44. Ῥουτιλίῳ μὲν δὴ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οὐκ ἐγένετο, Σέξστου Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀγαγόντος σχολὴν διαδραμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀρχαιρέσια ἐς Ῥώμην· τῆς δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν ἄρχειν Γάιόν τε Μάριον καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα. τούτῳ τῷ Καιπίωνι Κόιντος Ποπαίδιος ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος οἷά τις αὐτόμολος προσέφυγεν, ἄγων καὶ διδοὺς ἐνέχυρον δύο βρέφη δοῦλα, καθάπερ υἱεῖς, ἐσκευασμένα ἐσθῆσι περιπορφύροις· ἐς δὲ πίστιν ἔφερε καὶ μάζας ἐκ μολύβδου, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ περιβεβλημένας· καὶ ἐδεῖτο κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῷ τὸν Καιπίωνα ἕπεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον ἔτι ἄρχοντος. Καιπίων μὲν δὴ πειθόμενος εἵπετο, Ποπαίδιος δὲ πλησίον τῆς ἐσκευασμένης ἐνέδρας γενόμενος

of Scaton, which was guarded by only a small force, so that Scaton was obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves. CHAP. V

VI

CHAP. VI

Defeat and death of Q. Caepio

44. THERE was no successor to Rutilius in the consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Caesar did not have leisure to go to the city and hold the comitia. The Senate appointed C. Marius and Q. Caepio to command the forces of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Popaedius, fled as a pretended deserter to this Caepio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Caepio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader, and Caepio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where the ambush had been laid, Popaedius ran up to the top of a hill

CAP. VI ἀνέδραμεν ἔς τινα λόφον ὡς κατοψόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σημεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπῆρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐκφανέντες αὐτόν τε Καιπίωνα καὶ πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατέκοψαν· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς Καιπίωνος ἡ σύγκλητος Μαρίῳ προσέζευξεν.

45. Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τρισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων πεντακισχιλίων διεξιών τινα φάραγγα καὶ κρημνούς, ἄφνω προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ Μαρίου Ἐγνατίου, ἐς τὴν φάραγγα περιωσθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον ἐπί τινα ποταμόν, οὗ μία γέφυρα ἦν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλέον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τὰ ὅπλα, μόλις ἐς Τεανὸν καταφυγὼν ὤπλιζεν, οὓς ἔτι εἶχεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ἑτέρου δὲ πλήθους αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπελθόντος, ἐπὶ Ἀχέρρας ἔτι πολιορκουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Παπίου μετῆει.

Καὶ οἵδε μὲν ἀλλήλαις ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν οὐδέτερος οὐδετέρῳ διὰ φόβον· 46. Μάρσους δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπιθεμένους σφίσι συντόνως ἐδίωκον, μέχρι θριγκοῖς ἀμπέλων ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ Μάρσοι μὲν τοὺς θριγκοὺς κακοπαθῶς ὑπερέβαινον, Μαρίῳ δὲ καὶ Σύλλᾳ διώκειν ὑπὲρ τούτους οὐκ ἔδοξεν. Κορνήλιος δὲ Σύλλας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶνδε τῶν ἀμπέλων στρατοπεδεύων, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ γεγονότος ὑπήντα τοῖς ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Μάρσων καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς τὸν φόνον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι περὶ πλείους ἑξακισχιλίων, ὅπλα δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ληφθῆναι πολὺ πλείονα.

Μάρσοι μὲν δὴ δίκην θηρίων, τῷ πταίσματι προσαγανακτοῦντες, αὖθις ὡπλίζοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι, προεπιχειρεῖν μὴ

as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Caepio and most of his force in pieces; so the Senate joined the rest of Caepio's army to that of Marius. CHAP. VI

45. While Sextus Caesar was passing through a rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and drove him back into it. He retired, borne on a litter, as he was ill, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge, and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors, only escaping to Teanum with difficulty, where he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reinforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerrae, which was still besieged by Papius. Defeat of Sextus Caesar

There, though their camps were pitched opposite each other, neither dared to attack the other, 46. but Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with heavy loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures, and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and he also killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans. Sulla defeats the Marsians

The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again and prepared to march against the enemy, but

CAP. VI θαρροῦσι μηδὲ ἄρχειν μάχης· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πολεμικώτατον, καί φασι κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ πταίσματι γενέσθαι μόνῳ, λεγόμενον πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἄνευ Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.

47. Περὶ δὲ τὸ Φάλερνον ὄρος Γναῖον Ποπηίου Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Οὐέττιος, ἐς ταὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις συνελθόντες, ἐτρέποντο καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς πόλιν Φίρμον. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἕτερα ᾤχοντο, Λαφρήνιος δὲ παρεκάθητο Ποπηίῳ ἐς τὸ Φίρμον κατακεκλεισμένῳ. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν ὁπλίζων τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἐς χεῖρας οὐκ ἦγεν, προσελθόντος δὲ ἑτέρου στρατοῦ Σουλπίκιον περιέπεμπεν ὄπισθεν τοῦ Λαφρηνίου γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπῆγεν. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ πονουμένοιν ἀμφοῖν, ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐπίμπρη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ πολέμιοι κατιδόντες ἐς Ἄσκλον ἔφευγον, ἀκόσμως ἅμα καὶ ἀστρατηγήτως· Λαφρήνιος γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει μαχόμενος. Ποπηίος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον ἐπελθὼν ἐπολιόρκει.

48. Πατρὶς δ' ἦν Οὐιδακιλίου τὸ Ἄσκλον, καὶ δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἠπείγετο, σπείρας ἄγων ὀκτώ. προπέμψας τε τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἐκέλευεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἴδωσι πόρρωθεν ἐπιόντα, ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς περικαθημένους, ὡς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἑκατέρωθεν γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ Ἀσκλαῖοι μὲν ἀπώκνησαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων ἐσδραμὼν μεθ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθη, ὠνείδισε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν, οὐκ ἐλπίζων δ' ἔτι τὴν πόλιν περιέσεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθρούς, οἳ τέως

did not dare to take the offensive or to begin a battle. They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians." CHAP. VI

47. Near Mount Falernus, Vidacilius, T. Lafrenius and P. Vettius united their forces and defeated Gnaeus Pompeius, pursuing him to the city of Firmum. Then they went their several ways, and Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter at once armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement; when, however, he learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius round to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were in much distress, when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

Death of Vidacilius

48. Asculum was the native town of Vidacilius, and as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless Vidacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all

CAP. VI αὐτῷ διεφέροντο καὶ τότε διὰ φθόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἃ παρήγγελλεν ἀπέτρεψαν, ἔκτεινε πάντας· ἐν δὲ ἱερῷ πυρὰν νήσας καὶ κλίνην ἐπιθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ, παρευωχήθη σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ πότου φάρμακόν τε προσηνέγκατο καὶ κατακλίνας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς φίλοις ἅψαι τὸ πῦρ· καὶ Οὐιδακίλιος μὲν ὧδε φιλοτιμηθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν κατελύθη, Σέξστος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐξήκοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνθύπατος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἱρεθεὶς ἐπέδραμεν ἀνδράσι δισμυρίοις μεταστρατοπεδεύουσί ποι καὶ ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους ὅπλα τε πολὺ πλειόνων ἔλαβε. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον οὔσης πολιορκίας, ἀποθνήσκων ἐκ νόσου ἀντιστράτηγον ἀπέφηνε Γάιον Βαίβιον.

49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον· αἰσθόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ῥώμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔθνη γειτονεύοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἠρεθίζοντο. δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλή, μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀφύλακτος ᾖ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ δι' ἀπελευθέρων, τότε πρῶτον ἐς στρατείαν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν καταλεγέντων, Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ τοὺς ἔτι ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παραμένοντας ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι πολίτας, οὗ δὴ μάλιστα μόνον οὐ πάντες ἐπεθύμουν. καὶ τάδε ἐς Τυρρηνοὺς περιέπεμπεν, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι τῆς πολιτείας μετελάμβανον. καὶ τῇδε τῇ χάριτι ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς μὲν εὔνους εὐνουστέρους ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐβεβαιώσατο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦντας ἐλπίδι τινὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραοτέρους ἐποίησεν. Ῥωμαῖοι

of his enemies who had been at variance with him before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and held a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Vidacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country, Sextus Caesar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the enemy while they were changing camping-places, killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Baebius his successor. CHAP. VI

49. While these events were transpiring on the Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and Umbria and other neighbouring peoples on the other side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by war, and unable to protect themselves, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumae to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favour the Senate made the faithful more faithful, confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the

Etruscans and Umbrians admitted to citizenship

CAP. VI μὲν δὴ τούσδε τοὺς νεοπολίτας οὐκ ἐς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλάς, αἷ τότε ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, κατέλεξαν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέονες ὄντες ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις ἐπικρατοῖεν, ἀλλὰ δεκατεύοντες ἀπέφηναν ἑτέρας, ἐν αἷς ἐχειροτόνουν ἔσχατοι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡ ψῆφος ἀχρεῖος ἦν, ἅτε τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα προτέρων τε καλουμένων καὶ οὐσῶν ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ. ὅπερ ἢ λαθὸν αὐτίκα ἢ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸ ἀγαπησάντων τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἑτέρας στάσεως ἦρξεν.

50. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον οὔπω τὴν Τυρρηνῶν μετάνοιαν ἐγνωκότες μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ὁδὸν ἀτριβῆ καὶ μακρὰν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ περιέπεμπον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὕπατος ὢν ἤδη, διέφθειρεν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα διὰ ἀπόρου χώρας καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιπόνου διατρεχόντων οἱ ἡμίσεις βαλανηφαγοῦντες διεφθάρησαν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Πόρκιος μὲν Κάτων, ὁ σύναρχος τοῦ Πομπηίου, Μάρσοις πολεμῶν ἀνῃρέθη. Λεύκιος δὲ Κλοέντιος Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὰ Πομπαῖα ὄρη στρατοπεδεύοντι μάλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν παρεστρατοπέδευε. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας ἀναμείνας ἐπέδραμε τῷ Κλοεντίῳ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττώμενος ἔφευγε, προσλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας τρέπεται τὸν Κλοέντιον. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν πορρωτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευεν, ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν αὖθις ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ συνιόντων τῶν στρατῶν Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ μεγέθει μέγας προδραμὼν

thirty-five existing tribes, lest they should outvote the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict. CHAP. VI

50. The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before they learned of the change of sentiment among the Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a long and difficult road. Gnaeus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter; and half of them after subsisting on acorns perished.[1] The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompaean hills Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him. Sulla did not tolerate this insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reinforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic reinforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and Victories of Sulla B.C. 89

[1] There is probably a gap in the text: "half, living on acorns, survived, but half perished."

CAP. VI προυκαλεῖτό τινα Ῥωμαίων ἐς μάχην. ὡς δ' αὐτὸν ὑποστὰς Μαυρούσιος ἀνὴρ βραχὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ Γαλάται αὐτίκα ἔφευγον. παραλυθείσης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐδ' ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἔτι τοῦ Κλοεντίου παρέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγεν ἐς Νῶλαν ἀκόσμως. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ἑπόμενος ἔκτεινεν ἐς τρισμυρίους ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ τῶν Νωλαίων αὐτοὺς μιᾷ πύλῃ δεχομένων, ἵνα μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι σφίσι συνεσπέσοιεν, ἑτέρους ἔκτεινεν ἀμφὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ σὺν τοῖσδε Κλοέντιος ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσε.

51. Σύλλας δ' ἐς ἔθνος ἕτερον, Ἰρπίνους, μετεστρατοπέδευε καὶ προσέβαλεν Αἰκουλάνῳ. οἱ δὲ Λευκανοὺς προσδοκῶντες αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἀφίξεσθαι, τὸν Σύλλαν καιρὸν ἐς σκέψιν ἤγαγον. ὁ δ' αἰσθανόμενος τοῦ τεχνάσματος ὥραν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε κἀν τῇδε ξυλίνῳ ὄντι τῷ τείχει κληματίδας περιτιθεὶς μετὰ τὴν ὥραν ὑφῆπτεν. οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τὴν πόλιν παρεδίδουν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν ὁ Σύλλας διήρπαζεν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ προσελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐφείδετο προστιθεμένων, μέχρι τὸ Ἰρπίνων ἔθνος ἅπαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σαυνίτας, οὐχ ἧ Μοτίλος, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, τὰς παρόδους ἐφύλαττεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν ἀδόκητον ἐκ περιόδου. προσπεσὼν δ' ἄφνω πολλούς τε ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων σποράδην διαφυγόντων ὁ μὲν Μοτίλος τραυματίας ἐς Αἰσερνίαν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξελὼν ἐς Βουάνον παρῆλθεν, ᾗ τὸ κοινοβούλιον ἦν τῶν ἀποστάντων. τρεῖς δ' ἄκρας τῆς πόλεως

challenged any Roman to single combat. A Maurusian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became panic-stricken and fled. Cluentius' line of battle was thus broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand their ground, but fled in disorder to Nola. Sulla followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting bravely. CHAP. VI

51. Then Sulla moved against another tribe, the Hirpini, and attacked the town of Aeculanum. The inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consideration. He understood the trick and gave them one hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls, which were made of wood, and at the expiration of the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because it had not been delivered up voluntarily but under necessity. He spared the other towns that gave themselves up, and in this way the entire population of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus, the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by another circuitous route where his coming was not expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus was wounded and took refuge with a few followers in Aesernia. Sulla destroyed his camp and moved against Bovanum, where the common council of the rebels was held. The city had three citadels.

CAP. VI ἐχούσης καὶ τῶν Βουάνων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπεστραμμένων, περιπέμψας τινὰς ὁ Σύλλας ἐκέλευε καταλαβεῖν, ἥν τινα τῶν ἄλλων δυνηθεῖεν ἄκραν, καὶ καπνῷ τοῦτο σημῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ καπνοῦ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκ μετώπου καὶ μαχόμενος ὥραις τρισὶ καρτερῶς εἶλε τὴν πόλιν.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους εὐπραγήματα Σύλλα· χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος ὁ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων, 52. Γναῖος δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπηγάγετο Μάρσους καὶ Μαρρουκίνους καὶ Οὐηστίνους, καὶ Γάιος Κοσκώνιος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν Σαλαπίαν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ Κάννας παρέλαβε, καὶ Κανύσιον περικαθήμενος Σαυνίταις ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀντεμάχετο ἐγκρατῶς, μέχρι φόνος πολὺς ἑκατέρων ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος ἐλαττούμενος ἐς Κάννας ὑπεχώρει. Τρεβάτιος δ' αὐτόν, ὁ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, ποταμοῦ διείργοντος, ἐκέλευεν ἢ περᾶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν, ἵνα περάσειεν. ὁ δ' ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ διαβάντι τῷ Τρεβατίῳ προσπεσὼν μάχῃ τε κρείττων ἐγένετο καὶ φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα αὐτοῦ μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦ Τρεβατίου διέφυγον ἐς Κανύσιον. καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος τὴν Λαριναίων καὶ Οὐενουσίων καὶ Ἀσκλαίων γῆν ἐπιδραμὼν ἐς Ποιδίκλους ἐσέβαλε καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὸ ἔθνος παρέλαβε.

53. Καικίλιος δ' αὐτῷ Μέτελλος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἐμβαλὼν ἐκράτει καὶ ὅδε μάχῃ τῶν Ἰαπύγων. καὶ Ποπαίδιος, ἄλλος τῶν ἀφεστώτων στρατηγός, ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδην ἐς τὸν Καικίλιον

While the inhabitants were intently watching Sulla from one of these citadels, he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the other two they could, and then to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an attack in front and, after a severe fight of three hours, took the city. CHAP. VI

52. These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to stand for the consulship, but Gnaeus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman praetor, advanced against Salapia and burned it. He received the surrender of Cannae and laid siege to Canusium; then he had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief, and after great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannae. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was escaping toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Poediculi, and within two days received their surrender.

53. Caecilius Metellus, his successor in the praetorship, attacked the Apulians and overcame them in battle. Popaedius, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life, and the survivors joined Metellus in detachments. Such was the course of events through- Fighting in Apulia

CAP VI διέφυγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον, ἀκμάσαντα δὴ μάλιστα μέχρι τῶνδε, ἕως Ἰταλία πᾶσα προσεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν, χωρίς γε Λευκανῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν τότε· δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ οἵδε τυχεῖν, ὧν ἔχρῃζον, ὕστερον. ἐς δὲ τὰς φυλὰς ὅμοια τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν ἕκαστοι κατελέγοντο, τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, πλέονες ὄντες.

54. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ οἱ χρῆσται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, οἱ μὲν πράττοντες τὰ χρέα σὺν τόκοις, νόμου τινὸς παλαιοῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν. ἀποστραφῆναι γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες, τὸ δανείζειν ὡς καπηλικὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς πένησι καὶ δύσερι καὶ ἐχθροποιόν, ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ κίχρασθαι ὡς ἀπατηλόν τε καὶ φιλοψευδές. ἔθους δὲ χρονίου τοὺς τόκους βεβαιοῦντος, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἤτουν, οἱ δὲ οἷον ἐκ πολέμων τε καὶ στάσεων ἀνεβάλλοντο τὰς ἀποδόσεις· εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν τοὺς δανείσαντας ἐκτίσειν ἐπηπείλουν.

Ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Ἀσελλίων, ᾧ ταῦτα προσέκειτο, ἐπεὶ διαλύων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐδίδου κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δικαστήρια, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔθους ἀπορίαν ἐς τοὺς δικαστὰς περιφέρων. οἱ

out Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged with violence thus far, until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except, for the present, the Lucanians and the Samnites, who also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. Each body of allies was enrolled in tribes of its own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

CHAP. VI

End of the Social War

54. About the same time dissensions arose in the city between debtors and creditors,[1] since the latter exacted the money due to them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon any one doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning the Persians considered lending as having itself a tendency to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off their payments on the plea of war and civil commotion. Some indeed threatened to exact the legal penalty from the interest-takers.

Uprising against usury

The praetor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the deadlock due to the conflict of law and custom before the judges.

[1] χρῆσται in the Greek apparently includes both, unless καὶ δανεισταί is to be inserted.

CAP. VI δανεισταὶ δὲ χαλεπήναντες, ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν ὄντα ἀνεκαίνιζε, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ὧδε· ὁ μὲν ἔθυε τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ περιστάντος· ἑνὸς δὲ λίθου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντος, ἔρριψε τὴν φιάλην καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἵετο δρόμῳ. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ καταφυγόντα ἔς τι πανδοχεῖον ἔσφαξαν. πολλοί τε τῶν διωκόντων ἐς τὰς παρθένους αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καταφυγεῖν ἐσέδραμον, ἔνθα μὴ θέμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν. οὕτω μὲν καὶ Ἀσελλίων στρατηγῶν τε καὶ σπένδων καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἐν θυσίᾳ περικείμενος ἀμφὶ δευτέραν ὥραν ἐσφάζετο ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ παρὰ ἱεροῖς. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκήρυσσεν, εἴ τίς τι περὶ τὸν Ἀσελλίωνος φόνον ἐλέγξειεν, ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, δούλῳ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, συνεγνωκότι δὲ ἄδειαν· οὐ μὴν ἐμήνυσεν οὐδείς, τῶν δανειστῶν περικαλυψάντων.

VII

CAP. VII 55. Τάδε μὲν δὴ φόνοι καὶ στάσεις ἔτι ἦσαν ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ μέρη· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο στρατοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ στασίαρχοι πολέμου νόμῳ συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡ πατρὶς ἆθλον ἔκειτο ἐν μέσῳ. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐς ταῦτα καὶ πάροδος, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, ἥδε ἐγίγνετο.

Ἐπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἄλλων

The lenders, exasperated that the now obsolete law was being revived, killed the praetor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him, on which he dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta. They then got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as praetor, and pouring out the libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day in the centre of the forum, in the midst of the sacrifice. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free citizen, freedom to any slave, impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murderers of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

CHAP VI

A praetor murdered

VII

55. Hitherto the murders and seditions had been internal and fragmentary. Afterward the chiefs of factions assailed each other with great armies, according to the usage of war, and their country lay as a prize between them. The beginning and origin of these contentions came about directly after the Social War, in this wise.

CHAP. VII

Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla

When Mithridates, king of Pontus and of other

CAP. VII

ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὅμορον αὐταῖς Ἀσίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν βίβλον εἴρηται τὴν πρὸ τῆσδε, Σύλλας μὲν ὑπατεύων ἔλαχε στρατηγεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου (καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ), Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εὐχερῆ τε καὶ πολύχρυσον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπηγάγετό οἱ συμπράσσειν ἐς τοῦτο Πούπλιον Σουλπίκιον δήμαρχον ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ἐπήλπιζεν ἐς τὰς φυλὰς ἁπάσας διαιρήσειν, οὐ προλέγων μέν τι περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρείας, ὡς δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἐς πάντα χρησόμενος εὔνοις. καὶ νόμον αὐτίκα ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐσέφερε περὶ τοῦδε· οὗ κυρωθέντος ἔμελλε πᾶν ὅ τι βούλοιτο Μάριος ἢ Σουλπίκιος ἔσεσθαι, τῶν νεοπολιτῶν πολὺ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πλειόνων ὄντων. οἱ δ' ἀρχαιότεροι συνορῶντες ταῦτα ἐγκρατῶς τοῖς νεοπολίταις διεφέροντο. ξύλοις δὲ καὶ λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ μείζονος αἰεὶ γιγνομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, δείσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι περὶ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ τοῦ νόμου πλησιαζούσῃ προύγραψαν ἡμερῶν ἀργίας πολλῶν, ὁποῖον ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα τις ἀναβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

56. Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀναμένων ἐκέλευε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥκειν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι ἐπείγοι, μηδ' αὐτῶν φειδομένους τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ δέοι. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἕτοιμα ἦν, κατηγόρει τῶν ἀργιῶν ὡς παρανόμων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν

nations, invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and that part of Asia adjacent to those countries, as I have related in the preceding book, the consul Sulla was chosen by lot to the command of Asia and the Mithridatic war, but was still in Rome. Marius, for his part, thought that this would be an easy and lucrative war and desiring the command of it prevailed upon the tribune, Publius Sulpicius, by many promises, to help him to obtain it. He also encouraged the new Italian citizens, who had very little power in the elections, to hope that they should be distributed among all the tribes—not in any way openly suggesting his own advantage, but with the expectation of employing them as loyal servants for all his ends. Sulpicius straightway brought forward a law for this purpose. If it were enacted Marius and Sulpicius would have everything they wanted, because the new citizens far outnumbered the old ones. The old citizens saw this and opposed the new ones with all their might. They fought each other with sticks and stones, and the evil increased continually, till the consuls, becoming apprehensive, as the day for voting on the law drew near, proclaimed a vacation[1] of several days, such as was customary on festal occasions, in order to postpone the voting and the danger.

CHAP. VII

The command against Mithridates

B.C. 88

56. Sulpicius would not wait for the end of the vacation, but ordered his faction to come to the forum with concealed daggers and to do whatever the exigency might require, sparing not even the consuls if need be. When everything was in readiness he denounced the vacations as illegal and ordered the consuls, Cornelius Sulla and Quintus

[1] A cessation from all public business.

CAP. VII καὶ Κόιντον Πομπήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα προθείη τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῶν νόμων. θορύβου δ' ἀναστάντος οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντιλέγοντας ἠπείλουν κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομπήιος μὲν λαθὼν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δ' ὡς βουλευσόμενος ὑπεχώρει. κἀν τῷδε Πομπηίου τὸν υἱόν, κηδεύοντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ, παρρησιαζομενόν τι καὶ λέγοντα κτείνουσιν οἱ τοῦ Σουλπικίου στασιῶται. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἐβάστασε τὴν ἀργίαν ἔς τε Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατόν, ὡς ἐκ Καπύης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλῶν, ἠπείγετο· οὐ γάρ πώ τινος τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πραττομένων ᾔσθετο. ὁ δὲ Σουλπίκιος, ἀναιρεθείσης τῆς ἀργίας καὶ Σύλλα τῆς πόλεως ἀποστάντος, ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον καί, οὗ χάριν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Μάριον εὐθὺς ἐχειροτόνει τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγεῖν ἀντὶ Σύλλα.

57. Πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σύλλας καὶ πολέμῳ κρίνας διακριθῆναι συνήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας ὀρεγόμενόν τε ὡς ἐπικερδοῦς καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἐς αὐτὴν ἑτέρους καταλέξειν ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. τὴν δ' ὕβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ἐς αὑτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπικίου τε καὶ Μαρίου καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκών (οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πω λέγειν περὶ τοιοῦδε πολέμου), παρῄνεσεν ἑτοίμοις ἐς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τε ὧν ἐπενόει καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες, μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπεγύμνουν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς ἦγεν ἓξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. καὶ

Pompeius, to put an end to them at once, in order to proceed to the enactment of the laws. A tumult arose, and those who had been armed drew their daggers and threatened to kill the consuls, who refused to obey. Finally Pompeius escaped secretly and Sulla withdrew on the pretext of taking advice. In the meantime the son of Pompeius, who was the son-in-law of Sulla, and who was speaking his mind rather freely, was killed by the Sulpicians. Presently Sulla came on the scene and, having annulled the vacation, hurried away to Capua, where his army was stationed, as if to cross over to Asia to take command of the war against Mithridates, for he knew nothing as yet of the designs against himself. As the vacation was annulled and Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius enacted his law, and Marius, for whose sake it was done, was forthwith chosen commander of the war against Mithridates in place of Sulla. CHAP. VII

57. When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war, and called the army together to a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this sort of war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they uttered boldly what Sulla had in mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith; but all his superior officers, except

Sulla marches against the city

CAP. VII αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ χωρὶς ἑνὸς ταμίου διέδρασαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενοι στρατὸν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· πρέσβεις δ' ἐν ὁδῷ καταλαβόντες ἠρώτων, τί μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλαύνοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, ἐλευθερώσων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων.

Καὶ τοῦτο δὶς τρὶς ἑτέροις καὶ ἑτέροις πρέσβεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν εἰπὼν ἐπήγγελλεν ὅμως, εἰ θέλοιεν τήν τε σύγκλητον αὐτῷ καὶ Μάριον καὶ Σουλπίκιον ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον συναγαγεῖν, καὶ πράξειν, ὅ τι ἂν βουλευομένοις δοκῇ. πλησιάζοντι δὲ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ σύναρχος ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀφίκετο συμπράξων ἐς ἅπαντα, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἐς παρασκευὴν ὀλίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις ἑτέρους ἔπεμπον ὡς δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεσταλμένους, δεόμενοι μὴ ἀγχοτέρω τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιντο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, εὐθὺς δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπιοῦσιν εἵποντο.

58. Καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Αἰσκυλείας πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτὰς τεῖχος ἑνὶ τέλει στρατιωτῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλίνας ἑτέρῳ τέλει· καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ἐχώρει, καὶ τέταρτον πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς διαδοχὴν ὑπέμενε. τοῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει δόξῃ καὶ ἔργῳ πολεμίου· ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ περιοικοῦντες ἄνωθεν ἠμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἠπείλησεν ἐμπρήσειν· τότε δ' οἱ μὲν ἀνέσχον, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἀπήντων περὶ

one quaestor, left him and fled to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from her tyrants," he replied. CHAP. VII

He gave the same answer to a second and a third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet and congratulate him, and to offer his whole-hearted help, for he was delighted with the steps he was taking. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, also in the guise of envoys from the Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could review the state of affairs. Sulla and Pompeius understood their motive perfectly and promised to comply, but as soon as the envoys withdrew they followed them.

58. Sulla took possession of the Esquiline gate and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Wooden bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder Sulla entered the city, in appearance and in fact an enemy. Those in the neighbouring houses tried to keep him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders He captures it

CAP. VII τὴν Αἰσκύλειον ἀγορὰν μεθ' ὅσων ἐφθάκεσαν ὁπλίσαι. καὶ γίγνεταί τις ἀγὼν ἐχθρῶν, ὅδε πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, οὐχ ὑπὸ εἰκόνι στάσεως ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ἀπροφασίστως ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημείοις, πολέμου νόμῳ· ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν στάσεων ἀμεληθέντα προέκοψε.

Τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν Σύλλα στρατιωτῶν, ὁ Σύλλας σημεῖον ἁρπάσας προεκινδύνευεν, ὡς αἰδοῖ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δέει τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σημείῳ εἰ ἀπέχοιντο, ἀτιμίας εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοὺς μετατίθεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐκάλει τε τοὺς νεαλεῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἑτέρους κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Σιβούραν ὁδὸν περιέπεμπεν, ἢ κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι περιδραμόντες. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάριον πρός τε τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀκμῆτας ἀσθενῶς μαχόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοδεύουσι δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν τούς τε ἄλλους πολίτας ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔτι μαχομένους συνεκάλουν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις ἐκήρυττον ἐλευθερίαν εἰ μετάσχοιεν τοῦ πόνου. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσιόντος ἀπογνόντες ἁπάντων ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπράχεσαν.

59. Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τότε μὲν ἐς τὴν λεγομένην Ἱερὰν ὁδὸν παρῆλθε καὶ τοὺς διαρπάζοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ποσὶν αὐτίκα ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐφορώντων ἐκόλαζε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τῇ πόλει διενυκτέρευεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, περιθέοντες ἑκάστους, ἵνα μή τι δεινὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν δεδιότων ἢ παρὰ τῶν νενικηκότων ἐπιγένοιτο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες ὠδύροντο περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ

near the Esquiline forum, and here a battle took place between the contending parties, the first regularly fought in Rome with bugle and standards in full military fashion, no longer like a mere faction fight. To such extremity of evil had the recklessness of party strife progressed among them. CHAP. VII

Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks, so that from regard for their general and fear of ignominy, should they abandon their standard, they might rally at once. Then he ordered up the fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly against these new-comers, and as they feared lest they should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their dangers. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had co-operated with them. Flight of the Marians

59. Sulla advanced to the Via Sacra, and there, in sight of everybody, punished at once certain soldiers for looting things they had come across. He stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops. At daybreak they summoned the people to an assembly and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had Changes introduced by Sulla

CAP. VII τοῖς δημοκοποῦσιν ἐκδεδομένης, καὶ αὐτοὶ τάδε πράξαντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. εἰσηγοῦντό τε μηδὲν ἔτι ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρεσθαι, νενομισμένον μὲν οὕτω καὶ πάλαι, παραλελυμένον δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας μὴ κατὰ φυλάς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους, ὡς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε, γίνεσθαι, νομίσαντες διὰ δυοῖν τοῖνδε οὔτε νόμον οὐδένα πρὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐσφερόμενον οὔτε τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν τοῖς πένησι καὶ θρασυτάτοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ καὶ εὐβουλίᾳ γιγνομένας δώσειν ἔτι στάσεων ἀφορμάς. πολλά τε ἄλλα τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχῆς, τυραννικῆς μάλιστα γεγενημένης, περιελόντες κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀλιγανθρωπότατον δὴ τότε μάλιστα ὂν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον ἀθρόους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίους. ὅσα τε ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου κεκύρωτο μετὰ τὴν κεκηρυγμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀργίαν, ἅπαντα διελύετο ὡς οὐκ ἔννομα.

60. Ὧδε μὲν αἱ στάσεις ἐξ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονικίας ἐπὶ φόνους καὶ ἐκ φόνων ἐς πολέμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον, καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ' ἔληξαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἱ στάσεις ἔτι κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλ' ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολέμων ἔργα, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἐμποδὼν ὄντος, ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας ἢ πατρίδος. τότε δὲ Σουλπίκιον δημαρχοῦντα ἔτι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάριον, ἐξάκις

done what they had done as a matter of necessity. CHAP. VII
They proposed that no question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago; also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures—namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes—there would no longer be left any starting-point for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical, and enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of the senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had fallen into contempt for that reason. They also annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius after the vacation had been proclaimed by the consuls, as being illegal.

Rome under martial law

60. Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and contention to murder, and from murder to open war, and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country. From this time the seditions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. This time Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times,

CAP. VII ὑπατευκότα, καὶ τὸν Μαρίου παῖδα καὶ Πούπλιον Κέθηγον καὶ Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γναῖον καὶ Κοίντον Γράνιον καὶ Πούπλιον Ἀλβινοουανὸν καὶ Μᾶρκον Λαιτώριον ἑτέρους τε, ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐς δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐκ Ῥώμης διεπεφεύγεσαν, ὡς στάσιν ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας ὑπάτοις καὶ δούλοις κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀπόστασιν πολεμίους Ῥωμαίων ἐψήφιστο εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηποινεὶ κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους· τά τε ὄντα αὐτοῖς δεδήμευτο.

Καὶ ζητηταὶ διέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ Σουλπίκιον μὲν καταλαβόντες ἔκτειναν· 61. ὁ δὲ Μάριος αὐτοὺς ἐς Μιντούρνας διέφυγεν, ἔρημος ὑπηρέτου τε καὶ θεράποντος. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντες ἀναπαύομενον ἐν οἴκῳ ζοφώδει δεδιότες μὲν τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ δήμου, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἑξάκις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένου αὐθένται γενέσθαι, Γαλάτην ἄνδρα ἐπιδημοῦντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐσέπεμψαν ἀνελεῖν. τὸν δὲ Γαλάτην φασὶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προσιόντα τῷ στιβαδίῳ δεῖσαι, δόξαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Μαρίου πυρὸς αὐγὴν καὶ φλόγα ἀφιέναι· ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὑπανιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐνεβόησε παμμέγεθες αὐτῷ· "σὺ τολμᾷς κτεῖναι Γάιον Μάριον;" προτροπάδην ὁ Γαλάτης ἔφευγεν ἔξω διὰ θυρῶν μεμηνότι ἐοικὼς καὶ βοῶν· "οὐ δύναμαι κτεῖναι Γάιον Μάριον." ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἅτε καὶ τέως ταῦτα σὺν ὄκνῳ κεκρικόσιν, ἐνέπιπτέ τι δαιμόνιον δέος καὶ μνήμη τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιφημισθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἑβδόμης ὑπατείας· παιδὶ γὰρ ὄντι φασὶν ἐς τὸν κόλπον ἀετοῦ νεοττοὺς ἑπτὰ καταρρυῆναι καὶ

and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Gnaeus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus, Marcus Laetorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, had been exiled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, and had been voted enemies of the Roman people; and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them before the consuls, while their goods had been confiscated. CHAP VII

Detectives, too, were hard on their tracks, who caught Sulpicius and killed him, but 61. Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnae without companion or servant. While he was resting in a darkened house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. The Gaul, it is said, was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk when he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, "Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?" He turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." The magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, and now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. For it was said that while he was a boy seven eaglets alighted on his breast, and that Narrow escape of Marius

CAP. VII τοὺς μάντεις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἑπτάκις ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἔσοιτο.

62. Ταῦτ' οὖν οἱ τῆς Μιντούρνης ἄρχοντες ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τὸν Γαλάτην ἔνθουν κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ περιδεᾶ νομίζοντες γεγονέναι, τὸν Μάριον αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμπον, ὅπῃ δύναιτο, σῴζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ συγγιγνώσκων ἑαυτῷ ζητουμένῳ τε ἐκ Σύλλα καὶ πρὸς ἱππέων διωκομένῳ, ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἠλᾶτο καὶ καλύβης ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεπαύετο, φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλόμενος τῷ σώματι. ψόφου δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὴν φυλλάδα ὑπεκρύφθη καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι αἰσθόμενος ἐς σκάφος ἁλιέως πρεσβύτου παρορμοῦν, βιασάμενος τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἐσήλατο χειμῶνος ὄντος καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα κόψας καὶ τὸ ἱστίον πετάσας ἐπέτρεψε τῇ τύχῃ φέρειν. κατήχθη δὲ ἔς τινα νῆσον, ὅθεν νεὼς οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν παραπλεούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέρα. εἰργόμενος δὲ καὶ Λιβύης ὡς πολέμιος ὑπὸ Σεξστιλίου ἡγουμένου, διεχείμαζεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Λιβύην ἄνω, ἐν τοῖς Νομάδων ὅροις. καὶ αὐτῷ θαλασσεύοντι δεῦρο κατὰ πύστιν ἐπέπλευσαν τῶν συγκατεγνωσμένων Κέθηγός τε καὶ Γράνιος καὶ Ἀλβινοουανὸς καὶ Λαιτώριος καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίου· οἳ ἐς μὲν Ἰεμψάλαν τὸν Νομάδων δυνάστην ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διέφυγον, ὑποψίᾳ δ' ἐκδόσεως ἐκεῖθεν ἀπέδρασαν.

Οἱ μὲν δή, καθὰ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπεπράχει, βιάσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα διανοούμενοι, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες, περιέβλεπον, εἴ τι συμβαίη· 63. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Σύλλας μέν, ὅπλοις τὴν πόλιν ὅδε πρῶτος καταλαβών τε καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως ἤδη μοναρ-

the soothsayers predicted that he would attain the highest office seven times. CHAP. VII

62. Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnae sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves, Hearing a slight noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves, but becoming more sure he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, which was on the beach, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, cut the painter, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was driven to an island where he found a ship navigated by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing even there by the governor, Sextilius, because he was a public enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, in Numidia. While he was sailing thither he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Laetorius, and others, and his son Marius, who had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up. He passes over to Africa

They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity; 63. but in Rome Sulla, who had been the first to seize the city by force of arms, and now perhaps could have

CAP. VII

χεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἠμύνατο, τὴν βίαν ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Καπύην προπέμψας αὖθις ἦρχεν ὡς ὕπατος· οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐξελαθέντων στασιῶται, ὅσοι τῶν πλουσίων, καὶ γύναια πολλὰ πολυχρήματα, τοῦ δέους τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπνεύσαντες ἠρεθίζοντο ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν σπουδῆς ἢ δαπάνης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπέλειπον, ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων σώμασιν ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν τῶνδε περιόντων ἐκείνοις κατελθεῖν. Σύλλᾳ μὲν δὴ καὶ παυσαμένῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατὸς ἦν, ὁ ἐψηφισμένος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ φύλαξ· Κόιντον δὲ Πομπήιον, τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον, ὁ δῆμος οἰκτείρων τοῦ δέους ἐψηφίσατο ἄρχειν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἑτέρου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατοῦ, τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ. τοῦθ' ὁ Γναῖος πυθόμενός τε καὶ δυσχεράνας ἥκοντα μὲν τὸν Κόιντον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσεδέξατο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τι χρηματίζοντος ὑπεχώρησε μικρὸν οἷα ἰδιώτης, μέχρι τὸν ὕπατον πολλοὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀκροάσεως περιστάντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ φυγῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γενομένης ὁ Γναῖος αὐτοῖς ὑπήντα, χαλεπαίνων ὡς ὑπάτου παρανόμως ἀνῃρημένου· δυσχεράνας δ' ὅμως εὐθὺς ἦρχεν αὐτῶν.

wielded supreme power, having rid himself of his enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed consular authority. The supporters of the banished faction, especially the rich, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of the exiles. They spared neither pains nor expense to this end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls, since they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived. For Sulla the army, which had been voted for the Mithridatic war, furnished ample protection even after he should cease to be consul; but the people commiserated the perilous position of the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnaeus Pompeius. When the latter learned this he was greatly displeased, but received Quintus in the camp, and, when next day Quintus began to take over his duties, he gave way to him for a time as if relieved of his command; but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him. After the guilty ones had fled, Gnaeus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the illegal killing of a consul, but despite his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them.[1]

CHAP VII

Murder of Q. Pompeius

[1] The *Epitome* of Livy (lxxvii.) says that Gnaeus Pompeius the pro-consul procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius the consul, when the latter came to supersede him.

VIII

CAP. VIII

64. Ἐξαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόνου, αὐτίκα μὲν ὁ Σύλλας περιδεὴς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος τοὺς φίλους περιήγετο πανταχοῦ καὶ νυκτὸς ἀμφ' αὑτὸν εἶχεν, οὐ πολὺ δ' ἐπιμείνας ἐς Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν κἀκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι Κίννᾳ, τῷ μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι, θαρροῦντες τοὺς νεοπολίτας ἠρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς πάσαις ἀξιοῦν ἀναμιχθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ τελευταῖοι ψηφιζόμενοι πάντων ὦσιν ἄκυροι. τοῦτο δὴ προοίμιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τε Μαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καθόδου. ἀνθισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ κράτος, Κίννας μὲν τοῖς νεοπολίταις συνέπραττε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε τριακόσια δωροδοκῆσαι τάλαντα, τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος Ὀκτάουιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων ἐβόων ἐς τὰς φυλὰς πάσας ἀναμιγῆναι· τὸ δὲ καθαρώτερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἐχώρει, καὶ οἵδε μετὰ ξιφιδίων.

Ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ μέλλον περιορωμένῳ ἐξαγγέλλεται τοὺς πλέονας δημάρχους κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα, θόρυβον δὲ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἀπογύμνωσιν ἤδη τῶν ξιφιδίων περὶ ὁδὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας δημάρχους ἀναπηδώντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα. ὧν Ὀκτάουιος πυθόμενος κατέβαινε διὰ τῆς Ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνυ πλήθους καὶ οἷα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμπεσὼν ὥσατο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστώτων καὶ

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64. When the murder of Pompeius was reported in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them with him even by night. He did not, however, remain long in the city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia, and the friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla's successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favour of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among all the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna co-operated with the new ones, the story being that he had been bribed with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers.

CHAP. VIII
B.C. 87

Attempted revolution of Cinna

While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd,

CAP. VIII διέστησεν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ κατέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρῆλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπόμενος. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῷ συνῆσαν, χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος ἐμπεσόντες τοῖς νεοπολίταις ἔκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἑτέρους φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐδίωκον.

65. Κίννας δὲ θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεοπολιτῶν καὶ βιάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, παρὰ δόξαν δ' ὁρῶν τὸ τόλμημα τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων ἐπικρατοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συγκαλῶν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσιόντος ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πολίτιδας Ῥωμαίων γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε καὶ Πραινεστὸν καὶ ὅσαι μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων ἅπαντας ἐς ἀπόστασιν καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συλλέγων. ταῦτα δ' ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννᾳ προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οἳ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν, Γαιός τε Μιλώνιος καὶ Κόιντος Σερτώριος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἕτερος.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ βουλὴ τὸν Κίνναν, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὕπατον καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν κηρύξαντα, ἐψηφίσατο μήτε ὕπατον μήτε πολίτην ἔτι εἶναι καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἐχειροτόνησαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός. λέγεται δ' οὗτος ὁ ἱερεὺς φλαμένας καὶ πιλοφορεῖ μόνος αἰεί, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων ἐν μόναις πιλοφορούντων ταῖς ἱερουργίαις. Κίννας δ' ἐς Καπύην τραπόμενος, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἄλλος ἦν, τούς τε ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεδήμουν, ἐθεράπευε καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ὕπατος ἐς μέσους τάς τε ῥάβδους καθεῖλεν οἷα ἰδιώτης καὶ

and separated them. He struck terror into them, went on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away; while his companions fell upon the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the city gates. CHAP. VIII He is driven off

65. Cinna, who had been emboldened by the numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, hurried through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns near by, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur, Praeneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger. He raises an army and returns

The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter. It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap[1] at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices. Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, whose officers together with the senators who were present, he tried to win over. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private

[1] The *apex* (in this case the *apex Dialis*), a conical hat or cap. See also § 74 below.

CAP. VIII δακρύσας ἔφη· "παρὰ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ πολῖται, τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἔλαβον· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησεν· ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἀφείλετό με χωρὶς ὑμῶν. καὶ τάδε παθὼν ἐν οἰκείοις κακοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅμως ἀγανακτῶ· τί γὰρ ἔτι τὰς φυλὰς ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις θεραπεύομεν, τί δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα, ποῦ δὲ ἔσεσθε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ χειροτονιῶν ἢ τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἔτι κύριοι, εἰ μὴ βεβαιώσετε μέν, ἃ δίδοτε, ἀφαιρήσεσθε δ', ὅταν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσητε."

66. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐς ἐρέθισμα καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὑτοῦ κατοικτισάμενος τήν τε ἐσθῆτα κατέρρηξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταθορὼν ἔρριψεν αὑτὸν ἐς μέσους καὶ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἕως ἐπικλασθέντες ἀνέστησάν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καθίσαντες αὖθις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τάς τε ῥάβδους ἀνέσχον καὶ θαρρεῖν οἷα ὕπατον ἐκέλευον καὶ σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐφ' ὅ τι χρήζοι. τῆς δ' ἀφορμῆς εὐθὺς οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπέβαινον καὶ ὤμνυον τῷ Κίννᾳ τὸν ὅρκον τὸν στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὑτὸν ἕκαστος ἐξώρκου. ὁ δ', ἐπεί οἱ ταῦτα εἶχεν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις διέθει καὶ ἠρέθιζε κἀκείνους, ὡς διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῷ γενομένην· οἱ δὲ χρήματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν συνετέλουν· καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατῶν ἕτεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο, οἷς ἀπήρεσκεν ἡ τῆς πολιτείας εὐστάθεια.

Καὶ Κίννας μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, Ὀκτάουιος δὲ καὶ Μερόλας οἱ ὕπατοι τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τάφροις καὶ τειχῶν ἐπισκευαῖς ὠχύρουν καὶ μηχανήματα ἐφίστανον, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατιὰν ἔς τε τὰς ἑτέρας

citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for your sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favour of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will after this be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls, if you fail to confirm what you bestow, and whenever you give your decision fail to secure it." CHAP. VIII

66. He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rent his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay a long time. Entirely overcome they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, as he was consul still, and lead them wherever he would. The tribunes, striking while the iron was hot, themselves took the military oath to support Cinna, and administered it each to the soldiers under him. Now that this was all secure, Cinna traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, alleging that it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom the stability of the government was irksome, came and joined him. The army supports Cinna

While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent round to the towns that

CAP. VIII πόλεις τὰς ἔτι σφῶν κατηκόους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγχοῦ Γαλατίαν περιέπεμπον Γναῖόν τε Πομπήιον, ἀνθύπατον ὄντα καὶ στρατευμάτων περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἡγούμενον, ἐκάλουν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι.

67. Ὁ δ' ἦλθε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε· καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ παρεστρατοπέδευε. Γάιος δὲ Μάριος τούτων πυθόμενος ἐς Τυρρηνίαν κατέπλευσεν ἅμα τοῖς συνεξελαθεῖσι καὶ θεράπουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστά που γεγονότας. ῥυπῶν δ' ἔτι καὶ κόμης ἔμπλεως ἐπῄει τὰς πόλεις, οἰκτρὸς ὀφθῆναι· μάχας τε καὶ τρόπαια αὐτοῦ Κιμβρικὰ καὶ ἐξ ὑπατείας ὑπερεπαίρων καὶ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενός τε καὶ πιστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, συνήγαγε Τυρρηνῶν ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐς Κίνναν διῆλθεν ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν παρόντων δεχόμενον. ὡς δὲ ἀνεμίχθησαν, ἐστρατοπέδευον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐς τρία διαιρεθέντες, Κίννας μὲν καὶ Κάρβων σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρύ, Σερτώριος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄνω καὶ Μάριος πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ζευγνύντες οἵδε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ γεφυροῦντες, ἵνα τὴν πόλιν ἀφέλοιντο τὴν σιταγωγίαν. Μάριος δὲ καὶ Ὄστια εἶλε καὶ διήρπαζε, καὶ Κίννας ἐπιπέμψας Ἀρίμινον κατέλαβε, τοῦ μή τινα στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου Γαλατίας.

68. Οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δεδιότες καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης δεόμενοι Σύλλαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤδη πεπερακότα, Καικίλιον δὲ Μέτελλον,

were still faithful and also to Nearer Gaul, and summoned Gnaeus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to hasten to the aid of his country. CHAP. VIII

67. So Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of all this he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters from Rome. Still squalid and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, with all appearance of genuineness, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the vote. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and reached Cinna, who received him gladly by reason of their common interest in the present enterprise. After joining forces they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and divided their army into three parts: Cinna and Carbo opposite the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured and plundered Ostia, while Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

Return of Marius

Cinna and Marius besiege Rome and cut off its supplies

68. The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to summon Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They, however, ordered Caecilius Metellus, who was carrying on

CAP. VIII τὰ λείψανα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Σαυνίτας διατιθέμενον, ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς διαλυσάμενον ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι πολιορκουμένῃ. οὐ συμβαίνοντος δὲ Σαυνίταις ἐς ἃ ᾔτουν τοῦ Μετέλλου, ὁ Μάριος αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ᾔτουν παρὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου. ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Σαυνῖται Μαρίῳ συνεμάχουν· Κλαύδιον δὲ Ἄππιον χιλίαρχον, τειχοφυλακοῦντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, εὖ ποτε παθόντα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀναμνήσας ὁ Μάριος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθείσης αὐτῷ πύλης περὶ ἕω, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐσεδέξατο. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξεώσθησαν Ὀκταουίου καὶ Πομπηίου σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων· κεραυνῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον καταρραγέντων ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπώλετο.

69. Μάριος δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἔκ τε θαλάσσης καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένης κατέσχεν, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης πόλεις διετρόχαζεν, ἔνθα σῖτος ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεσωρευμένος. ἄφνω δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπίπτων εἶλε μὲν Ἄντιον καὶ Ἀρικίαν καὶ Λανούβιον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προδιδόντων τινῶν· ὡς δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐκράτησεν ἀγορᾶς, εὐθαρσῶς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ἀππίας, πρίν τινα αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν ἄλλην ἑτέρωθεν ἀχθῆναι. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ἑκατὸν σταδίους αὐτός τε καὶ Κίννας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς Κάρβων τε καὶ Σερτώριος ἀποσχύντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Ὀκταουίου καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Μετέλλου περὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανὸν

what was left of the Social War against the Samnites, to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country. But Metellus would not agree to the Samnites' demands, and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites also became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the Janiculum hill, had once received a favour from Marius of which the latter now reminded him, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were at once thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunder-storm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility. CHAP. VIII

69. After Marius had stopped the passage of food-supplies from the sea, or by way of the river from above, he hastened to attack the neighbouring towns where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some also that were delivered up to him by treachery. Having in this manner obtained command of their supplies by land, he advanced boldly against Rome, by the Appian Way, before any other supplies were brought to them by another route. He and Cinna, and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius, halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and went into camp, but Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus had taken position against them at the Alban

CAP. VIII αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθημένων καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιβλεπομένων, ἀρετῇ μὲν ἔτι καὶ πλήθει νομιζομένων εἶναι κρειττόνων, ὀκνούντων δ' ὑπὲρ ὅλης οὐσίας κινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος διὰ μάχης μιᾶς. ὡς δὲ περιπέμψας ὁ Κίννας περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κήρυκας ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσι θεράπουσιν ἐλευθερίαν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἠὐτομόλουν αὐτίκα· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταραττομένη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, εἰ βραδύνειεν ἡ σιτοδεία, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου προσδοκῶσα μετέπιπτε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ διαλύσεων ἐς τὸν Κίνναν ἔπεμπον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤρετο, πότερον ὡς πρὸς ὕπατον ἔλθοιεν ἢ πρὸς ἰδιώτην. ἀπορησάντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπανελθόντων, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἤδη κατὰ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν ἐξεπήδων, οἱ μὲν περὶ τῷ λιμῷ δεδιότες, οἱ δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ ἐκείνων αἱρούμενοι καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῶν γιγνομένων περιμένοντες.

70. Κίννας δ' ἤδη καταφρονητικῶς τῷ τείχει ἐπλησίαζε καὶ ἀποσχὼν ὅσον βέλους ὁρμὴν ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ἀπορούντων ἔτι καὶ δεδιότων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας τε καὶ διαπρεσβεύσεις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάνυ μὲν ἀποροῦσα καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένη Λεύκιον Μερόλαν, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός, ὑπατεύοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἁμαρτόντα ἀφελέσθαι, ἄκουσα δ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν αὖθις ἐς τὸν Κίνναν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὡς πρὸς ὕπατον. οὐδέν τε χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶντες τοῦτο μόνον ᾔτουν, ἐπομόσαι σφίσι τὸν Κίνναν φόνου οὐκ ἐργάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὀμόσαι μὲν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν, ὑπέσχετο δὲ καὶ ὧδε ἑκὼν οὐδενὶ

Mount, where they watched eventualities. Although they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk, through haste, their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds round the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed, and, anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of corn should be protracted, changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. He asked them whether they came to him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of citizens flocked to Cinna, some from fear of famine, and others because they had been previously favourable to his party and had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn. CHAP. VIII

70. Cinna now began to despise his enemies and drew near to the wall, halting out of range, and encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favourable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of The city surrenders

CAP. VIII

σφαγῆς αἴτιος ἔσεσθαι. Ὀκτάουιον δ' ἤδη περιοδεύσαντα καὶ κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντα ἐκέλευεν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ μέσου, μή τι καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάθοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταὐτ' ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, καθάπερ ὕπατος, τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἄνωθεν ἀπεκρίνατο· Μάριος δ' αὐτῷ παρεστὼς παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἡσύχαζε μέν, ἐδήλου δὲ τῇ δριμύτητι τοῦ προσώπου, πόσον ἐργάσεται φόνον. δεξαμένης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ καλούσης ἐσελθεῖν Κίνναν τε καὶ Μάριον (ᾔσθοντο γὰρ δὴ Μαρίου μὲν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα τάδε πάντα, Κίνναν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι), σὺν εἰρωνείᾳ σφόδρα ὁ Μάριος ἐπιμειδιῶν εἶπεν οὐκ εἶναι φυγάσιν εἰσόδους. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ Σύλλαν ὕπατον ἐξελήλαντο, ἐψηφίσαντο λελύσθαι.

71. Οἱ μὲν δὴ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς σὺν δέει πάντων ἐσῄεσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπρᾶξαι σφίσι δοκούντων ἀκωλύτως πάντα διηρπάζετο· Ὀκταουίῳ δὲ Κίννας μὲν καὶ Μάριος ὅρκους ἐπεπόμφεσαν, καὶ θύται καὶ μάντεις οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι προύλεγον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι φυγεῖν παρῄνουν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν οὔποτε προλείψειν τὴν πόλιν ὕπατος ὢν ἐς τὸ Ἰάνουκλον, ἐκστὰς τοῦ μέσου, διῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καί τινος ἔτι καὶ στρατοῦ ἐπί τε τοῦ θρόνου προυκάθητο, τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος, ῥάβδων καὶ πελέκεων ὡς ὑπάτῳ περικειμένων. ἐπιθέοντος δ' αὐτῷ μετά τινων ἱππέων Κηνσωρίνου καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς παρεστώσης στρατιᾶς φυγεῖν παρακαλούντων καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος οὐδὲ ὑπαναστῆναι τὴν σφαγὴν

anybody's death. He directed, however, that Octavius, who had gone round and entered the city by another gate, should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against his own will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood in silence beside the curule chair, but showed by the asperity of his countenance the slaughter he contemplated. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that, while it was Cinna's name which appeared, the moving spirit was Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for men banished to enter. Forthwith the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla. CHAP VIII

71. Accordingly Cinna and Marius entered the city and everybody received them with fear. Straightaway they began to plunder without hindrance all the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted, that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore the robes of office, attended as consul by lictors. Here he was attacked by Censorinus with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him his horse, but he disdained even to Massacre of citizens

CAP. VIII περιέμενεν. ὁ δὲ Κηνσωρῖνος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἐκόμισεν ἐς Κίνναν, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρώτου τοῦδε ὑπάτου. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρουμένων ἐκρήμναντο αἱ κεφαλαί, καὶ οὐ διέλιπεν ἔτι καὶ τόδε τὸ μύσος, ἀρξάμενόν τε ἀπὸ Ὀκταουίου καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρουμένους περιόν.

Ζητηταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτίκα ἐξέθεον τούς τε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἀναιρουμένων λόγος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐγίγνετο, αἱ δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν κεφαλαὶ πᾶσαι προυτίθεντο πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. αἰδώς τε θεῶν ἢ νέμεσις ἀνδρῶν ἢ φθόνου φόβος οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπῆν, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἔργα ἀνήμερα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐς ὄψεις ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους, κτιννύντες τε ἀνηλεῶς καὶ περιτέμνοντες αὐχένας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη τεθνεώτων καὶ προτιθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς φόβον ἢ κατάπληξιν ἢ θέαν ἀθέμιστον.

72. Γάιος μὲν δὴ Ἰούλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος, δύο ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφώ, καὶ Ἀτιλίος Σερρανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λέντλος καὶ Γάιος Νεμετώριος καὶ Μᾶρκος Βαίβιος ἐν ὁδῷ καταληφθέντες ἀνῃρέθησαν, Κράσσος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἔφθασε προανελεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐπανῃρέθη. τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον ἔς τι χωρίον ἐκφυγόντα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπικρύπτων καὶ ξενίζων ἐς πανδοκεῖον ἔπεμψε τὸν θεράποντα σπουδαιότερον τοῦ συνήθους οἶνον πρίασθαι· καὶ τοῦ καπήλου, τί δὴ σπουδαιότερον αἰτοίη, πυθομένου, ὁ μὲν θεράπων ἐψιθύρισε τὴν

arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads of others who were slain were suspended there; and this shocking custom, which began with Octavius, was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent massacres. CHAP. VIII Heads exposed in the forum

Now the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. When any knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to godless sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eye, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a godless spectacle.

72. The brothers Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, Atilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, Gaius Nemetorius, and Marcus Baebius were arrested in the street and killed. Crassus was pursued with his son. He anticipated the pursuers by killing his son, but was himself killed by them. Marcus Antonius, the orator, fled to a country place, where he was concealed and entertained by the farmer, who sent his slave to a tavern for wine of a better quality than he was in the habit of buying. When the innkeeper asked him why he wanted the better quality, the Death of M. Antonius the orator

CAP. VIII αἰτίαν καὶ πριάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ κάπηλος αὐτίκα ἔθει Μαρίῳ τοῦτο δηλώσων, καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἐπείτε ἤκουσεν, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνέδραμεν ὡς αὐτὸς ὁρμήσων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπισχόντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων χιλίαρχος ἀποσταλεὶς στρατιώτας ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἀνέπεμψεν, οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἡδὺς ὢν εἰπεῖν κατεκήλει λόγοις μακροῖς, οἰκτιζόμενός τε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διεξιών, ἕως ὁ χιλίαρχος ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ αὐτὸς ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὑρὼν ἀκροωμένους ἔκτεινε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ῥητορεύοντα ἔτι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔπεμψε τῷ Μαρίῳ.

73. Κορνοῦτον δὲ ἐν καλύβαις κρυπτόμενον οἱ θεράποντες εὐμηχάνως περιέσωσαν· νεκρῷ γὰρ περιτυχόντες σώματι πυράν τε ἔνησαν καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιόντων ἅψαντες τὴν πυρὰν ἔφασαν τὸν δεσπότην καίειν ἀπαγξάμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεραπόντων περισέσωστο, Κόιντος δὲ Ἀγχάριος Μάριον ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ μέλλοντα θύσειν ἐφύλαττεν, ἐλπίζων οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν διαλλακτήριον ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δ' ἀρχόμενος τῆς θυσίας προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγχάριον καὶ προσαγορεύοντα αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς παρεστῶσι προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν γεγονότων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτέθησαν. ταφήν τε οὐδενὶ ἐξῆν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐς οὐδένα τῶν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ καὶ κύνες ἄνδρας τοιούσδε διεσπάσαντο. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἦν τῶν στασιωτῶν φόνος ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀνεύθυνος καὶ ἐξελάσεις ἑτέρων καὶ δημεύσεις περιουσίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ ἀνατροπαὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων.

slave whispered the reason to him, bought the wine, and went back. The innkeeper ran and told Marius, who sprang up with joy as though he would rush to do the deed himself, but was restrained by his friends. A tribune despatched to the house sent some soldiers upstairs, whom Antonius, a speaker of much charm, tried to soften with a long discourse, appealing to their pity by recalling many and various subjects, until the tribune, who was at a loss to know what had happened, rushed into the house and, finding his soldiers listening to Antonius, killed him while he was still declaiming, and sent his head to Marius. CHAP. VIII

73. Cornutus concealed himself in a hut and was saved by his slaves in an ingenious way, for finding a dead body they placed it on a funeral pyre, and when the spies came set fire to it and said they were burning the body of their master, who had hanged himself. In this way he was saved by his slaves. As for Quintus Ancharius, he watched his opportunity till Marius was about to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the temple would be a propitious place for reconciliation. But when he approached and saluted Marius, the latter, who was just beginning the sacrifice, ordered the guards to kill him in the Capitol forthwith; and his head, with that of the orator Antonius, and those of others who had been consuls and praetors, was exposed in the forum. Burial was not permitted to any of the slain, but the bodies of men like these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was, too, much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's

CAP. VIII αὐτοῦ τε Σύλλα φίλοι πάντες ἀνῃροῦντο, καὶ ἡ οἰκία κατεσκάπτετο, καὶ ἡ περιουσία δεδήμευτο, καὶ πολέμιος ἐψηφίζετο· τὸ δὲ γύναιον καὶ ἡ γενεὰ ζητούμενοι διέφυγον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀπῆν ἀθρόων τε καὶ ποικίλων κακῶν.

74. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ἀρχῆς ἐννόμου μετὰ τοσούσδε φόνους ἀκρίτους, ὑπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι τῷ τε ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς Μερόλᾳ, κατ' ὀργὴν ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν Κίνναν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν διεδέδεκτο, καὶ Λουτατίῳ Κάτλῳ, τῷ Μαρίου περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικὰ συνάρχῳ, περισωθέντι μὲν ἐκ Μαρίου πάλαι, ἀχαρίστῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ πικροτάτῳ περὶ τὴν ἐξέλασιν γενομένῳ. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ φυλλασσόμενοί τε ἀφανῶς καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης ἐς τὴν δίκην ἀνακαλούμενοι (τετράκις δὲ ἐχρῆν κηρυττομένους ἐν ὡρισμένοις ὡρῶν διαστήμασιν ἁλῶναι), Μερόλας μὲν τὰς φλέβας ἐνέτεμεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πινάκιον αὐτῷ παρακείμενον ἐδήλου, ὅτι κόπτων τὰς φλέβας τὸν πῖλον ἀποθοῖτο (οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἱερέα περικείμενον τελευτᾶν), Κάτλος δ' ἐν οἰκήματι νεοχρίστῳ τε καὶ ἔτι ὑγρῷ καίων ἄνθρακας ἐκὼν ἀπεπνίγη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, θεράποντες δ' ὅσοι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς Κίνναν ἐκδραμόντες ἐλεύθεροι γεγένηντο καὶ αὐτῷ Κίννᾳ τότε ἐστρατεύοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέτρεχον καὶ διήρπαζον, ἀναιροῦντες ἅμα οἷς περιτύχοιεν· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς

consulship. All Sulla's friends were put to death, his house was razed to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Search was made for his wife and children, but they escaped. Altogether nothing was wanted to complete these wide-spread miseries.

CHAP. VIII

Sulla's friends killed and his property confiscated

74. To crown all, under the similitude of legal authority after so many had been put to death without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius once saved. It was alleged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and had been very bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under arrest after they had been cited four times at certain fixed intervals), but Merula had opened his veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen's cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus of free will suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself, broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met in the street, some of them attacking

Death of Merula and Catulus

CAP. VIII σφετέροις δεσπόταις μάλιστα ἐπεχείρουν. Κίννας δ' ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύων οὐκ ἔπειθε, Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀναπαυομένοις περιστήσας διέφθειρε πάντας.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ θεράποντες δίκην ἀξίαν ἔδοσαν τῆς ἐς δεσπότας πολλάκις ἀπιστίας· 75. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἤρηντο Κίννας τε αὖθις καὶ Μάριος ἕβδομον, ᾧ μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ ἐπικήρυξιν, εἴ τις ὡς πολέμιον ἀνέλοι, τὸ μάντευμα ὅμως ἀπήντα τὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ νεογνῶν ἀετῶν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέθανε, καὶ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον ὁ Κίννας ἑλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ Φλάκκου Κάρβωνα εἵλετο συνάρχειν ἑαυτῷ.

IX

CAP. IX 76. Σύλλας δ' ἐπείξει τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπανόδου τὰ ἐς Μιθριδάτην πάντ' ἐπιταχύνας, ὥς μοι προείρηται, καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὅλοις τρισὶν ἑκκαίδεκα μὲν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας κατακανών, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτης προειλήφει, ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀναλαβὼν αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ναῦς ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἐς μόνην τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοσῶνδε κατακλείσας, ἐπανῄει στρατὸν ἄγων εὔνουν οἱ καὶ γεγυμνασμένον καὶ πολὺν καὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπηρμένον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς ἅπαντα ἀξιόλογον, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν

their own masters particularly. After Cinna had forbidden this several times, but without avail, he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all. CHAP. VIII

Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for their repeated treachery to their masters. 75. The following year Cinna was chosen consul for the second time, and Marius for the seventh; so that, notwithstanding his banishment and the price on his head, the augury of the seven eaglets proved true for him. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaccus lost his life he chose Carbo as his fellow-consul. B.C. 86 Death of Marius

IX

76. Sulla now hastened his return to meet his enemies, having quickly finished the war with Mithridates, as I have already related. Within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and well-disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits. He had an abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was CHAP. IX B.C. 85 Sulla ends the Mithridatic War

CAP. IX

ἐπίφοβος, ὥστε δειμαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὅ τε Κάρβων καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλιαν τινὰς περιέπεμπον, χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀθροίζειν, τούς τε δυνατοὺς συνουσίαις ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἠρέθιζον μάλιστα τὰς νεοπολιτίδας, ὡς δι' αὐτὰς ὄντες ἐν τοσῷδε κινδύνου. τάς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζον ἀθρόως καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μετεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐφύλασσον καὶ οὐδὲν ὀξείας οὐδὲ οἵδε παρασκευῆς μετὰ δέους ἅμα καὶ σπουδῆς ἐξέλιπον.

77. Σύλλας δ' ἐπὶ φρονήματος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ περί τε αὐτοῦ καταλέγων, ὅσα περὶ Λιβύην ἐς Ἰογόρθαν τὸν Νομάδα ἔτι ταμιεύων ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πρεσβεύων ἢ Κιλικίας ἡγούμενος ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς ἢ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε, τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ἐς Μιθριδάτην ὑπερεπαίρων τε μάλιστα καὶ καταλογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀθρόως ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτου γενόμενα Ῥωμαιοις ἀναλάβοι, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἧττον, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίννα καταφυγόντας ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποδέξαιτο ἀπορουμένους καὶ ἐπικουφίζοι τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν ἔφη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἀναγράψαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνασκάψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μόλις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διαφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐτίκα καὶ τοῖσδε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ τιμωρὸς ἥξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις πολίταις τε καὶ νεοπολίταις προύλεγεν οὐδενὶ μέμψεσθαι περὶ οὐδενός.

an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took the leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns, pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They began at once to repair the ships, recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded the coast, and with fear and haste they, for their part, made preparations of every kind.

He prepares to return to Rome

77. Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of superiority recounting what he had done in Africa in the war against Jugurtha the Numidian while still quaestor, as lieutenant in the Cimbric war, as praetor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations which had been under Mithridates and which he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received them in their helplessness and supported them in their affliction. In return for this, he said, he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, on behalf of themselves and of the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he would make no complaint against them.

CAP. IX

Ὧν ἀναγινωσκομένων δέος ἅπαντας ἐπεῖχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον, οἳ συναλλάξειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔμελλον καὶ προερεῖν, εἴ τινος ἀσφαλείας δέοιτο, τῇ βουλῇ τάχιστα ἐπιστεῖλαι· τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν εἴρητο μὴ στρατολογεῖν, ἕστε ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίνασθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, οἰχομένων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεῖπον ὑπάτους αὐτίκα, τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια θᾶττον ἐπανήκειν, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιιόντες στρατιὰν συνῆγον, ἣν ἐς Λιβυρνίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαντήσοντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ, κατὰ μέρος ἐπὶ νεῶν διεβίβαζον.

78. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον μέρος εὐσταθῶς διέπλευσε· τῷ δ' ἑξῆς χειμὼν ἐπέπεσε, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἐλαμβάνοντο, εὐθὺς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας διεδίδρασκον ὡς οὐ στρατεύσοντες ἑκόντες κατὰ πολιτῶν· οἵ τε λοιποὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ περάσειν ἔτι ἔλεγον ἐς τὴν Λιβυρνίαν. Κίννας δ' ἀγανακτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπιπλήξων συνεκάλει· καὶ οἱ σὺν ὀργῇ παρῄεσαν ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι. τῶν δὲ ῥαβδοφόρων τινὸς ὁδοποιοῦντος τῷ Κίννᾳ καί τινα τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πατάξαντος, ἕτερος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν ῥαβδοῦχον ἐπάταξε. καὶ Κίννα κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν συλλαβεῖν βοὴ παρὰ πάντων ἀνέστη, καὶ λίθων ἦσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις· οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπισπάσαντες συνεκέντησαν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίννας ὑπατεύων ἀπέθανε· Κάρβων δ' ἔκ τε Λιβυρνίας τοὺς διαπεπλευκότας ἐς αὐτὴν μετεκάλει καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα δεδιὼς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐ

When the letters were read fear fell upon all, and they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that, if he wanted any security, he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not come back to the city earlier to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments on shipboard to Liburnia,[1] which was to act as their base against Sulla. CHAP. IX

78. The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. The next encountered a storm, and those who reached land again escaped home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they too refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was indignant and called them to an assembly in order to terrify them, and they assembled, angry also and ready to defend themselves. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamour rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their dirks and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia, and, through fear of what was taking place, did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with B.C. 84

[1] On the northern coast of Illyria.

CAP. IX

κατῄει, καὶ πάνυ τῶν δημάρχων αὐτὸν καλούντων ἐπὶ συνάρχου χειροτονίαν. ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιώτην ἀποφανεῖν, ἐπανῆλθε μὲν καὶ χειροτονίαν προύθηκεν ὑπάτου, ἀπαισίου δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἑτέραν προύγραφε· κἀν ταύτῃ κεραυνοῦ πεσόντος ἐς τὸ τῆς Σελήνης καὶ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν οἱ μάντεις ὑπὲρ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἀνετίθεντο τὰς χειροτονίας, καὶ μόνος ἦρχεν ὁ Κάρβων.

79. Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὸς μὲν οὔποτε ἀνδράσι τοιάδε ἐργασαμένοις ἔσεσθαι φίλος, τῇ πόλει δ' οὐ φθονήσειν χαριζομένῃ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς· ἀσφάλειαν δὲ αὐτὸς μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν ἐς ἀεὶ παρέξειν, στρατὸν ἔχων εὔνουν. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δίγλος ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ῥήματι τῷδε, οὐ διαλύσων τὸν στρατόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἤδη διανοούμενος. ἤτει δ' αὐτοὺς τήν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο γέρας εἶχεν, ἐντελῆ πάντα ἀποδοθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐροῦντας συνέπεμπε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, Κίνναν τε πυθόμενοι τεθνάναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀδιοίκητον εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας πέντε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακισχιλίους, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Μακεδονίας προσλαβών, ἅπαντας ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τέσσαρας, ἐπί τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντέσιον χιλίαις καὶ ἑξακοσίαις ναυσὶ διέπλει. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχεὶ τῶν Βρεντεσίων, τοῖσδε μὲν ὕστερον ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν

urgency to hold an election for the choice of a colleague. However, when they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavourable he postponed it to another day. On that day lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer solstice, and Carbo remained sole consul. CHAP. IX

79. Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly terms with the men who had committed such crimes, but would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that he, with a devoted army, could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was now contemplating supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the priesthood, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever other honours he had previously held. He sent some of his own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters, but they, learning at Brundusium that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, went back to Sulla without transacting their business. He then started with five legions of Italian troops and 6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about 40,000 men, from the Piraeus to Patrae, and then sailed from Patrae to Brundusium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favour he afterward gave them exemption

Negotiations with Sulla

Sulla in Italy B.C. 83

CAP. IX

ἔχουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

80. Καὶ αὐτῷ Μέτελλος Καικίλιος ὁ Εὐσεβής, ἐκ πολλοῦ τε ἠρημένος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου καὶ διὰ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσελθών, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβυστίδι τὸ μέλλον περιορῶν, αὐτόκλητος σύμμαχος ἀπήντα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε συμμαχίας, ἀνθύπατος ἔτι ὤν· ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς αἱρεθεῖσιν, ἔστε ἐπανέλθοιεν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὁ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μέγας παρονομασθείς, Πομπηίου μὲν ὢν παῖς τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τῷ κερανυῷ, οὐκ εὔνου τῷ Σύλλᾳ νομισθέντος, τὴν δ' ὑποψίαν διαλυόμενος, ἦλθε καὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ἐκ τῆς Πικενίτιδος κατὰ κλέος τοῦ πατρὸς ἰσχύσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἀγείρας. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ δύο ἄλλα συνέλεξε καὶ χρησιμώτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο τῷ Σύλλᾳ· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι νεώτατον ὄντα ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἐπιόντος, φασίν, ὑπανίστατο μόνῳ. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἔπεμψεν ἐξελάσαι τε τοὺς Κάρβωνος φίλους καὶ Ἰεμψάλαν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι κατὰ τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἔτι ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπαρθεὶς ἐς μέγα ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμφθη καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ὕστερον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν, χαλεπώτατος ἀντιστασιώτης αὐτῷ μετὰ Κίννα καὶ Μαρίου γενόμενος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσών,

from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. Then he put his army in motion and went forward. CHAP. IX

80. He was met on the road by Caecilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish the Social War, but did not return to the city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting in Libya the turn of events, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office may retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus came Gnaeus Pompeius, who not long afterward was surnamed the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum owing to the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honour, though still very young; and they say he never rose at the entrance of any other than this youth. When the war was nearly finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. From this beginning Pompeius achieved greatness, being sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to him and had been driven out of the city with them.

CAP. IX

ἱκέτης τε γιγνόμενος καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐς ὅ τι βούλοιτο παρέχων.

81. Ὁ δὲ καὶ στρατιᾶς πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχων ἤδη καὶ φίλους πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, τοῖσδε μὲν ὑποστρατήγοις ἐχρῆτο, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀνθυπάτω ὄντε ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρουν· ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σύλλας, ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἀποθέσθαι πω τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο Κίννας. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἦει βαρυτάτῃ καὶ ἀφανεῖ ἔχθρᾳ· οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τῆς τε φύσεως αὐτοῦ καλῶς τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάληψιν ἔτι ἔχοντες ἐν ὄψει τά τε ψηφίσματα, ἃ ἐπεκήρυξαν αὐτῷ, λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὁρῶντες ἀνεσκαμμένην καὶ περιουσίαν δεδημευμένην καὶ φίλους ἀνῃρημένους καὶ γενεὰν μόλις ἐκφυγοῦσαν ἐδείμαινον. καὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι νίκης ἢ πανωλεθρίας μέσον εἶναι νομίζοντες συνίσταντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μετὰ δέους, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπέμποντες στρατιὰν καὶ τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα συνῆγον, οὐδὲν ὡς περὶ ἐσχάτων σφίσιν ἀπολείποντες οὔτε σπουδῆς οὔτε προθυμίας.

82. Γάιός τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων, τὼ τότε ὄντε ὑπάτω, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Κάρβων, ὃς πέρυσιν ἦρχεν, ἔχθρᾳ μὲν ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενοι, δέει δὲ καὶ συνειδότι ὧν ἔπραξαν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χείρονι, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως στρατόν, ὅσον εὐπόρουν, κατέλεγον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν κατὰ μέρος ἐχώρουν, σπείραις ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν διακοσίαις

He now turned suppliant, and offered his services to Sulla in any capacity he might desire. CHAP. IX

81. Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and plenty of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus marched in advance, being both proconsuls, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates, had at no time hitherto laid down his command, although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They despatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

82. Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had been consul the previous year (all of them moved by equal hatred of Sulla and more alarmed than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, joined with it the Italian army, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They Marshalling the forces against Sulla

CAP. IX τότε πρῶτον· ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων. ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔργον τὸ Σύλλα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, δόξαν ἔχον πολεμίου, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἔπραττον, πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίδος. τῶν τε ἁμαρτηθέντων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ συνεγνωκότες καὶ τοῦ φόβου μετέχειν ἡγούμενοι συνέπρασσον, εὖ τὸν Σύλλαν εἰδότες οὐ κόλασιν ἢ διόρθωσιν ἢ φόβον ἐπὶ σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ λύμας καὶ θανάτους καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ἀναίρεσιν ὅλως ἀθρόαν ἐπινοοῦντα. ὧν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς δόξης. ὅ τε γὰρ πόλεμος ἔφθειρε πάντας, ὧν γε καὶ μύριοι καὶ δισμύριοι πολλάκις ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄστυ πέντε μυριάδες ἀμφοῖν ἀπέθανον· καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ὁ Σύλλας οὐδὲν δεινὸν καὶ καθ' ἕνα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξέλιπε δρῶν, μέχρι καὶ μόναρχον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅλης, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔχρῃζέ τε καὶ ἐβούλετο.

83. Καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ προσημῆναι. δείματά τε γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνέπιπτε περὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμνημόνευον, τέρατά τε πολλὰ ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἡμίονος ἔτεκε, καὶ γυνὴ κύουσα ἔχιν ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐξέδωκε, τήν τε γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ μέγα ἔσεισε καὶ νεὼς τινας ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατήνεγκε, καὶ πάνυ Ῥωμαίων ὄντων ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαρυεργῶν. τό τε Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τετρακοσίοις που πρόσθεν ἔτεσι γενόμενον ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ

had 200 cohorts of 500 men at first, and their forces were considerably augmented afterward. For the sympathies of the people were much in favour of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt, and who believed that they could not despise the fears, of the consuls, co-operated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating merely punishment, correction, and alarm for them, but destruction, death, confiscation, and wholesale extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everyone. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives round the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be. CHAP. IX

Omens and prodigies

83. It seems, too, that divine providence foretold to them the results of this war. Mysterious terrors came upon many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule foaled, a woman gave birth to a viper instead of a child. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans being in any case very seriously disposed towards such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, was burned down, and nobody could dis-

CAP. IX τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδεὶς ἐπενόει. πάντα δ' ἔδοξεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολουμένων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως κατάληψιν καὶ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν προσημῆναι.

84. Ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος, ἐξ οὗ Σύλλας ἐς Βρεντέσιον παρῆλθεν, ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων· μῆκος δ' αὐτοῦ, διά τε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων, σὺν ἐπείξει ὡς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς ἰδίους ταχυνόντων, οὐ πολὺ ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐγένετο. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τὰ παθήματα ἐπειγομένοις ἐν βραχεῖ μείζω καὶ ὀξύτερα συνέβη γενέσθαι. ἐς δὲ τριετὲς ὅμως προῆλθε, κατά γε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, μέχρι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο Σύλλας· ἐν γὰρ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ μετὰ Σύλλαν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον. μάχαι δὲ καὶ ἀκροβολίαι καὶ πολιορκίαι καὶ πολέμων ἰδέαι πᾶσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀθρόαι τε καὶ κατὰ μέρη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐγένοντο πολλαί, καὶ πᾶσαι διαφανεῖς. ὧν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

X

CAP. X Πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίγνετο μάχη· καὶ θνήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἑβδομήκοντα, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί· καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπύην ἀνέζευξε. 85. Σύλλᾳ δὲ καὶ Μετέλλῳ περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὐσι Λεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπῄει μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ,

cover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to point to the multitude of coming slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and to constitutional change. CHAP. IX

84. This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundusium, which was in the 174th Olympiad. B.C. 83 Considering the magnitude of the operations,[1] its length was not great, compared with wars of this size in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this special reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell those who took part in it in a short space of time, because they rushed to meet their troubles. Nevertheless the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla's death. Battles, skirmishes, sieges, and fighting of all kinds were numerous throughout Italy, and the generals had both regular battles and partial engagements, and all were noteworthy. The greatest and most remarkable of them I shall mention in brief.

X

First of all Sulla and Metellus fought a battle against Norbanus at Canusium and killed 6000 of his men, while Sulla's loss was seventy, but many of his men were wounded. Norbanus retreated to Capua. CHAP. X Battle of Canusium

85. Next, while Sulla and Metellus were near Teanum, L. Scipio advanced against them with another army which was very downhearted and

[1] The text is certainly corrupt here, and cannot adequately be rendered as it stands.

CAP. X πάνυ ἀθύμως ἔχοντος καὶ ποθοῦντος εἰρήνην γενέσθαι· αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὐχ οὕτως ἐλπίζοντες ἢ χρῄζοντες, ὡς στασιάσειν προσδοκῶντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀθύμως ἔχοντα. ὃ καὶ συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Σκιπίων μὲν γὰρ ὅμηρα τῆς συνόδου λαβὼν ἐς τὸ πεδίον κατῄει, καὶ συνῄεσαν τρεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ γνῶναι τὰ λεχθέντα συνέβη· ἐδόκει δ' ἀναθέμενος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς Νωρβανὸν τὸν σύναρχον περὶ τῶν λελεγμένων πέμψαι Σερτώριον ἀπαγγελοῦντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ ἑκατέρων ἡσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένοντες. Σερτωρίου δ' ἐν παρόδῳ Σύεσσαν, ἣ τὰ Σύλλεια ᾔρητο, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ᾐτιᾶτο πέμπων ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, ὁ δέ, εἴτε τῷ γενομένῳ συνεγνωκὼς εἴτε ἀποκρίσεως ἀπορῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ δὴ τῷ Σερτωρίου ἔργῳ, τὰ ὅμηρα ἀπέπεμπε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῇ τε τῆς Συέσσης ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀλόγῳ καταλήψει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὁμήρων οὐκ ἀπαιτουμένων ἀποπέμψει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες ἐν αἰτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνετίθεντο μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πελάσειε. καὶ προσιόντος αὐτίκα πάντες ἀθρόως μετέστησαν, ὡς τὸν ὕπατον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ διηπορημένους Σύλλαν καταλαβεῖν. καί μοι δοκεῖ τόδε οὐ στρατηγοῦ παθεῖν ὁ Σκιπίων, ἀγνοήσας ὅλου στρατοῦ τοσήνδε συνθήκην.

86. Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐ μεταπείθων ὁ Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπαθῆ. καὶ πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐς Καπύην περὶ συμβάσεων ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους, εἴτε δείσας τὴν πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι τοῖς

longed for peace. The Sullan faction knew this and sent envoys to Scipio to negotiate, not because they hoped or desired to come to an agreement, but because they expected to create dissensions in Scipio's army, which was in a state of dejection. In this they succeeded. Scipio took hostages for the conference and marched down to the plain. Only three from each side conferred, so that what passed between them is not known. It seems, however, that during the armistice Scipio sent Sertorius to his colleague, Norbanus, to communicate with him concerning the negotiation, and there was a cessation of hostilities while they were waiting for the answers. Sertorius on his way took possession of Suessa, which had espoused the side of Sulla, and Sulla made complaint of this to Scipio. The latter, either because he was privy to the affair or because he did not know what answer to make concerning the strange act of Sertorius, sent back Sulla's hostages. His army blamed the consuls for the unjustifiable seizure of Suessa during the armistice and for the surrender of the hostages, who were not demanded back, and made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would draw nearer. This he did, and straightway they all went over *en masse*, so that the consul, Scipio, and his son Lucius, alone of the whole army, were left, not knowing what to do, in their tent, where they were captured by Sulla. Scipio's ignorance of a conspiracy of this kind, embracing his whole army, seems to me inexcusable in a general.

CHAP. X

Desertion to Sulla

86. When Sulla was unable to induce Scipio to change, he sent him away with his son unharmed. He also sent other envoys to Norbanus at Capua to open negotiations, either because he was apprehensive

CAP. Σ ὑπάτοις συνισταμένης εἴτε καὶ ἐς τόνδε καθάπερ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τεχνάζων. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προιόντος οὐδ' ἐς ἀπόκρισιν (ὁ γάρ τοι Νωρβανός, ὡς ἔοικε, μὴ διαβληθείη τὰ ὅμοια ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἔδεισεν) ἀναστήσας Σύλλας ἐχώρει πρόσω τὰ πολέμια πάντα δῃῶν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἔπραττε κατ' ἄλλας ὁδούς. Κάρβων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ προδραμὼν Μέτελλόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνῆσαν, ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολεμίους. αἷς ἡμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεπίμπρατο· καὶ τὸ ἔργον τινὲς ἐλογοποίουν Κάρβωνος ἢ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ Σύλλα πέμψαντος εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἄδηλον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγὼ συμβαλεῖν, δι' ἣν ἂν οὕτως ἐγένετο. Σερτώριος δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατηγεῖν ᾑρημένος Ἰβηρίας μετὰ τὴν Συέσσης κατάληψιν ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν οὐ δεχομένων, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὧδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεκίνησε πόνους. πλέονος δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπό τε τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι σφίσι συνεστώσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόρου περὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν Γαλατίας, οὐδ' ὁ Σύλλας ἠμέλει, περιπέμπων ἐς ὅσα δύναιτο τῆς Ἰταλίας, φιλίᾳ τε καὶ φόβῳ καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀγείρων, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἑκατέροις ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλώθη.

87. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἐγενέσθην Παπίριός τε Κάρβων αὖθις καὶ Μάριος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Μαρίου τοῦ περιφανοῦς, ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς· χειμὼν δὲ καὶ κρύος πολὺ γενόμενον ἅπαντας ἀλλήλων διέστησεν. ἀρχομένου δ'

of the result (since the greater part of Italy still adhered to the consuls), or in order to play the same game on him that he had played on Scipio. As nobody came forward and no answer was returned (for it seems that Norbanus feared lest he should be accused by his army in the same way that Scipio had been), Sulla again advanced, devastating all hostile territory, while Norbanus did the same thing on other roads. Carbo hastened to the city and caused Metellus, and all the other senators who had joined Sulla, to be decreed public enemies. It was at this time that the Capitol was burned. Some attributed this deed to Carbo, others to the consuls, others to somebody sent by Sulla; but of the exact fact there was no evidence, nor am I able now to conjecture what caused the fire. Sertorius, who had been some time previously chosen praetor for Spain, after the taking of Suessa fled to his province, and as the former praetor refused to recognize his authority, he stirred up a great deal of trouble for the Romans there. In the meantime the forces of the consuls were constantly increasing from the major part of Italy, which still adhered to them, and also from the neighbouring Gauls on the Po. Nor was Sulla idle. He sent messengers to all parts of Italy that he could reach, to collect troops by friendship, by fear, by money, and by promises. In this way the remainder of the summer was consumed on both sides.

CHAP X

Sertorius goes to Spain

87. The consuls for the following year were Papirius Carbo for the second time and Marius, the nephew of the great Marius, then twenty-seven years of age. At first the winter and severe frost kept the combatants apart. At the beginning of spring, on the

B.C. 82

Success of Sulla's generals

CAP. X ἦρος περὶ τὸν Αἰσῖνον ποταμὸν ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀγὼν καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Μετέλλῳ τε καὶ Καρρίνᾳ, Κάρβωνος στρατηγῷ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ φεύγει μὲν ὁ Καρρίνας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλών, τὰ δὲ περίοικα πάντα ἐς τὸν Μέτελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων μετετίθετο. Μέτελλον δὲ Κάρβων καταλαβὼν ἐφρούρει περικαθήμενος, ἔστε Μάριον τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον μεγάλῃ μάχῃ περὶ Πραινεστὸν ἡττῆσθαι πυθόμενος ἀνεστρατοπέδευεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον. καὶ τοῦδε μὲν Πομπήιος τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξαπτόμενος ἠνώχλει, ἡ δὲ περὶ Πραινεστὸν ἦσσα ὧδε ἐγένετο. Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ὁ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὡς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἱερὸν λιμένα, ἐξέτασσεν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἠγωνίζετο προθύμως. ἀρχομένου δ' ἐνδιδόναι τοῦ λαιοῦ μέρους, σπεῖραι πέντε πεζῶν καὶ δύο ἱππέων οὐκ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν τροπὴν ἐκφανῆναι τά τε σημεῖα ἔρριψαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. καὶ τόδ' εὐθὺς ἦρχε τῷ Μαρίῳ δυσχεροῦς ἥττης. κοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἔφευγον ἅπαντες, ἑπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν δρόμῳ. καὶ οἱ Πραινέστιοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους αὐτῶν εἰσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικειμένου τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλῳδίοις ἀνιμήσαντο. πολὺς δ' ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦδε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγίγνετο φόνος, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σύλλας ἔλαβεν, ὧν τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἔκτεινε πάντας ὡς αἰεὶ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένους.

88. Ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Μέτελλος ἐνίκα ἕτερον Κάρβωνος στρατόν, πέντε κἀνταῦθα σπειρῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ σεσωσμένων ἐς Μέτελλον.

banks of the river Aesis, there was a severe engagement lasting from early morning till noon between Metellus and Carinas, Carbo's lieutenant. Carinas was put to flight after heavy loss, whereupon all the country thereabout seceded from the consuls to Metellus. Carbo came up with Metellus and besieged him until he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle near Praeneste, when he led his forces back to Ariminum, while Pompey hung on his rear doing damage. The defeat at Praeneste was in this wise. Sulla having captured the town of Setia, Marius, who was encamped near by, drew a little farther away. But when he arrived at the Sacred Lake he gave battle and fought bravely. When his left wing began to give way five cohorts of foot and two of horse decided not to wait for open defeat, but threw away their standards in a body and went over to Sulla. This was the beginning of a terrible disaster to Marius. His shattered army fled to Praeneste with Sulla in hot pursuit. The Praenestines gave shelter to those who arrived first, but when Sulla pressed upon them the gates were closed, and Marius was hauled up by ropes. There was another great slaughter round the walls by reason of the closing of the gates. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners, and killed all the Samnites among them, because they had all along been ill-affected toward the Romans. CHAP. X

Continued victories of Sulla

88. About the same time Metellus gained a victory over another army of Carbo, and here again five cohorts, for safety's sake, deserted to Metellus

CAP. X Πομπήιός τε Μάρκιον ἐνίκα περὶ πόλιν Σήνας καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαζεν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ἐς Πραινεστὸν κατακλείσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς οὐκέτι μάχη παραστησόμενος Μάριον, ἀλλὰ λιμῷ. Μάριος δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο προανελεῖν καὶ Βρούτῳ στρατηγοῦντι τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστελλε τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς ἐπὶ ἄλλο συναγαγεῖν καὶ κτεῖναι Πόπλιον Ἀντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα ἕτερον καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν, τὸν τὴν μεγίστην Ῥωμαίοις ἱερωσύνην ἱερωμένον. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶνδε ἀνῃρέθησαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καθὰ Μάριος προσέταξε, τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσαχθέντων· Δομίτιος δ' ἐκτρέχων παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἀνῃρέθη, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου Σκαιόλας. τά τε σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφη· ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ ἤδη μὴ καταθάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους. Σύλλας δὲ στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ μέρη δι' ἑτέρων καὶ ἑτέρων ὁδῶν περιέπεμπεν, ἐντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἀποκρουσθεῖεν, ἐπὶ Ὄστια χωρεῖν. τοὺς δὲ αἵ τε πόλεις παροδεύοντας ξὺν φόβῳ προσεδέχοντο, καὶ τὸ ἄστυ προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ἀνέῳξαν, ὑπό τε λιμοῦ πιεζούμενοι καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἄρα ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπικρατοῦντα φέρειν ἐθιζόμενοι.

89. Σύλλας δ' ὡς ἔμαθεν, αὐτίκα ἐπελθὼν τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ἵδρυσε πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ, αὐτὸς δ' εἴσω παρῆλθεν, ἐκφυγόντων τῶν

during the battle. Pompey overcame Marcius near Senae and plundered the town. Sulla, having shut Marius up in Praeneste, drew a line of circumvallation round the town a considerable distance from it and left the work in charge of Lucretius Ofella, as he intended to reduce Marius by famine, not by fighting. When Marius saw that his condition was hopeless he hastened to put his private enemies out of the way. He wrote to Brutus, the city praetor, to call the Senate together on some pretext or other and to kill Publius Antistius, the other Papirius, Lucius Domitius, and Mucius Scaevola, the pontifex maximus. Of these the two first were slain in their seats as Marius had ordered, assassins having been introduced into the senate-house for this purpose. Domitius ran out, but was killed at the door, and Scaevola was killed a little farther away. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, for it was now the custom not to bury the slain. Sulla sent an army to Rome in detachments by different roads with orders to seize the gates, and if they were repulsed to rendezvous at Ostia. The towns on the way received them with fear and trembling, and the city opened its gates to them because the people were oppressed by hunger, and because, of present evils, men always nerve themselves to bear the worse.[1]

CHAP. X

The younger Marius besieged in Praeneste

Murders in Rome

89. When Sulla learned this he came on immediately and established his army before the gates in the Campus Martius. He went inside himself, all of

[1] The famine, that is, being the lighter evil of the two.

CAP. X

ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἁπάντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων αὐτίκα ἐδημεύετο καὶ διεπιπράσκετο, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν τήν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν παρόντων ὠλοφύρετο καὶ θαρρεῖν προσέταξεν ὡς αὐτίκα τῶνδε παυσομένων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐς τὸ δέον ἐλευσομένης. διοικησάμενος δ' ὅσα ἤπειγε καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐπιστήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξώρμησεν ἐς Κλούσιον, ἔνθα τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἤκμαζεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσεγένοντο ἱππεῖς Κελτίβηρες, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγῶν ἀπεσταλμένοι, καὶ γενομένης παρὰ τὸν Γλάνιν ποταμὸν ἱππομαχίας ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἔκτεινεν ἐς πεντήκοντα τῶν πολεμίων, διακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶνδε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἠτομόλησαν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Κάρβων ἀνεῖλεν, εἴτε χαλεπήνας τῆς τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν αὐτομολίας εἴτε δείσας περὶ ὁμοίου. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Σατουρνίαν ἑτέρῳ μέρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Σύλλας ἐνίκα, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν περιπλέων τὴν Οὐριτανὴν χώραν, πεδιάδα καὶ πυροφόρον οὖσαν, προκατελάμβανεν. ἔς τε Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας νυκτὸς ἔτεροι τῶν Συλλείων ἐσελθόντες ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τῆς πόλεως ἔλαβον. αὐτῷ δὲ Σύλλᾳ καὶ Κάρβωνι περὶ Κλούσιον ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐπὶ ἑσπέραν γίγνεται μάχη καρτερά· καὶ φανέντες ἀλλήλοις ἰσόμαχοι μετὰ σκότους διεκρίθησαν.

90. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Σπωλητίῳ πεδίῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, ἄμφω Σύλλα στρατηγοί, κτείνουσι τῶν Καρβωνείων εἰς τρισχιλίους καὶ Καρρίναν τὸν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντα σφίσιν ἐπολιόρκουν, ἔστε Κάρ-

the opposite faction having fled. Their property was at once confiscated and exposed to public sale. Sulla summoned the people to an assembly, where he lamented the necessity of his present doings and told them to cheer up, as the troubles would soon be over and the government go on as it ought. Having arranged such matters as were pressing and put some of his own men in charge of the city, he set out for Clusium, where the war was still raging. In the meantime a body of Celtiberian horse, sent by the praetors in Spain, had joined the consuls, and there was a cavalry fight on the banks of the river Glanis. Sulla killed about fifty of the enemy, and then 270 of the Celtiberian horse deserted to him, and Carbo himself killed the rest of them, either because he was angry at the desertion of their countrymen or because he feared similar action on their own part. About the same time Sulla overcame another detachment of his enemies near Saturnia, and Metellus sailed around toward Ravenna and took possession of the level wheat-growing country of Uritanus.[1] Another Sullan division effected an entrance into Neapolis by treachery in the night, killed all the inhabitants except a few who had made their escape, and seized the triremes belonging to the city. A severe battle was fought near Clusium between Sulla himself and Carbo, lasting all day. Neither party had the advantage when darkness put an end to the conflict. CHAP. X

90. In the plain of Spoletium, Pompey and Crassus, both Sulla's officers, killed some 3000 of Carbo's men and besieged Carinas, the opposing general. Carbo sent reinforcements to Carinas, but Sulla learned of Sullan successes

[1] So Viereck; but it may be "*ager viritanus*," "qui viritim distribuitur" according to Festus.

CAP. X

βων μὲν ἕτερον τῷ Καρρίνᾳ στρατὸν ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αἰσθόμενος καὶ ἐφεδρεύσας ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν παροδευόντων ἐς δισχιλίους, καὶ Καρρίνας δὲ νυκτός, ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ σκότους, αἰσθομένων μέν τι τῶν περικαθημένων, διὰ δὲ τὸν ὄμβρον ἀμελούντων, διέφυγε. καὶ Κάρβων ἐς Πραινεστὸν Μαρίῳ τῷ συνάρχῳ Μάρκιον ἔπεμπεν, ὀκτὼ τέλη στρατιᾶς ἄγοντα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ κακοπαθεῖν· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐν στενῷ προσπεσὼν τρέπεταί τε καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας ἐς λόφον συνέκλεισε τοὺς λοιπούς. ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιος μὲν οὐ σβέσας τὸ πῦρ ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνέδρας προστιθεὶς ἐστασίασε χαλεπῶς, καὶ τέλος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς σημείοις ὅλον ἄνευ παραγγέλματος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθησαν, ὡς ἑπτὰ σπείρας τῷ στρατηγῷ μόνας παραμεῖναι.

Καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ὧδε πράξας κακῶς ἐς Κάρβωνα ἐπανῄει, Μᾶρκον δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσῖνον ἐκ τῆς Σαυνίτιδος καὶ τὸν Καπυαῖον Γοῦττταν, μεθ' ἑπτὰ μυριάδων ἐπειγομένους Μάριον ἐξελέσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ᾗ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου. καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς ὃ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι τὸν Λουκρήτιον. πολυημέρου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς πείρας γενομένης, οὐδὲν ἀνύων ἐς Πραινεστὸν αὖθις συνεκλείετο.

91. Καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Φαυεντίᾳ

their movement, laid an ambush for them, and killed about 2000 of them on the road. Carinas escaped by night during a heavy rain-storm and thick darkness, since although the besiegers were aware of some movement, they made no opposition on account of the storm. Carbo sent Marcius with eight legions to the relief of his colleague, Marius, at Praeneste, having heard that he was suffering from hunger. Pompey fell upon them from ambush in a defile, defeated them, killed a large number, and surrounded the remainder on a hill. Marcius indeed made his escape, leaving his fires burning, but the army blamed him for being caught in an ambush and there was a serious mutiny. One whole legion marched off under their standards to Ariminum without orders. The rest separated and went home in driblets, so that only seven cohorts remained with their general. CHAP. X

Marcius, having made a failure of it in this way, returned to Carbo. However, Marcus Lamponius from Lucania, Pontius Telesinus from Samnium, and Gutta the Capuan, with 70,000 men, hastened to deliver Marius from the siege, but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Marius now despaired of aid from without, and built a raised fort in the wide space between himself and the enemy, within which he collected his soldiers and his engines, and from which he attempted to force his way through the besieging army of Lucretius. The attempt was renewed several days in different ways, but he accomplished nothing and was again shut up in Praeneste.

91. About the same time Carbo and Norbanus

CAP. X

Κάρβων καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐξ ὁδοῦ βραχὺ πρὸ ἑσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ Μετέλλου στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες, λοιπῆς οὔσης ὥρας μιᾶς καὶ ἀμπέλων πυκνῶν περικειμένων, ἀνοήτως μάλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἐς μάχην ἐξέταττον, ἐλπίσαντες Μέτελλον τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλήξειν. ἡττώμενοι δὲ ὡς ἐν ἀφυεῖ χωρίῳ τε καὶ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἐς τὰ φυτὰ ἐμπίπτοντες ἐφθείροντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους, αὐτομολῆσαι δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διαρριφῆναι, μόνων ἐν τάξει χιλίων ἐπανελθόντων ἐς Ἀρίμινον. τέλος δ' ἄλλο Λευκανῶν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Ἀλβενουανοῦ, τῆς ἥττης πυθόμενον, μετεχώρει πρὸς Μέτελλον δυσχεραίνοντος Ἀλβενουανοῦ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτὸν ἐς Νωρβανὸν ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ κοινολογησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἄδειαν, εἴ τι πράξειεν ἀξιόλογον, ἐπὶ ἑστίασιν ἐκάλει Νωρβανόν τε καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ στρατηγούς, Γάιον Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Φλάυιον Φιμβρίαν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν Καρβωνείων στρατηγοὶ τότε παρῆσαν. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο χωρίς γε Νωρβανοῦ (μόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἀφίκετο), πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλβενουανὸς ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν διέφυγε. Νωρβανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀρίμινον ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πλησίον στρατοπέδων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μεταχωρεῖν πυνθανόμενος τῶν τε παρόντων οἱ φίλων οὐδένα ἔτι πιστὸν οὐδὲ βέβαιον ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς τιθέμενος, ἰδιωτικοῦ σκάφους ἐπιβὰς ἐς Ῥόδον διέπλευσεν· ὅθεν ὕστε-

went by a short road to attack the camp of Metellus in Faventia just before nightfall. There was only one hour of daylight left, and there were thick vineyards thereabout. They made their plans for battle with more temper than judgment, hoping to take Metellus unawares and to stampede him. But they were beaten, both the place and the time being unfavourable for them. They became entangled in the vines, and suffered a heavy slaughter, losing some 10,000 men. About 6000 more deserted, and the rest were dispersed, only 1000 getting back to Ariminum in good order. Another legion of Lucanians under Albinovanus, when they heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus to the great chagrin of their leader. As the latter was not able to restrain this impulse of his men, he, for the time, returned to Norbanus. Not many days later he sent secretly to Sulla, and having obtained a promise of safety from him, if he should accomplish anything important, he invited Norbanus and his lieutenants, Gaius Antipater and Flavius Fimbria (brother of the one who committed suicide in Asia), together with such of Carbo's lieutenants as were then present, to a feast. When they had all assembled except Norbanus (he was the only one who did not come), Albinovanus murdered them all at the banquet and then fled to Sulla. Norbanus, having learned that, in consequence of this disaster, Ariminum and many other camps in the vicinity were going over to Sulla, and being unable to rely on the good faith and firm support of many of his friends on the spot, now that he found himself in adversity, took passage on a private ship, and sailed to Rhodes. When, at a later period, Sulla demanded his surrender, and while the

CHAP. X

More desertions to Sulla

ρον ἐξαιτούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα, Ῥοδίων ἔτι ἀμφιγνοούντων, ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ διέφθειρε.

92. Κάρβων δὲ ἕτερα δύο τέλη στρατιωτῶν ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἄγειν ἔπεμπε Δαμάσιππον, ὑπερεπειγόμενος Μάριον ἐκλῦσαι τῆς πολιορκίας· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα. Γαλάται τε ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ῥαβέννης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια παρήκουσιν, ἀθρόως ἐς Μέτελλον μετετίθεντο· καὶ Λεύκολλος ἑτέρους τῶν Καρβωνείων ἐνίκα περὶ Πλακεντίαν. ὧν ὁ Κάρβων πυνθανόμενος, τρισμυρίους ὅμως ἔτι ἔχων περὶ τὸ Κλούσιον καὶ δύο τέλη τὰ Δαμασίππου καὶ ἕτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον Σαυνιτῶν τε αὐτῷ χειρὶ πολλῇ προθύμως περὶ τὰ στενὰ κακοπαθούντων, ἀπογνοὺς ἁπάντων ἀσθενῶς ἔφευγε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὕπατος ἔτι ὤν, ὡς Λιβύην παραστησόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ Κλούσιον Πομπηίῳ συνενεχθέντες ἐς μάχην ἀπέβαλον ἐς δισμυρίους, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγίστῃ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθη· Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Δαμάσιππος οἷς εἶχον ἅπασιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἐχώρουν ὡς ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαυνίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ περᾶσαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὥς, ἐφέροντο ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἅμα καταληψόμενοι τὸ ἄστυ καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν.

93. Δείσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας προύπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειχθεὶς ἀθρόῳ τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις περὶ μεσημ-

Rhodians were deliberating on it, he killed himself in the middle of the market-place. CHAP. X

92. Carbo sent Damasippus in haste with two other legions to Praeneste to relieve Marius, who was still besieged, but not even these could force their way through the pass that was guarded by Sulla. The Gauls who inhabited the country lying between Ravenna and the Alps went over to Metellus *en masse* and Lucullus won a victory over another body of Carbo's forces near Placentia. When Carbo learned these facts, although he still had 30,000 men around Clusium, and the two legions of Damasippus, and others under Carinas and Marcius, besides a large force of Samnites, who were courageously enduring hardships at the pass, he fell into despair and weakly fled to Africa with his friends, although he was still consul, hoping to win over Africa instead of Italy. Of those whom he left behind, the army around Clusium had a battle with Pompey in which they lost 20,000 men. Naturally, after this greatest disaster of all, the remainder of the army broke into fragments and each man went to his own home. Carinas, Marcius, and Damasippus went with all the forces they had to the pass in order to force their way through it in conjunction with the Samnites. Failing in the attempt they marched to Rome, thinking that the city might be easily taken, as it was bereft of men and provisions, and they encamped in the Alban territory at a distance of 100 stades from it.

Carbo flees to Africa

93. Sulla feared for the safety of the city, and sent his cavalry forward with all speed to hinder their march, and then hastened in person with his whole army and encamped beside the Colline gate near

Sulla's victory at the Colline Gate

CAP. X βρίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἤδη καὶ τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδευόντων. μάχης δ' εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν γενομένης τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Σύλλας ἐκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν ἡττώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ γέροντες, ὄντες ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοῖς συνεστρέχοντας τοὺς πολεμίους, τὰς πύλας καθῆκαν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· αἱ δ' ἐμπίπτουσαι πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνάγκης ἀνέστρεφον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἀγωνισάμενοι πολὺ πλῆθος ἔκτειναν· ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Τελεσῖνόν τε καὶ Ἀλβῖνον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. Λαμπώνιός τε ὁ Λευκανὸς καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῆς Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς συνῆσαν, διέφυγον. καὶ θάνατος ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου πέντε μυριάδων ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων· τά τε αἰχμάλωτα ὀκτακισχιλίων πλείω γενόμενα Σύλλας, ὅτι Σαυνῖται τὸ πλέον ἦν, κατηκόντισε. μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ἁλόντες προσήγοντο· καὶ οὐδὲ τῶνδε φειδόμενος οἷα Ῥωμαίων ἔκτεινεν ἄμφω καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς Πραινεστὸν Λουκρητίῳ περὶ τὰ τείχη περιενεγκεῖν ἔπεμψεν.

94. Πραινέστιοι δὲ καὶ τάδε θεώμενοι καὶ τὸν Κάρβωνος στρατὸν ἀπολωλέναι πάντα πυνθανόμενοι αὐτόν τε Νωρβανὸν ἤδη φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ῥώμην ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σύλλαν ἐκτενῶς κεχειρῶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδοσαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος ἐς

the temple of Venus about noon, the enemy being already encamped around the city. A battle was fought at once, late in the afternoon. On the right wing Sulla was victorious, but his left was vanquished and fled to the gates. The old soldiers on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in with their own men, dropped the portcullis, which fell upon and killed many soldiers and many senators. But the majority, impelled by fear and necessity, turned and fought the enemy. The fighting continued through the night and a great many were slain. The generals, Telesinus and Albinus, were slain also and their camp was taken. Lamponius the Lucanian, Marcius, and Carinas, and the other generals of the faction of Carbo, fled. It was estimated that 50,000 men on both sides lost their lives in this engagement. Prisoners, to the number of more than 8,000, were shot down with darts by Sulla because they were mostly Samnites. The next day Marcius and Carinas were captured and brought in. Sulla did not spare them because they were Romans, but killed them both and sent their heads to Lucretius at Praeneste to be displayed round the walls. CHAP. X

94. When the Praenestians saw them and knew that Carbo's army was completely destroyed, and that Norbanus himself had fled from Italy, and that Rome and all the rest of Italy were entirely in the power of Sulla, they surrendered their city to Lucretius. Marius hid himself in an underground Surrender of Praeneste

CAP. X τάφρους ὑπονόμους καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνελόντος ἑαυτόν. Λουκρήτιος μὲν δὴ Μαρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῇ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ εἰπεῖν· "ἐρέτην δεῖ πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν." Λουκρήτιος δ' ἐπεὶ Πραινεστὸν εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρίῳ στρατηγούντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνῄρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὓς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνεῖλε. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραινεστῷ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὅπλων προελθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὸ πεδίον καὶ προελθόντων τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῷ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάμπαν, ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστῆναι, Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Πραινεστίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὅτι καὶ οἵδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασι, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν ὅμως, τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους κατεκόντισεν ἅπαντας· γύναια δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαζε, πολυχρήματον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τότε οὖσαν.

Ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Πραινεστὸς ἑάλω, Νῶρβα δ', ἑτέρα πόλις, ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι ἐγκρατῶς, ἔστε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου νυκτὸς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐσελθόντος διαγανακτήσαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῄρουν, οἱ δ' ἀλλήλους ἑκόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βρόχοις συνεπλέκοντο· καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνέφραττον ἕτεροι καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν . . . ἄνεμός τε πολὺς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι.

tunnel and shortly afterward committed suicide. Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla, who exposed it in the forum in front of the rostra. It is said that he indulged in a jest at the youth of the consul, saying "First learn to row, before you try to steer."[1] When Lucretius took Praeneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius, and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Praeneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three sections, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Praenestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he would pardon them. The others he shot down to the last man, but their wives and children he allowed to go unharmed. The town, which was extremely rich at that time, he gave over to plunder.

Suicide of the Younger Marius

In this way was Praeneste taken. Norba, another town, still resisted with all its might until Aemilius Lepidus was admitted to it in the night by treachery. The inhabitants, maddened by this treason, killed themselves, or fell on each other's swords, or strangled themselves with ropes. Others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no plunder was gained from it.

[1] A quotation from Aristophanes (*Knights* 542).

XI

CAP. XI

95. Καὶ οἵδε μὲν οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς ἀπέθανον· ἠνυσμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σύλλα στρατηγοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντες τὰ ὕποπτα ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Πομπήιος ἔς τε Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κάρβωνα καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Κάρβωνος φίλους ἐστέλλετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας Ῥωμαίους ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν πολλὰ ἐμεγαληγόρησεν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ φοβερὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν εἶπεν ἕτερα καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρηστὴν ἄξει μεταβολήν, εἰ πείθοιντό οἱ, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ φείσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἢ ταμίας ἢ χιλιάρχους ἢ ὅσοι τι συνέπραξαν ἄλλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μεθ' ἣν ἡμέραν Σκιπίων ὁ ὕπατος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡμολογημένοις, μετελεύσεσθαι κατὰ κράτος. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα βουλευτὰς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προύγραφεν. οὗτος γὰρ δοκεῖ πρῶτος, οὓς ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ, προγράψαι καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀναιροῦσι καὶ μήνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσι καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς κρύπτουσιν ἐπιγράψαι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶνδε οἱ μὲν ἀδοκήτως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἔνθα συνελαμβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ στενωποῖς ἢ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν

XI

CHAP. XI
Proscriptions and massacres by Sulla

95. So perished the stout-hearted men of Norba; and now, after thus crushing Italy by war, fire, and murder, Sulla's generals visited the several cities and established garrisons at the suspected places. Pompey was despatched to Africa against Carbo and to Sicily against Carbo's friends who had taken refuge there. Sulla himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech, vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the people if they would obey him, but of his enemies he would spare none, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by strong measures on the praetors, quaestors, military tribunes, and everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first to make a formal list[1] of those whom he punished, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were hurled

[1] Latin *proscribere*, whence "proscription."

CAP. XI Σύλλαν φερόμενοί τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ῥιπτούμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε κακοῖς ἔχοντος ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως. ἐξέλασίς τε ἑτέρων ἦν καὶ δήμευσις τῶν ἑτέροις ὄντων. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐκφυγόντας ζητηταὶ πάντα μαστεύοντες διέθεον καὶ ὅσους αὐτῶν λάβοιεν ἀνήρουν.

96. Πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσίς τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ἦν, ὅσοι τι Κάρβωνος ἢ Νωρβανοῦ ἢ Μαρίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις στρατηγούντων ὑπήκουσαν. κρίσεις τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ἢ στρατείας ἢ ἐσφορᾶς χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας ἢ βουλεύσεως ὅλως κατὰ Σύλλα. ἐγκλήματα δ' ἦν καὶ ξενία καὶ φιλία καὶ δάνεισμα, λαβόντος ἢ δόντος, ἤδη δέ τις καὶ προθυμίας ἢ μόνης συνοδίας ἡλίσκετο. καὶ ταῦτ' ἤκμαζε μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων. ὡς δ' ἐξέλιπε τὰ καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλας μετῄει καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ τάσδε, τῶν μὲν ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ἢ τείχη καθαιρῶν ἢ κοινὰς ζημίας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἢ εἰσφοραῖς ἐκτρύχων βαρυτάταις· ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσαμένους ἐπῴκιζεν ὡς ἔξων φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐς τούσδε μεταφέρων διεμέριζεν· ὃ καὶ μάλιστ' αὐτοὺς εὔνους αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήσαντι ἐποίησεν· ὡς γὰρ οὐχ ἕξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ πάντ'

through mid-air[1] and thrown at Sulla's feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they caught they killed. CHAP. XI

96. There was much massacre, banishment, and confiscation also among those Italians who had obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their lieutenants Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges—for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by imposing fines and crushing them by heavy contributions. Among most of them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all Sulla's Confiscation and murder in the provinces

[1] Probably from windows or roofs; but the Greek may merely mean "carried" as opposed to "dragged."

CAP. XI εἴη τὰ Σύλλα βέβαια, ὑπερηγωνίζοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάντος.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κάρβωνα δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Σικελίαν μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Κοσσύραν νῆσον ὑποφεύγοντα πέμψας τινὰς ὁ Πομπήιος συνέλαβε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἄγουσιν ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ' ἐς ὄψιν οἱ προσαχθέντας ἀνελεῖν, Κάρβωνα δὲ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶ δεσμώτην τρὶς ὕπατον ἐπεδημηγόρησε καὶ κατέκανε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς Σύλλαν ἔπεμψεν.

97. Ὁ δ', ἐπεί οἱ πάντα, ὡς ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διῴκητο καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι πλὴν Σερτωρίου μακρὰν ὄντος, Μέτελλον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίστατο ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο τρόπον. νόμου γὰρ ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ κλήρου λόγος οὐκ ἦν ἔτι, πεφρικότων ὑπὸ δέους πάντων καὶ κρυπτομένων ἢ σιωπώντων· οἳ καὶ πάντα, ὅσα διῴκησεν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν "Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς." ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διευτυχοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὠνόμαζον· καὶ προῆλθεν ἐς βέβαιον ὄνομα ἡ κολακεία. ἤδη δέ που γραφῇ περιέτυχον ἡγουμένῃ τὸν Σύλλαν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγραφῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἐφαίνετό μοι καὶ τόδε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐπωνομάζετο· δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ ἐπαφροδίτου ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα. ἔστι δ' ὅπου

system were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he died. CHAP. XI

While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill all of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, "the three times consul," he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, murdered him and sent his head to Sulla.

97. When everything had been accomplished against his enemies as he desired, and there was no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and seized upon everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, "Cornelius Sulla, the ever Fortunate," for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him. I have come across a document which relates that Sulla was styled Epaphroditus[1] by a decree of the Senate itself. This does not seem to me to be inappropriate for one of his names was Faustus (lucky), which name seems to have very nearly the same signification as Epaphroditus. There was also an oracle given to him somewhere which, in response to his

Sulla triumphant

[1] "The favourite of Venus."

CAP. XI καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτῷ δοθεὶς ἐβεβαίου τάδε σκεπτομένῳ τὰ μέλλοντα.

πείθεό μοι, Ῥωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν
Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν
ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε·
Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι
Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστυ
Καρῶν, οἳ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης·
ἦ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψῃ κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι.

ὁπότερα δ' αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν εἰκόνα τιθέντες, δοκοῦσί μοι παρασκώπτοντες ἢ ἐκμειλισσόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιγράψαι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στέφανον χρύσεον καὶ πέλεκυν, ἐπιγράψας τάδε·

τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,
ᾧ σ' εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσαν
τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον.

98. Ὁ δὲ ἔργῳ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἢ τύραννος, οὐχ αἱρετός, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ βίᾳ, δεόμενος δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ προσποιήματος αἱρετὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὧδε καὶ τόδε ἐμηχανήσατο. Ῥωμαίοις πάλαι κατ' ἀρετὴν ἦσαν οἱ βασιλέες· καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνοι, βουλευτὴς ἕτερος παρ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἦρχεν, ἕως τινὰ ἄλλον ὁ δῆμος δοκιμάσειε βασιλεύειν. καὶ τόνδε τὸν πενθήμερον ἄρχοντα ἰντέρρηγα ἐκάλουν· εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν τοσῷδε βασιλεύς. ἀρχαιρέσια δ' ὑπάτων οἱ λήγοντες τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀεὶ προυτίθεσαν· καὶ εἴ ποτε κατὰ συντυχίαν ὕπατος

question concerning the future, assured his prosperous career as follows :— CHAP. XI

"Roman, believe me! On Aeneas' line
Cypris, its patron, sheddeth power divine;
To all the Immortals bring thy yearly gifts;
And chief to Delphi. But where Taurus lifts
His snowy side, and Carian men have walled
A far-spread town, from Aphrodite called,[1]
There bring an Axe, and power supreme is thine!"

Whichever inscription the Romans voted when they erected the statue, they seem to me to have inscribed it either by way of jest or cajolery. However, Sulla did actually send a golden crown and axe to Venus with this inscription :—

This Axe to Aphrodite Sulla brought,
For in a dream he saw her as she fought
Queen of his host, full armed, and deeds of knighthood wrought.

98. Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, *de facto*, not elected, but holding power by force and violence. As, however, he needed the pretence of being elected this too was managed in this way. The kings of the Romans in the olden time were chosen for their bravery, and whenever one of them died the senators held the royal power in succession for five days each, until the people should decide who should be the new king. This five-day ruler was called the Interrex, which means king for the time being. The retiring consuls always presided over the election of their successors in office, and if there

[1] Aphrodisias in Caria.

CAP. XI οὐκ εἴη, ὅδε ὁ ἐν τοσῷδε βασιλεὺς καὶ τότε ἐγίγνετο ἐς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονίαν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἔθους ἐπιβαίνων ὁ Σύλλας, ὑπάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάρβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Μάριος κατὰ Πραινεστὸν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, αὐτὸς μέν που τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, τῇ δὲ βουλῇ προσέταξεν ἐλέσθαι τὸν καλούμενον μεταξὺ βασιλέα.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον εἵλετο, ἐλπίσασα ὑπάτων προτεθήσεσθαι χειροτονίαν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐπέστελλε τῷ Φλάκκῳ γνώμην ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεγκεῖν, ὅτι χρήσιμον ἡγοῖτο Σύλλας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀρχήν, οὓς ἐκάλουν δικτάτορας, παυσάμενον ἔθος ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν· ὃν δὲ ἔλοιντο, ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλην στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τὴν γνώμην ἐς αὐτὸν ἔφερε τὸν Σύλλαν, καὶ οὐδ' ἀμφίβολον ἦν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ κατασχὼν αὑτοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνεκάλυπτεν, ὅτι οἱ δοκοίη μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷδε γενέσθαι χρήσιμος.

99. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἐπέστελλε, Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οὐχ ἑκόντες μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον ἔτι χειροτονοῦντες οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὅλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορίᾳ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα καὶ πρόσχημα ἀσπασάμενοι χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν, ἐς ὅσον θέλοι, τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα. τυραννὶς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν δικτατόρων ἀρχὴ καὶ πάλαι, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δ' ὁριζομένη· τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ἀόριστον ἐλθοῦσα

chanced to be no consul at such a time an Interrex was appointed for the purpose of holding the consular comitia. Sulla took advantage of this custom. There were no consuls at this time, Carbo having lost his life in Sicily and Marius in Praeneste. So Sulla went out of the city for a time and ordered the Senate to choose an Interrex. CHAP XI

They chose Valerius Flaccus, expecting that he would soon hold the consular comitia. But Sulla wrote ordering Flaccus to represent to the people his own strong opinion that it was to the immediate interest of the city to revive the dictatorship, an office which had now been in abeyance 400 years.[1] He told them not to appoint the dictator for a fixed period, but until such time as he should firmly re-establish the city and Italy and the government generally, shattered as it was by factions and wars. That this proposal referred to himself was not at all doubtful, and Sulla made no concealment of it, declaring openly at the conclusion of the letter that, in his judgment, he could be most serviceable to the city in that capacity.

99. Such was Sulla's message. The Romans did not like it, but they had no more opportunities for elections according to law, and they considered that this matter was not altogether in their own power. So, in the general deadlock, they welcomed this pretence of an election as an image and semblance of freedom, and chose Sulla their absolute master for as long a time as he pleased. There had been autocratic rule of the dictators before, but it was limited to short periods. But under Sulla it first

He is made dictator for life

[1] Some slip of text or memory is probable ; 120 years is correct.

CAP. XI τυραννὶς ἐγίγνετο ἐντελής. τοσόνδε μέντοι προσέθεσαν εἰς εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ῥήματος, ὅτι αὐτὸν αἱροῖντο δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσειε, καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑξήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας χρησάμενοι, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις δημοκρατίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπάτοις ἐτησίοις προστάταις ἐς ἄλλας ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας, αὖθις ἐπειρῶντο βασιλείας, ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε ἀγωνίσματος πλὴν σταδίου δρόμου γιγνομένου· τοὺς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεάματα πάντα ὁ Σύλλας ἐς Ῥώμην μετεκέκλητο ἐπὶ δόξῃ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἢ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν. πρόφασις δ' ἦν ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ καμάτων.

100. Ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ὑπάτους αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἐγένοντο Μᾶρκος Τύλλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας· αὐτὸς δ' οἷα δὴ βασιλεύων δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἦν· πελέκεις τε γὰρ ἐφέροντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἷα δικτάτορος, εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες, ὅσοι καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἡγοῦντο, καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος περιέθετο πολλήν. νόμους τε ἐξέλυε καὶ ἑτέρους ἐτίθετο· καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπεῖπε, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν, πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν αὖθις ἄρχειν ἐκώλυσε, πρὶν ἔτη δέκα διαγενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνεῖλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφήνας καὶ νόμῳ κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἄρχειν· διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ δόξης ἢ

became unlimited and so an absolute tyranny. All the same they added, for propriety's sake, that they chose him dictator for the enactment of such laws as he himself might deem best and for the regulation of the commonwealth. Thus the Romans, after having government by kings for above sixty Olympiads, and a democracy, under consuls chosen yearly, for 100 Olympiads, resorted to kingly government again. This was in the 175th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, but there were no Olympic games then except races in the stadium, since Sulla had carried away the athletes and all the sights and shows to Rome to celebrate his victories in the Mithridatic and Italian wars, under the pretext that the masses needed a breathing-spell and recreation after their toils. CHAP. XI

100. Nevertheless, by way of keeping up the form of the republic he allowed them to appoint consuls. Marcus Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella were chosen. But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls. Twenty-four axes were borne in front of him as dictator, the same number that were borne before the ancient kings, and he had a large body-guard also. He repealed laws and enacted others. He forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been praetor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office; for which reason all men of reputation or family, who The Sullan constitution

CAP. XI γένους ἀντιποιούμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐξετρέποντο. καὶ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ Σύλλας αὐτήν, καθὰ νῦν ἔστιν, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετήνεγκεν. αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους πάμπαν ὀλιγανδρούσῃ προσκατέλεξεν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἑκάστου. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τοὺς δούλους τῶν ἀνῃρημένων τοὺς νεωτάτους τε καὶ εὐρώστους, μυρίων πλείους, ἐλευθερώσας ἐγκατέλεξε καὶ πολίτας ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορνηλίους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν, ὅπως ἑτοίμοις ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα μυρίοις χρῷτο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν τέλεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ στρατευσαμένοις τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπένειμεν, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον, τὴν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ.

101. Ἐς ἅπαντα δ' ἦν οὕτω φοβερὸς καὶ ἄκρος ὀργήν, ὡς καὶ Κόιντον Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν τὸν Πραινεστὸν αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ Μάριον τὸν ὕπατον ἐκπεπολιορκηκότα καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης συναγαγόντα, ὑπατεύειν ἔτι ἱππέα ὄντα, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι καὶ στρατηγῆσαι, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀξιοῦντα καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ κωλύων καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος οὐ μετέπειθεν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ κτεῖναι. καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν· "ἴστε μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀκούσατε, ὅτι Λουκρήτιον ἐγὼ κατέκανον ἀπειθοῦντά μοι." καὶ λόγον

formerly contended for this office, shunned it thereafter. I am not able to say positively whether Sulla transferred this office from the people to the Senate, where it is now lodged, or not. To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes on each one. To the plebeians he added more than 10,000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10,000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had served under him a great deal of land in the various communities, as I have already related, some of which was public property and some taken from the communities by way of fine. CHAP. XI

Lucretius Ofella slain

101. So terrible in all ways was he and so uncontrollable in anger that finding it vain to check and hinder by persuasive means Q. Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged and captured Praeneste together with the consul Marius, and had won the final victory for him, and who now, despite the new law, presumed to be a candidate for the consulship while still in the equestrian order and before he had been quaestor and praetor, counting on the greatness of his services, according to the traditional custom, and appealing to the populace, he slew him in the middle of the forum. Then Sulla assembled the people and said to them, "Know, citizens, and learn from me, that I put to death Lucretius because he disobeyed me." And then he

CAP. XI εἶπε· "φθεῖρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον· ὁ δὲ δὶς μέν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἄροτρον μεθεὶς τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάθηρεν· ὡς δ' αὖθις ἐδάκνετο, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀργοίη, τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἔκαυσεν. κἀγὼ τοῖς δὶς ἡττημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεηθῆναι." Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖσδε καταπληξάμενος αὐτούς, καθὰ ἐβούλετο, ἦρχε. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ. καί τινες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρνουμένην βασιλείαν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα μόνον ἐπικρύπτοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὐναντίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων μετέφερον καὶ τυραννίδα ὁμολογοῦσαν ἔλεγον.

102. Ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε προύβη κακοῦ, προύβη δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ Μιθριδάτου καὶ Σύλλα πεπολεμημένοις, ἄρτι δ' ἀποροῦντος τοῦ ταμείου διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐκτετρυχωμένοις εἰσφοραῖς πολλαῖς. ἔθνη τε γὰρ πάντα καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις, οὐχ ὅσαι μόνον ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἑαυτὰς ἐγκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἔνορκοι καὶ ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἤ τινα ἀρετὴν ἄλλην αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἔνιαι καὶ λιμένων κατὰ συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηροῦντο.

Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος υἱόν, ἀνατραφέντα μὲν ἐν Κῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Κῴων ἐκδοθέντα Μιθριδάτῃ, διαφυγόντα δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καὶ συνήθη γενόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο

told a parable: "A husbandman was bitten by fleas while ploughing. He stopped his ploughing twice in order to shake them out of his shirt. When they bit him again he burned his shirt, to avoid interruption in his work. And I tell you, who have felt my hand twice, to take warning lest the third time you need fire." With these words he terrified them and thereafter ruled as he pleased. He had a triumph on account of the Mithridatic war, during which some of the scoffers called his government "the official denial of royalty" because he kept back only the name of king. Others took the contrary view, judging from his acts, and called it "the official avowal of tyranny." CHAP. XI

102. Into such evils were the Romans and all the Italians plunged by this war; and so likewise were all the countries beyond Italy by the recent piracies, or by the Mithridatic war, or by the many exhausting taxes levied to meet the deficit in the public treasury due to the seditions. All the allied nations and kings, and not only the tributary cities, but those which had delivered themselves to the Romans voluntarily under sworn agreements, and those which by virtue of their furnishing aid in war or for some other merit were autonomous and not subject to tribute, all were now required to pay and to obey, while some were deprived of the territory and harbours that had been conceded to them under treaties. Distress and exhaustion of Italy

Sulla decreed that Alexander (the son of Alexander the former sovereign of Egypt), who had been reared in Cos and given up to Mithridates by the inhabitants of that island, and had fled to Sulla and become intimate with him, should be king of Alexandria.

CAP. XI βασιλεύειν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐρήμου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀρχῆς ἀνδρὸς οὔσης καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅσαι βασιλείου γένους, ἀνδρὸς συγγενοῦς δεομένων, ἐλπίσας χρηματιεῖσθαι πολλὰ ἐκ βασιλείας πολυχρύσου. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐννεακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἷα Σύλλᾳ πεποιθότα, ἐξηγούμενον, ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου προαγαγόντες ἔκτειναν. οὕτως ἔτι καὶ οἴδε διά τε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἰδίας καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαθεῖς ἀφόβως εἶχον ἑτέρων.

XII

CAP. XII 103. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Σύλλας, καίπερ ὢν δικτάτωρ, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὅμως καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρατικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη καὶ ὕπατος αὖθις γενέσθαι σὺν Μετέλλῳ τῷ Εὐσεβεῖ. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἴσως ἔτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέες, ὑπάτους ἀποφαίνοντες τῇ πατρίδι, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεῦσαι.

Τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ τότε τὸν Σύλλαν θεραπεύων ᾑρεῖτο ὑπατεύειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ὑπάτους μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε Σερουίλιον Ἰσαυρικὸν καὶ Κλαύδιον Πούλχρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἑκὼν ἀπέθετο. καί μοι θαῦμα μὲν καὶ τόδε αὐτοῦ καταφαίνεται τοσήνδε ἀρχὴν πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν καὶ μόνον ἐς τότε Σύλλαν οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος ἀπο-

He did this because the government of Alexandria was destitute of a sovereign in the male line, and the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage, and because he expected to reap a large reward from a rich kingdom. As, however, Alexander relying upon Sulla behaved himself in a very offensive manner toward them, the Alexandrians, on the nineteenth day of his reign, dragged him from the palace to the gymnasium and put him to death; for they too were still without fear of foreigners, either by reason of the magnitude of their own government or their inexperience as yet of external dangers. CHAP. XI

XII

103. The following year Sulla, although he was dictator, undertook the consulship a second time, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, in order to preserve the pretence and form of democratic government. It is perhaps from this example that the Roman emperors appoint consuls for the country and even sometimes nominate themselves, considering it not unbecoming to hold the office of consul in connection with the supreme power. CHAP. XII B.C. 80

The next year the people, in order to pay court to Sulla, chose him consul again, but he refused the office and nominated Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher, and voluntarily laid down the supreme power, although nobody interfered with him. This act seems wonderful to me—that Sulla should have been the first, and till then the only one, to abdicate such vast power without compulsion, not to sons (like B.C. 79 Sulla's abdication

CAP. XII

θέσθαι, οὐ παισίν, ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Σέλευκος ἐν Συρίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τυραννουμένοις· ἄλογον δ' ἤδη καὶ τὸ βιασάμενον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥιψοκινδύνως, ἐπείτε ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, ἑκόντα ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παράδοξον, οἷον οὔπω τι ἕτερον, τὸ μὴ δεῖσαι νεότητος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πλέον μυριάδων δέκα ἀνῃρημένης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτὸν ἀνελόντα βουλευτὰς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, ὑπάτους δ' ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων δισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους σὺν τοῖς ἐξεληλαμένοις· ὧν τῆς τε περιουσίας δεδημευμένης καὶ πολλῶν ἀτάφων ἐκριφέντων, οὔτε τοὺς οἴκοι ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τοὺς φεύγοντας καταπλαγεὶς οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὧν ἀκροπόλεις τε καὶ τείχη καὶ γῆν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀτελείας ἀφῄρητο, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἰδιώτην.

104. Τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ τύχης· ὃν γέ φασιν ἐπειπεῖν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγου, εἴ τις αἰτοίη, τῶν γεγονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθελόντα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπώσασθαι καὶ μόνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς πολὺ ἐν μέσῳ βαδίσαι θεωμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ καταπεπληγότος αὐτὸν καὶ τότε. ἀναχωροῦντα δ' ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μόλις ποτὲ μειράκιον ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὸ ἀπερύκοντος ἐθάρρησε καὶ λοιδορούμενον αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ἄκρος ὀργὴν γενόμενος εὐσταθῶς τὸ μειράκιον ἤνεγκε καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσιὼν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε ἀπὸ ξυνέσεως εἴτε καὶ τύχῃ καταμαντευόμενος τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι κωλύσει τὸ μειρά-

Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or Seleucus in Syria), but to the very people over whom he had tyrannized. Almost incredible is it that after incurring so many dangers in forcing his way to this power he should have laid it down of his own free will after he had acquired it. Paradoxical beyond anything is the fact that he was afraid of nothing, although more than 100,000 young men had perished in this war, and he had destroyed of his enemies 90 senators, 15 consulars, and 2600 knights, including the banished. The property of these men had been confiscated and the bodies of many cast out unburied. Undaunted by the relatives of these persons at home, or by the banished abroad, or by the cities whose towers and walls he had thrown down and whose lands, money, and privileges he had swept away, Sulla now proclaimed himself a citizen. CHAP. XII

Character of Sulla

104. So great was this man's boldness and good fortune. It is said that he made a speech in the forum when he laid down his power in which he offered to give the reasons for what he had done to anybody who should ask them. He dismissed the lictors with their axes and discontinued his body-guard, and for a long time walked to the forum with only a few friends, the multitude looking upon him with awe even then. Once only when he was going home he was reviled by a boy. As nobody restrained this boy he made bold to follow Sulla to his house, railing at him; and Sulla, who had opposed the greatest men and states with towering rage, endured his reproaches with calmness, and as he went into the house said, divining the future either by his intelligence or by chance, "This young man will

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κιον τόδε ἕτερον ἄνδρα ἀρχὴν τοιάνδε ἔχοντα ἀποθέσθαι.

Καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι συνηνέχθη μετ' ὀλίγον, Γαΐου Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκέτι μεθέντος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας μοι δοκεῖ, ἐς πάντα σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τύραννος ἐξ ἰδιώτου γενέσθαι καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐκ τυράννου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἀγροίκου διαγενέσθαι. διῆλθε γὰρ ἐς χωρία ἴδια ἐς Κύμην τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' ἐρημίας θαλάσσῃ τε καὶ κυνηγεσίοις ἐχρῆτο, οὐ φυλασσόμενος ἄρα τὸν κατὰ ἄστυ ἰδιώτην βίον οὐδ' ἀσθενὴς ὢν αὖθις ἐς ὅ τι ὁρμήσειεν· ᾧ δυνατὴ μὲν ἔτι ἡ ἡλικία καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὔρωστον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δυώδεκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν ἔναγχος ὑπεστρατευμένων καὶ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ γῆν πολλὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, ἕτοιμοι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ μύριοι Κορνήλιοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος αὐτοῦ στασιώτης λεώς, εὔνους αὐτῷ καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν ἔτι τοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀδεές, ὧν τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνεπεπράχεσαν, ἐν τῷ Σύλλαν περιεῖναι τιθέμενοι· ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ κόρον τε πολέμων καὶ κόρον ἀρχῆς καὶ κόρον ἄστεος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ ἀγροικίας ἐρασθῆναι.

105. Ἄρτι δ' ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ, Ῥωμαῖοι φόνου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἡσυχῇ πάλιν ἐπὶ στάσεις ὑπερριπίζοντο ἑτέρας. καὶ ὕπατοι αὐτοῖς καθίστανται Κόιντός τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Λέπιδος Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθίστω τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένω διαφέρεσθαι. δῆλόν τε ἦν τι κακὸν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦδε γενησόμενον.

prevent any future holder of such power from laying it down." CHAP. XII

This saying was shortly confirmed to the Romans, for Gaius Caesar never laid down his power, but Sulla seems to me, having shewn himself the same masterful and able man in all respects, to have desired to reach supreme power from private life, and to change back to private life from supreme power, and then to pass his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumae in Italy and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might be eager to do, for he was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were 120,000 men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the 10,000 Cornelii ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents, all of whom rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in co-operation with him. But I think that because he was weary of war, weary of power, weary of Rome, he finally fell in love with rural life. Reflections on his retirement

105. Directly after his retirement the Romans, although delivered from slaughter and tyranny, began gradually to feed the flames of new seditions. Quintus Catulus and Aemilius Lepidus were chosen consuls, the former of the Sullan faction and the latter of the opposite party. They hated each other bitterly and began to quarrel immediately, from which it was plain that fresh troubles were imminent. B.C. 78

CAP. XII Σύλλας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ἤδη καλοίη· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς φίλοις τὸ ὄναρ ἐξειπὼν διαθήκας συνέγραφεν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας συνετέλει· σφραγισαμένῳ δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἑσπέραν πυρετὸς ἐμπίπτει καὶ νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἑξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη βιώσας, εὐτυχέστατος δ' ἀνδρῶν ἔς τε τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ καὶ ἐς τἆλλα πάντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὠνομάζετο, γενέσθαι δοκῶν, εἰ δή τις εὐτυχίαν ἡγοῖτο τυχεῖν ὅσων ἂν ἐθέλῃ. γίνεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἄστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἄγειν ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίας ἀξιοῦν, Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λέπιδον ἐνισταμένων. ἐξενίκα δ' ὁ Κάτλος καὶ οἱ Σύλλειοι, καὶ ἐφέρετο ὁ νέκυς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ, σαλπιγκταί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἱππέες καὶ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἐκ ποδὸς ὡπλισμένος εἵπετο. οἵ τε ὑποστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπὴν ὡπλισμένοι συνέθεον καί, ὡς ἕκαστος ἀφικνοῖτο, εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμον καθίσταντο· ἄλλο τε πλῆθος, ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ, συνέτρεχεν. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖα καὶ πελέκεις, ὅσοις περιὼν ἔτι καὶ ἄρχων ἐκοσμεῖτο.

106. Ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἠνέχθη, ἐσεφέρετο μετὰ πομπῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ὑπερόγκου. στέφανοί τε γὰρ δισχιλίων πλείους ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν γενόμενοι παρεφέροντο, δῶρα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένων τελῶν καὶ καθ' ἕνα τῶν φίλων, ἄλλη τε τῶν ἐς τὴν ταφὴν πεμφθέντων οὐ δυνατὴ φράσαι πολυτέλεια.

CHAP. XII

His death and funeral

While he was living in the country Sulla had a dream in which he thought he saw his Genius already calling him. Early in the morning he told the dream to his friends and in haste began writing his will, which he finished that day. After sealing it he was taken with a fever towards evening and died the same night. He was sixty years of age and was, I think, as his name suggests, the "most fortunate" of men in life and in death itself; that is, if the fortunate man is he who obtains all that he desires. Immediately a dissension sprang up in the city over his remains, some proposing to bring them in a procession through Italy and exhibit them in the forum and give him a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction opposed this, but Catulus and the Sullan party prevailed. Sulla's body was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendour. Trumpeters and horsemen in great numbers went in advance and a great multitude of armed men followed on foot. His soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came, while the crowd of common people that came together was unprecedented, and in front of all were borne the standards and the fasces that he had used while living and ruling.

106. When the remains reached the city then indeed they were borne through the streets with an enormous procession. More than 2000 golden crowns which had been made in haste were carried in it, the gifts of cities and of the legions that he had commanded and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the costly things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery all the

CAP. XII καὶ τὸ σῶμα δέει τοῦ συνδραμόντος στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἱερέες τε ἅμα πάντες καὶ ἱέρειαι, κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, τὰ σφέτερα σημεῖα ἐπικείμενοι. κόσμῳ δ' ἄλλῳ τὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων πλῆθος εἵπετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν μέρει πᾶς, ὅσος ὑπεστράτευτο αὐτῷ· συνέδραμον γὰρ σπουδῇ, τὸ ἔργον ἅπαντες ἐπειγόμενοι καταλαβεῖν, σημεῖά τε φέροντες ἐπίχρυσα καὶ ὅπλα ἐπὶ σφίσι περιάργυρα, οἷς ἔτι νῦν ἐς τὰς πομπὰς εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι. σαλπιγκτῶν τε ἄπειρον ἦν πλῆθος, παρὰ μέρος ὑγρότατα καὶ πένθιμα μελῳδούντων. βοῇ δ' ἐπευφήμουν ἥ τε βουλὴ πρώτη καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐν μέρει, εἶθ' ὁ στρατός, εἶθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἱ μὲν τῷ ὄντι τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπιποθοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δειμαίνοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν νέκυν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ περιόντος· ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν γιγνομένων ἀποβλέποντες καὶ ἐς τὴν μνήμην ὧν ἔδρασεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐξεπλήττοντο καὶ ὡμολόγουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐτυχέστατον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι καὶ σφίσι καὶ τεθνεῶτα φοβερώτατον. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα δημηγοροῦσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, προυτέθη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιταφίους λόγους εἶπεν ὁ κράτιστος εἰπεῖν τῶν τότε, ἐπεὶ Φαῦστος ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα νεώτατος ἦν ἔτι, τὸ δὲ λέχος ὑποδύντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρες εὔρωστοι διεκόμιζον ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἄρειον, ἔνθα βασιλέες θάπτονται μόνοι· καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἵ τε ἱππέες καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.

priests and priestesses escorted the remains, each in proper costume. The entire Senate and the whole body of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of knights followed with their peculiar decorations, and, in their turn, all the legions that had fought under him. They came together with eagerness, all hastening to join in the task, carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on such occasions. There was a countless number of trumpeters who in turns played the most melting and dirge-like strains. Loud cries of farewell were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the present spectacle and remembered what this man had accomplished they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most fortunate for his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The body was shown in the forum on the rostra, where public speeches are usually made, and the most eloquent of the Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son, Faustus, was still very young. Then strong men of the senators took up the bier and carried it to Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army marched past the funeral fire. CHAP XII

XIII

CAP. XIII 107. Καὶ Σύλλα μὲν τοῦτο τέλος ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς χωροῦντες εὐθὺς οἱ ὕπατοι λόγοις βλασφήμοις ἐς ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ ἀστικὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διῄρητο. Λέπιδος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς προσποιούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἣν ὁ Σύλλας ἀφῄρητο, ἀποδώσει. ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ δείσασα ὥρκωσε μὴ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι, κληρωσάμενος δ' ὁ Λέπιδος τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις Γαλατίαν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια οὐ κατῄει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς Συλλείοις τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὑπὲρ τὸν ὅρκον ἀδεῶς· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτος ὡρκῶσθαι. οὐ λανθάνων δ', ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλευεν, ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελευσόμενος σὺν αὐτῷ. κωλυόμενος δὲ ἐκήρυξεν ἐς τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν, καὶ ἀντεκήρυττε Κάτλος. μικρόν τε πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου μάχης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἡττώμενος ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἔτι ἀντισχὼν ἐς Σαρδὼ διέπλευσεν, ἔνθα νόσῳ τηκεδόνι χρώμενος ἀπέθανε· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνοχλήσας διελύθη, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον Περπέννας ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἤγαγε Σερτωρίῳ.

108. Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Συλλείων ἔργων τὸ Σερτωρίου, γενόμενον μὲν ὀκτάετες, οὐκ εὐμαρὲς δὲ οὐδαμὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ἴβηρας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς

XIII

CHAP. XIII

New dissensions in Rome

107. This was Sulla's end, but directly after their return from the funeral the consuls fell into a wordy quarrel and the citizens began to take sides with them. Lepidus, in order to curry favour with the Italians, said that he would restore the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate was afraid of both factions and made them take an oath that they would not carry their differences to the point of war. To Lepidus the province of transalpine Gaul was assigned by lot, and he did not come back to the comitia because he realised he would be released in the following year from his oath not to make war on the Sullans; for it was considered that the oath was binding only during the term of office. As his designs did not escape observation he was recalled by the Senate, and as he knew why he was recalled he came with his whole army, intending to bring them into the city with him. As he was prevented from doing this, he ordered his men under arms, and Catulus did the same thing on the other side. A battle was fought not far from the Campus Martius. Lepidus was defeated, and, soon giving up the struggle, sailed shortly afterwards to Sardinia, where he died of a wasting disease. His army was frittered away little by little and dissolved; the greater part of it was conducted by Perpenna to Sertorius in Spain.

War with Sertorius

108. There remained of the Sullan troubles the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years, and was not an easy war to the Romans since it was waged not merely against Spaniards, but against other Romans and Sertorius. He had been

CAP. XIII Σερτώριον, ὃς ἤρητο μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Κάρβωνι δ' ἐπὶ Σύλλᾳ συμμαχῶν Σύεσσαν πόλιν ἐν σπονδαῖς κατέλαβε καὶ φεύγων ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ᾤχετο. καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων ἔκ τε Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς καί τινα ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας τούς τε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγούς, οὐ παραδιδόντας οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς χάριν Σύλλα, τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐξέβαλε καὶ πρὸς Μέτελλον ἐπιπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀπεμάχετο γενναίως. περιώνυμος δὲ ὢν ἐπὶ τόλμῃ, βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ φίλων τριακοσίους καὶ τήνδε ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν καὶ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκείνης σύγκλητον ἐκάλει. Σύλλα δ' ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λεπίδου μετὰ Σύλλαν, στρατὸν ἔχων ἄλλον Ἰταλῶν, ὅσον αὐτῷ Περπέννας ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατηγὸς ἤγαγεν, ἐπίδοξος ἦν στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ δείσασα ἡ βουλὴ στρατόν τε ἄλλον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ Πομπήιον ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, νέον μὲν ἔτι ὄντα, περιφανῆ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ Σύλλα περί τε Λιβύην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατείργαστο.

109. Ὁ δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνήει, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἑτέραν δ' ἐχάρασσεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἠριδανοῦ, οἳ ἀνίσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὀρῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ῥεῖ δ' ὁ μὲν διὰ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον, Πάδος ἀντὶ Ἠριδανοῦ μετονομασθείς. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐτίκα ὁ Σερτώριος τέλος ὅλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν ἐξιόν, αὐτοῖς ὑπο-

chosen governor of Spain while he was co-operating with Carbo against Sulla; and after taking the city of Suessa during the armistice he fled and assumed his governorship. He had an army from Italy itself and he raised another from the Celtiberians, and drove out of Spain the former praetors, who, in order to favour Sulla, refused to surrender the government to him. He had also fought nobly against Metellus, who had been sent against him by Sulla. Having acquired a reputation for bravery he enrolled a council of 300 members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman Senate in derision of the real one. After Sulla died, and Lepidus later, B.C. 77 he obtained another army of Italians which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought to him and it was supposed he intended to march against Italy itself, and would have done so had not the Senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former ones. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits in the time of Sulla, in Africa and in Italy itself. CHAP. XIII

Pompey sent against him

109. Pompey courageously crossed the Alps, not with the expenditure of labour of Hannibal, but by opening another passage around the sources of the Rhone and the Eridanus. These issue from the Alpine mountains not far from each other. One of them runs through Transalpine Gaul and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea; the other from the interior of the Alps to the Adriatic, its name having been changed from the Eridanus to the Po. Directly Pompey arrived in Spain Sertorius cut in pieces a whole legion of his army, which had been sent out foraging, together with its animals and servants.

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ζυγίοις καὶ θεράπουσι συνέκοψε καὶ Λαύρωνα πόλιν ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γυνή τις ἐννυβρίζοντος αὐτῇ τοῦ λαβόντος παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐξέτεμε τὰς ὄψεις· καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος τοῦ πάθους πυθόμενος τὴν σπεῖραν ὅλην, ἀγέρωχον ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι νομιζομένην, καίπερ οὖσαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν κατέκανε.

110. Καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος διέστησαν, ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ἐπῆσαν ἀλλήλοις, Μέτελλος μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν, ἔνθα διεχείμαζον, Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας ἐκ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πόλιν, ᾗ ὄνομα Σούκρων. κτύπου δ' ἐν αἰθρίᾳ φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀστραπῶν παραλόγων γενομένων, τάδε μὲν ὡς ἐμπειροπόλεμοι διέφερον ἀκαταπλήκτως, πολὺν δ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἐξειργάζοντο, μέχρι Μέτελλος μὲν Περπένναν ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διήρπαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνίκα Πομπήιον, καὶ ἐτρώθη δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπικινδύνως ὁ Πομπήιος. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο τῆς τότε μάχης.

Ἔλαφος δ' ἦν λευκὴ χειροήθης τῷ Σερτωρίῳ καὶ ἄνετος· ἧς ἀφανοῦς γενομένης ὁ Σερτώριος οὐκ αἴσιον ἑαυτῷ τιθέμενος ἐβαρυθύμει τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀργίας ἦν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιτωθαζόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δ' ὤφθη διὰ δρυμῶν δρόμῳ φερομένη, ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν ὁ Σερτώριος καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ προκαταρχόμενος, ἠκροβολίσατο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους.

Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἀγῶνα μέγαν ἠγωνίσατο περὶ Σεγοντίαν ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ ἄστρα. καὶ

He also plundered and destroyed the Roman town of Lauro before the very eyes of Pompey. In this siege a woman tore out with her fingers the eyes of a soldier who had insulted her and was trying to commit an outrage upon her. When Sertorius heard of this he put to death the whole cohort that was supposed to be addicted to such brutality, although it was composed of Romans. 110. Then the armies were separated by the advent of winter. CHAP. XIII B.C. 75

When spring came they resumed hostilities, Metellus and Pompey coming from the Pyrenees, where they had wintered, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania. They met near the town of Sucro. While the fight was going on flashes of lightning came unexpectedly from a clear sky, but these trained soldiers stood it all without being in the least dismayed. They continued the fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, until Metellus defeated Perpenna and plundered his camp. On the other hand, Sertorius defeated Pompey, who received a dangerous wound from a spear in the thigh, and this put an end to that battle. Sertorius defeats Pompey

Sertorius had a white fawn that was tame and allowed to move about freely. When this fawn was not in sight Sertorius considered it a bad omen. He became low-spirited and abstained from fighting; nor did he mind the enemy's scoffing at him about the fawn. When she made her appearance running through the woods Sertorius would run to meet her, and, as though he were consecrating the first-fruits of a sacrifice to her, he would at once direct a hail of javelins at the enemy.

Not long afterward Sertorius fought a great battle near Seguntia, lasting from noon till night. Sertorius

CAP. XIII αὐτὸς μὲν ἱππομαχῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλὼν ἐς ἡμίσεας· Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ τότε Περπέννα περὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρε. καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος μετὰ τὴν μάχην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας πολλοὺς βαρβάρους προσλαβὼν ἐπέδραμεν ἀδοκήτως τῷ Μετέλλου στρατοπέδῳ περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ὡς ἀποταφρεύσων αὐτὸ σὺν τόλμῃ, Πομπηίου δ' ἐπιδραμόντος ἐπαύσατο τῆς καταφρονήσεως.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους ἔργα, καὶ πάλιν ἐς χειμασίαν διεκρίθησαν· 111. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἕκτης ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος οὔσης, δύο μὲν ἐκ διαθηκῶν ἔθνη Ῥωμαίοις προσεγίγνετο, Βιθυνία τε Νικομήδους ἀπολιπόντος καὶ Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου, τοῦ Λαγίδου βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπίκλησιν ἦν Ἀπίων, πόλεμοι δ' ἤκμαζον οὗτός τε ὁ Σερτωρίου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτου περὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ὁ τῶν λῃστῶν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ περὶ Κρήτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κρῆτας ἕτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν μονομάχων ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅδε καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ γενόμενος. διαιρούμενοι δ' ἐς τοσαῦτα, ὅμως καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψαν ἄλλα στρατοῦ δύο τέλη, μεθ' ὧν ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ Μέτελλός τε καὶ Πομπήιος αὖθις ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἶβηρα κατέβαινον. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων ἀπὸ Λυσιτανίας.

112. Καὶ τότε μάλιστα πολλοὶ Σερτωρίου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον ηὐτομόλουν, ἐφ' ᾧ χαλεπαίνων ὁ Σερτώριος ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐλυμαίνετο πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ μίσους ἐγίγνετο.

fought on horseback and vanquished Pompey, killing nearly 6000 of his men and losing about half that number himself. Metellus at the same time destroyed about 5000 of Perpenna's army. The day after this battle Sertorius, with a large reinforcement of barbarians, attacked the camp of Metellus unexpectedly towards evening with the intention of boldly cutting it off with a trench, but Pompey hastened up and caused Sertorius to desist from his contemptuous enterprise. CHAP. XIII

In this way they passed the summer, and again they separated to winter quarters. 111. The following year, which was in the 176th Olympiad, two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy surnamed Apion, of the house of the Lagidae. There were wars and wars; the Sertorian was raging in Spain, the Mithridatic in the East, that of the pirates on the entire sea, and another around Crete against the Cretans themselves, besides the gladiatorial war in Italy, which started suddenly and became very serious. Although distracted by so many conflicts the Romans sent another army of two legions into Spain. With these and the other forces in their hands Metellus and Pompey again descended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro; and Sertorius and Perpenna advanced from Lusitania to meet them. B.C. 74

Wars elsewhere

112. At this juncture many of the soldiers of Sertorius deserted to Metellus, at which Sertorius was so exasperated that he visited savage and barbarous punishment upon many of his men and became unpopular in consequence. The soldiers blamed him

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μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δορυφόρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ Κελτίβηρας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος, Ῥωμαίους ἀπελάσας, τοῖσδε ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐπέτρεπεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφερον ἐς ἀπιστίαν ὀνειδιζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ πολεμίῳ Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατεύοντο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ὑπέδακνεν αὐτούς, τὸ ἀπίστους ἐς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τὸν Σερτώριον γενομένους ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἠξίουν διὰ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας οἱ παραμένοντες κατεγνῶσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοῖς, ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι, ἐνύβριζον ὡς ἀπιστουμένοις. οἱ δ' οὐ τελέως ὅμως τὸν Σερτώριον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὰς χρείας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πολεμικώτερος ἄλλος οὔτ' ἐπιτυχέστερος. ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν ἐκάλουν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν θρασύτατόν τε καὶ ἀπατηλότατον στρατηγὸν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ στρατὸς ὧδε εἶχε Σερτωρίῳ, πόλεις δ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἐπέτρεχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰ ὑπήκοα σφίσι μετῆγον. Παλαντίαν δὲ Πομπηίου περικαθημένου καὶ τὰ τείχη ξύλων κορμοῖς ὑποκρεμάσαντος, ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ Σερτώριος τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐξέλυσε, τὰ τείχη δ' ἔφθασεν ὑποκαύσας ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ἐς Μέτελλον ἀνεχώρει. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ τὰ πεσόντα ἤγειρε, καὶ τοῖς περί τι χωρίον Καλάγυρον στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐπιδραμὼν ἔκτεινε τρισχιλίους. καὶ τάδε ἦν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ.

particularly because wherever he went he surrounded himself with a body-guard of Celtiberian spearmen instead of Romans, and gave the care of his person to the former in place of the latter. Nor could they bear to be reproached with treachery by him while they were serving under an enemy of the Roman people. That they should be charged with bad faith by Sertorius while they were acting in bad faith to their country on his account was the very thing that vexed them most. Nor did they consider it just that those who remained with the standards should be condemned because others deserted. Moreover, the Celtiberians took this occasion to insult them as men under suspicion. Still they did not wholly break with Sertorius since they derived advantages from his service, for there was no other man of that period more skilled in the art of war or more successful in it. For this reason, and on account of the rapidity of his movements, the Celtiberians gave him the name of Hannibal, whom they considered the boldest and most crafty general ever known in their country. In this way the army stood affected toward Sertorius, and on this account the forces of Metellus overran many of his towns and brought the men belonging to them under subjection. While Pompey was laying siege to Palantia and slinging logs of wood along the foot of the walls[1] Sertorius suddenly appeared on the scene and raised the siege. Pompey hastily set fire to the walls and retreated to Metellus. Sertorius rebuilt the part of the wall which had fallen and then attacked his enemies who were encamped around the castle of Calagurris and killed 3000 of them. And so this year went by in Spain.

Sertorius puts Pompey to flight at Palantia

[1] To these he would have set fire by means of faggots.

CAP. XIII 113. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος οἱ στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων μᾶλλόν τι θαρρήσαντες ἐπῄεσαν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Σερτωρίῳ σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ περιέσπων καὶ ἑτέροις ἐπέβαινον, ἐπαιρόμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις. οὐ μέντοι μεγάλῃ γε μάχῃ συνηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' αὖθις . . ., μέχρι τοῦ ἑξῆς ἔτους αὐτοὶ μὲν αὖθις ἐπῄεσαν σὺν πλέονι μᾶλλον καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος βλάπτοντος ἤδη θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πόνον ἑκὼν μεθίει, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τρυφῆς, γυναιξὶ καὶ κώμοις καὶ πότοις σχολάζων. ὅθεν ἡττᾶτο συνεχῶς. καὶ γεγένητο ὀργήν τε ἄκρος δι' ὑπονοίας ποικίλας καὶ ὠμότατος ἐς κόλασιν καὶ ὑπόπτης ἐς ἅπαντας, ὥστε καὶ Περπένναν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰμιλίου στάσεως ἑκόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, δεῖσαι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προεπιβουλεῦσαι μετὰ ἀνδρῶν δέκα. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶνδέ τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνδειχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκολάσθησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπέφυγον, ὁ Περπέννας παρὰ δόξαν λαθὼν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἠπείγετο καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Σερτώριον μεθιέντα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐπὶ ἑστίασιν ἐκάλει, μεθύσας δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν περιεστῶσαν τὸν ἀνδρῶνα φυλακὴν ἔκτεινεν ἀπὸ τῆς διαίτης.

114. Καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Περπένναν ἀνίστατο σὺν θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐς εὔνοιαν αὐτίκα τοῦ Σερτωρίου μεταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν μεθιᾶσιν, οὐκ ἐμποδὼν ἔτι τοῦ λυποῦντος ὄντος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν μετ' ἐλέου καὶ μνήμης ἐπανίασι. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ

CHAP. XIII

113. In the following year the Roman generals plucked up rather more courage and advanced in an audacious manner against the towns that adhered to Sertorius, drew many away from him, assaulted others, and were much elated by their success. No great battle was fought, but [skirmishes continued [1]] until the following year, when they advanced again even more audaciously. Sertorius was now evidently smitten by some heaven-sent madness, for he relaxed his labours, fell into habits of luxury, and gave himself up to women, carousing and drinking, and as a result was defeated continually. He became hot-tempered, from various suspicions, extremely cruel in punishment, and distrustful of everybody, so much so that Perpenna, who had belonged to the faction of Lepidus and had come to him as a volunteer with a considerable army, began to fear for his own safety and formed a conspiracy with ten other men against him. The conspiracy was betrayed, some of the guilty ones were punished and others fled, but Perpenna escaped detection in some unaccountable manner and applied himself all the more to carry out the design. As Sertorius was never without his guard of spearmen, Perpenna invited him to a banquet, plied him and the guards who surrounded the banqueting room with wine, and assassinated him after the feast.

B.C. 73

B.C. 72

Change in character of Sertorius

He is assassinated by Perpenna

114. The soldiers straightway rose in tumult and anger against Perpenna, their hatred of Sertorius being suddenly turned to affection for him, as people generally mollify their anger toward the dead, and when he who has injured them is no longer before their eyes recall his virtues with tender memory.

[1] There is a gap in the text.

CAP. XIII παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, Περπέννα μὲν ὡς ἰδιώτου κατεφρόνουν, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν Σερτωρίου μόνην ἂν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι σωτήριον, χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν Περπένναν διετίθεντο αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Λυσιτανοί, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὁ Σερτώριος ἐχρῆτο.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν τῶν Σερτωρίου ὁ Περπέννας αὐταῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπὶ τῷ κλήρῳ, μᾶλλόν τι πάντας ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος ἐς τὸν Περπένναν ἐσήει, ὡς οὐκ ἐς ἄρχοντα μόνον ἢ στρατηγόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοσόνδε μύσος ἐργασάμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ χειρῶν ἀπέσχοντο, εἰ μὴ περιθέων αὐτοὺς ὁ Περπέννας τοὺς μὲν δώροις ὑπηγάγετο, τοὺς δ' ὑποσχέσεσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπειλαῖς ἐξεφόβησε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διεχρήσατο ἐς κατάπληξιν ἑτέρων. ἐπί τε τὰ πλήθη παρερχόμενος ἐδημαγώγει καὶ τοὺς δεσμώτας αὐτῶν ἐξέλυεν, οὓς ὁ Σερτώριος κατέδησεν, καὶ τοῖς Ἴβηρσι τὰ ὅμηρα ἀπέλυεν. οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑπήκουον μὲν ὡς στρατηγῷ (τὸ γὰρ δὴ μετὰ Σερτώριον εἶχεν ἀξίωμα), οὐ μέντοι χωρὶς δυσμενείας οὐδὲ τότε ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὠμότατος αὐτίκα ἐς κολάσεις θαρρήσας ἐφαίνετο καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ συμφυγόντων ἐπιφανῶν ἔκτεινε τρεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἑαυτοῦ.

115. Ὡς δὲ ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ᾤχετο (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δυσχερὲς ἐδόκει Περπένναν ἐπιτρέψαι μόνῳ Πομπηίῳ), ἐπὶ μέν τινας ἡμέρας ἐγίγνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι καὶ ἀπόπειραι Πομπηίου καὶ Περπέννα, μὴ σαλευόντων ἄθρουν τὸν

Reflecting on their present situation they despised Perpenna too as a private individual, for they considered that the bravery of Sertorius had been their only salvation. They were angry with Perpenna, and the barbarians were no less so; and above all the Lusitanians, of whose services Sertorius had especially availed himself. CHAP. XIII

When the will of Sertorius was opened a bequest to Perpenna was found in it, and thereupon still greater anger and hatred of him entered into the minds of all, since he had committed such an abominable crime, not merely against his ruler and commanding general, but against his friend and benefactor. And they would not have abstained from violence had not Perpenna bestirred himself, making gifts to some and promises to others. Some he terrified with threats and some he killed in order to strike terror into the rest. He came forward and made a speech to the multitude, and released from confinement some whom Sertorius had imprisoned, and dismissed some of the Spanish hostages. Reduced in this way to submission they obeyed him as general (for he held the next rank to Sertorius), yet they were not without bitterness toward him even then. As he grew bolder he became very cruel in punishments, and put to death three of the nobility who had fled together from Rome to him, and also his own nephew. Perpenna takes the command

115. As Metellus had gone to other parts of Spain—for he considered it no longer a difficult task for Pompey alone to vanquish Perpenna—these two skirmished and made tests of each other for several days, but did not bring their whole strength into the field. On the tenth day, however, a great

CAP. XIII στρατόν, τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς μέγιστος ἐξερράγη. ἐνὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ κρίναντες διακριθῆναι, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς Περπέννα στρατηγίας κατεφρόνει, Περπέννας δ' ὡς οὐ πιστῷ χρησόμενος ἐς πολὺ τῷ στρατῷ, πάσῃ σχεδὸν τῇ δυνάμει συνεπλέκετο. ταχὺ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος περιῆν ὡς οὔτε στρατηγοῦ διαφέροντος οὔτε προθύμου στρατοῦ. καὶ τροπῆς πάντων ὁμαλοῦς γενομένης ὁ μὲν Περπέννας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ πόας ἐκρύφθη, δεδιὼς τοὺς οἰκείους μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων· λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν ἱππέες τινες εἷλκον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐπιβλασφημούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὡς αὐθέντην Σερτωρίου καὶ βοῶντα πολλὰ μηνύσειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τῆς Ῥώμῃ στάσεως· ἔλεγε δὲ εἴτε ἀληθεύων εἴθ' ἵνα σῶος ἀχθείη πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, δείσας ἄρα, μή τι μηνύσειεν ἀδόκητον καὶ ἑτέρων ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο. καὶ ἔδοξεν ἐμφρόνως πάνυ τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος πρᾶξαι καὶ συνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε εἰς δόξαν ἀγαθήν. τέλος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῷ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν πολέμῳ, τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ τοῦ βίου γενόμενον· δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε εὐμαρῶς οὕτως, ἔτι Σερτωρίου περιόντος, συντελεσθῆναι.

XIV

CAP. XIV 116. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μονομάχων ἐς θέας ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θρᾷξ ἀνήρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονο-

battle was fought between them. They resolved to decide the contest by one engagement—Pompey because he despised the generalship of Perpenna; Perpenna because he did not believe that his army would long remain faithful to him, and he was now engaging with nearly his maximum strength. Pompey, as might have been expected, soon got the better of this inferior general and disaffected army. Perpenna was defeated all along the line and concealed himself in a thicket, more fearful of his own troops than of the enemy's. He was seized by some horsemen and dragged towards Pompey's headquarters, loaded with the execrations of his own men, as the murderer of Sertorius, and crying out that he would give Pompey information about the factions in Rome. This he said either because it was true, or in order to be brought safe to Pompey's presence, but the latter sent orders and put him to death before he came into his presence, fearing, it seemed, lest some startling revelation might be the source of new troubles at Rome. Pompey seems to have behaved very prudently in this matter, and his action added to his high reputation. So ended the war in Spain with the life of Sertorius. I think that if he had lived longer the war would not have ended so soon or so easily.

CHAP. XIII

He is defeated and slain by Pompey

XIV

116. At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and sold for a gladiator, and was in the gladiatorial training-school

CHAP. XIV

B.C. 73

War with Spartacus

CAP. XIV μάχοις ὧν, ἔπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας μάλιστα κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως καὶ βιασάμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε· καί τινων ὁδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ξιφιδίοις ὁπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας καί τινας ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος ἐλῃστευε τὰ ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνόμαόν τε καὶ Κρίξον μονομάχους. μεριζομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν· καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν (οὐ γάρ πω Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομήν τινα καὶ λῃστηρίῳ τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι), συμβαλόντες ἡττῶντο. Οὐαρινίου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περιέσπασεν· παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἑπτὰ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἐχάλκευε καὶ παρασκευὴν συνέλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν. 117. καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἥττατο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς· Σπάρτακον δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπειγόμενον ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν

at Capua, persuaded about seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away, arming themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads, and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighbouring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named Oenomaus and Crixus. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. Varinius Glaber was first sent against him and afterwards Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as yet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. They attacked Spartacus and were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did the very general of the Romans escape being captured by a gladiator. CHAP. XIV

After this still greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected equipment, whereas Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. 117. One of them overcame Crixus with 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of whom perished together with himself. Spartacus endeavoured to make his way through the Apennines to the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his flight while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They

B.C. 72

He defeats the Romans in several engagements

ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θορύβῳ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὑπεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγίσας Κρίξῳ, δυώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, τὰ ἄχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐπισφάξας τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἵνα κοῦφος εἴη· αὐτομόλων τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιόντων οὐδένα προσίετο. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὖθις περὶ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος ὅδε γίγνεται καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἧσσα Ῥωμαίων.

Ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνω, ὡς οὔπω γεγονὼς ἀξιόμαχος οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων στρατιωτικῶς ὡπλισμένον (οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις, ἀλλὰ θεράποντες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ σύγκλυδες), τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ περὶ Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε, καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὠνοῦντο πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἠδίκουν. ὅθεν ἀθρόας ὕλης εὐπορήσαντες εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ λεηλασίας ἐξῄεσαν. Ῥωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχθέντες ἐς χεῖρας ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμοντες ἐπανῄεσαν.

118. Τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, γελώμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὡς μονομάχων. προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλλων χειροτονίας ὄκνος ἐπεῖχεν ἅπαντας καὶ παρῄγγελλεν οὐδείς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων διαφανής, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν καὶ τέλεσιν ἐξ ἄλλοις ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ

retreated in confusion in different directions. Spartacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the shade of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot, having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here there was fought another great battle and there was, too, another great defeat for the Romans. CHAP. XIV

Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and made frequent forays for the time being. When they next came to an engagement with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

118. This war, so formidable to the Romans (although ridiculed and despised in the beginning, as being merely the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new praetors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the praetorship and marched against

B.C. 71

Crassus appointed to the command

CAP. XIV

τὸν Σπάρτακον· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶι ὑπάτων δύο προσέλαβε. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα διακληρώσας ὡς πολλάκις ἡττημένων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. οἱ δ' οὐχ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε καὶ ἡττημένον, πάντων διακληρῶσαι τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδοιάσαντα. ὁποτέρως δ' ἔπραξε, φοβερώτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἥττης φανεὶς αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτακείων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν που στρατοπεδευόντων ἐκράτει καὶ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε τὸν Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει. νικήσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε λαμπρῶς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς διαπλευσούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε καὶ ἀπεσταύρου.

119. Βιαζομένου δ' ἐς τὴν Σαυνίτιδα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου διαδραμεῖν, ἔκτεινεν ὁ Κράσσος ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἄλλους περὶ ἕω καὶ περὶ δείλην ἐς τοσούσδε ἑτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ μόνων ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἑπτὰ τρωθέντων· τοσήδε ἦν αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μεταβολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἱππέας ποθὲν προσιόντας αὐτῷ περιμένων οὐκέτι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦει τῷ στρατῷ παντί, πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων, φακέλους τε ξύλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίει. αἰχμάλωτόν τε Ῥωμαῖον ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ, δεικνὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις τὴν ὄψιν ὧν πείσονται, μὴ κρατοῦντες. οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι

Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived at his destination he received also the two legions of the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army, and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, when he had once demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy, he overcame immediately 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling. CHAP. XIV

119. Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their *moral* inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting a reinforcement of horse from somewhere, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labour difficult. He also crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. But when the Romans in

CAP. XIV

τῆς πολιορκίας πυνθανόμενοι καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες, εἰ χρόνιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατέλεγον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἄρτι ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες ἤδη δυσχερὲς εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ Σπαρτάκειον ἔργον.

120. Διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο Πομπηίου, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπαρτάκῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προυκαλεῖτο. ὑπερορώμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν τε ἔγνω καὶ, παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἤδη, ὥσατο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, Κράσσου διώκοντος. ὡς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν ὁ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ νίκης ἐπανιόντα, εἶναι, πάντων ἀπογνοὺς ἐς χεῖρας ἤει τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους· γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὡς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον. ὅ τε λοιπὸς αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκόσμως ἤδη κατεκόπτοντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς φόνον γενέσθαι τῶν μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ εὑρεθῆναι. πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόν· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινεν. οἱ δὲ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο, μέχρι

the city heard of the siege they thought it would be disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain, as a reinforcement. CHAP. XIV

120. On account of this vote Crassus tried in every way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundusium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus had just arrived in Brundusium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. The battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The remainder of his army was thrown into confusion and butchered in crowds. So great was the slaughter that it was impossible to count them. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued

He defeats and kills Spartacus

End of the war

CAP. XIV πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ἑξακισχιλίων, οἳ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν.

121. Καὶ τάδε Κράσσος ἓξ μησὶν ἐργασάμενος ἀμφήριστος ἐκ τοῦδε αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ δόξῃ τῇ Πομπηίου γίνεται. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθίει, διότι μηδὲ Πομπήιος. ἐς δὲ ὑπατείαν ἄμφω παρήγγελλον, ὁ μὲν ἐστρατηγηκὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σύλλα, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὔτε στρατηγήσας οὔτε ταμιεύσας ἔτος τε ἔχων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο πολλὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανάξειν. αἱρεθέντες δὲ ὕπατοι οὐδ' ὡς μεθίεσαν τὸν στρατόν, ἔχοντες ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἑκάτερος πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν θρίαμβον περιμένειν ἐπανιόντα Μέτελλον, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος, ὡς Πομπήιον δέον προδιαλῦσαι.

Καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν στάσεως ὁρῶν καὶ φοβούμενος δύο στρατοὺς περικαθημένους, ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένων συναλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἑκάτερος ἀπεκρούετο· ὡς δὲ καὶ θεόληπτοί τινες προύλεγον πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, εἰ μὴ συναλλαγεῖεν οἱ ὕπατοι, ὁ δῆμος αὖθις αὐτοὺς μετ' οἰμωγῆς παρεκάλει πάνυ ταπεινῶς, ἔτι τῶν Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν ἀναφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Κράσσος πρότερος ἐνδοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατέβαινε καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρει, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων

to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome. CHAP. XIV

121. Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honours between himself and Pompey. Crassus did not dismiss his army, for Pompey did not dismiss his. Both were candidates for the consulship. Crassus had been praetor as the law of Sulla required. Pompey had been neither praetor nor quaestor, and was only thirty-four years old, but he had promised the tribunes of the people that much of their former power should be restored. When they were chosen consuls they did not even then dismiss their armies, which were stationed near the city. Each one offered an excuse. Pompey said that he was waiting the return of Metellus for his Spanish triumph; Crassus said that Pompey ought to dismiss his army first. Rivalry of Pompey and Crassus

The people, seeing fresh seditions brewing and fearing two armies encamped round about, besought the consuls, while they were occupying the curule chairs in the forum, to be reconciled to each other; but at first both of them repelled these solicitations. When, however, certain persons, who seemed prophetically inspired,[1] predicted many direful consequences if the consuls did not come to an agreement, the people again implored them with lamentations and the greatest dejection, reminding them of the evils produced by the contentions of Marius and Sulla. Crassus yielded first. He came down from his chair, advanced to Pompey, and offered him his

[1] Soothsayers, presumably; a recognized class at Rome, of which an example is given by Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar*.

CAP. XIV ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς· ὁ δ' ὑπανίστατο καὶ προσέτρεχε καὶ δεξιωσαμένων ἀλλήλους εὐφημίαι τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ποικίλαι, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ προγράψαι τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰς ἀφέσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δόξασα καὶ ἥδε μεγάλη στάσις ἔσεσθαι κατελύετο εὐσταθῶς· καὶ ἔτος ἦν τῷδε τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑξήκοντα μάλιστ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως Τιβερίου Γράκχου.

CHAP. XIV

Their reconciliation

hand in the way of reconciliation. Pompey rose and hastened to meet him. They shook hands amid general acclamations and the people did not leave the assembly until the consuls had given orders in writing to disband the armies. Thus was the well-grounded fear of another great dissension happily dispelled. This was about the sixtieth year in the course of the civil convulsions, reckoning from the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

BOOK II

Β'

Ι

CAP. 1

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύλλα μοναρχίαν καὶ ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σερτώριός τε καὶ Περπέννας περὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἔδρασαν, ἕτερα ἐμφύλια Ῥωμαίοις τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν καθεῖλεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τινὲς ὡς βασιλιζόμενον κατέκανον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ὅπως ἀνηρέθησαν ὅ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γάιος, ἡ δευτέρα τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἥδε δηλοῖ.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ἄρτι τὴν θάλασσαν καθήρας ἀπὸ τῶν ληστηρίων τότε μάλιστα πανταχοῦ πλεονασάντων Μιθριδάτην ἐπὶ τοῖς λῃσταῖς καθηρήκει, Πόντου βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη προσέλαβεν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἕω, διετάσσετο· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἔτι νέος, δεινὸς εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι, τολμῆσαί τε ἐς πάντα καὶ ἐλπίσαι περὶ ἁπάντων, ἐς δὲ δὴ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφειδὴς ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ὡς ἀγορανομῶν ἔτι καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶναι κατάχρεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει δαιμονίως ὑπεραρέσκειν, τῶν δήμων αἰεὶ τοὺς δαψιλεῖς ἐπαινούντων.

2. Γάιος δὲ Κατιλίνας, μεγέθει τε δόξης καὶ

BOOK II

I

1. After the sole rule of Sulla, and the operations, later on, of Sertorius and Perpenna in Spain, other internal commotions of a similar nature took place among the Romans until Gaius Caesar and Pompey the Great waged war against each other, and Caesar made an end of Pompey and was himself killed in the senate-chamber because he was accused of behaving after the fashion of royalty. How these things came about and how both Pompey and Caesar lost their lives, this second book of the Civil Wars will show. CHAP. I

Pompey had lately cleared the sea of pirates, who were then more numerous than ever before, and afterwards had overthrown Mithridates, king of Pontus, and regulated his kingdom and the other nations that he had subdued in the East. Caesar was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, audacious in every way, sanguine in everything, and profuse beyond his means in the pursuit of honours. While yet aedile and praetor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditure. B.C. 64

2. Gaius[1] Catiline was a person of note, by reason

[1] An error of Appian's. "Lucius" is correct.

CAP. 1 γένους λαμπρότητι περιώνυμος, ἔμπληκτος ἀνήρ, δόξας ποτὲ καὶ υἱὸν ἀνελεῖν δι' Αὐρηλίας Ὀρεστίλλης ἔρωτα, οὐχ ὑφισταμένης τῆς Ὀρεστίλλης παῖδα ἔχοντι γήμασθαι, Σύλλα φίλος τε καὶ στασιώτης καὶ ζηλωτὴς μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐκ δὲ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὅδε ἐς πενίαν ὑπενηνεγμένος καὶ θεραπευόμενος ἔτι πρὸς δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παρήγγελλεν ὡς τῇδε παροδεύσων ἐς τυραννίδα. πάγχυ δ' ἐλπίσας αἱρεθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τήνδε ἀπεκρούσθη, καὶ Κικέρων μὲν ἦρχεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ῥητορεῦσαι, Κατιλίνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐς ὕβριν τῶν ἑλομένων ἐπέσκωπτεν, ἐς μὲν ἀγνωσίαν γένους καινὸν ὀνομάζων (καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμους), ἐς δ' ξενίαν τῆς πόλεως ἰγκουϊλῖνον, ᾧ ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. αὐτὸς δὲ πολιτείαν μὲν ὅλως ἔτι ἀπεστρέφετο ἐκ τοῦδε, ὡς οὐδὲν μοναρχίαν ταχὺ καὶ μέγα φέρουσαν, ἀλλ' ἔριδος καὶ φθόνου μεστήν· χρήματα δ' ἀγείρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αἳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤλπιζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν, συνώμνυτό τισιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, συνῆγε δὲ καὶ δημότας καὶ ξένους καὶ θεράποντας. καὶ πάντων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῷ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος καὶ Κέθηγος, οἳ τότε τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατήγουν. ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιέπεμπεν ἐς τῶν Συλλείων τοὺς τὰ κέρδη τῆς τότε βίας ἀναλωκότας καὶ ὀρεγομένους ἔργων ὁμοίων,

of his great celebrity, and high birth, but a mad- CHAP. I
man, for it was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to poverty in order to gratify his ambition, but still he was courted by the powerful, both men and women, and he became a candidate for the consulship as a step leading to absolute power. He confidently expected to be elected; but the suspicion of his ulterior designs defeated him, and Cicero, the most eloquent orator and rhetorician of the period, was chosen instead. Catiline, by way of raillery and contempt for those who voted for him, called him a "New Man," on account of his obscure birth (for so they call those who achieve distinction by their own merits and not by those of their ancestors); and because he was not born in the city he called him "The Lodger," [1] by which term they designate those who occupy houses belonging to others. From this time Catiline abstained wholly from politics as not leading quickly and surely to absolute power, but as full of the spirit of contention and malice. He procured much money from many women who hoped that they would get their husbands killed in the rising, and he formed a conspiracy with a number of senators and knights, and collected together a body of plebeians, foreign residents, and slaves. His leading fellow-conspirators were Cornelius Lentulus and Cethegus, who were then the city praetors. He sent emissaries throughout Italy to those of Sulla's soldiers who had squandered the gains of their former life of

Conspiracy of Catiline

B.C. 63

[1] Latin *Inquilinus*, correctly explained by Appian above.

CAP I ἐς μὲν Φαισούλας τῆς Τυρρηνίας Γάιον Μάλλιον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα καὶ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν ἑτέρους, οἳ στρατὸν αὐτῷ συνέλεγον ἀφανῶς.

3. Καὶ τάδε πάντα ἔτι ἀγνοούμενα Φουλβία γύναιον οὐκ ἀφανὲς ἐμήνυε τῷ Κικέρωνι· ἧς ἐρῶν Κόιντος Κούριος, ἀνὴρ δι' ὀνείδη πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεωσμένος καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Κατιλίνα συνθήκης ἠξιωμένος, κούφως μάλα καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξέφερεν οἷα πρὸς ἐρωμένην, ὡς αὐτίκα δυναστεύσων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γιγνομένων λόγος ἐφοίτα. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τήν τε πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων φρουραῖς διελάμβανε καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐξέπεμπε πολλοὺς ἐς πάντα τὰ ὕποπτα τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφεδρεύειν. Κατιλίνας δ', οὐδενὸς μέν πω θαρροῦντος αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἔτι τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἀγνωσίαν, δεδιὼς δὲ ὅμως καὶ τὸ χρόνιον ἡγούμενος ὕποπτον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τά τε χρήματα προύπεμπεν ἐς Φαισούλας καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντειλάμενος κτεῖναι Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλῶν νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσαι μιᾶς ἐξῄει πρὸς Γάιον Μάλλιον ὡς αὐτίκα στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀθροίσων καὶ ἐς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ῥάβδους τε καὶ πελέκεας ὥς τις ἀνθύπατος κούφως μάλα ἀνέσχε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Μάλλιον ἐχώρει στρατολογῶν· Λέντλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἔδοξεν, ὅτε Κατιλίναν ἐν Φαισούλαις πυνθάνοιντο γεγενῆσθαι, Λέντλον μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Κέθηγον ἐφεδρεῦσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνος θύραις περὶ ἕω μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων, ἐσδεχθέντας τε διὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ λαλοῦντας ὁτιδὴ

plunder and who longed for similar doings. For this purpose he sent Gaius Mallius to Faesulae in Etruria and others to Picenum and Apulia, who enlisted soldiers for him secretly. CHAP. I

3. All these facts, while they were still secret, were communicated to Cicero by Fulvia, a woman of quality. Her lover, Quintus Curius, who had been expelled from the Senate for many deeds of shame and was thought fit to share in this plot of Catiline's, told his mistress in a vain and boastful way that he would soon be in a position of great power. By now, too, a rumour of what was transpiring in Italy was getting about. Accordingly Cicero stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, and sent many of the nobility to the suspected places to watch what was going on. Catiline, although nobody had ventured to lay hands on him, because the facts were not yet accurately known, was nevertheless timid lest, with delay, suspicion also should increase. Trusting to rapidity of movement he forwarded money to Faesulae and directed his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and set the city on fire at a number of different places during the same night. Then he departed to join Gaius Mallius, intending to collect additional forces and invade the city while burning. So extremely vain was he that he had the rods and axes borne before him as though he were a proconsul, and he proceeded on his journey to Mallius, enlisting soldiers as he went. Lentulus and his fellow-conspirators decided that when they should learn that Catiline had arrived at Faesulae, Lentulus and Cethegus should present themselves at Cicero's door early in the morning with concealed daggers, and when their rank gained them admission, enter into

It is discovered by Cicero

CAP. I

μηκῦναι τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐν περιπάτῳ καὶ κτεῖναι περισπάσαντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν τὸν δήμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς ἀεὶ δειλοῦ καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ διαταράττοντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Βηστίου δημηγορίᾳ, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα τῆς ἐπιούσης, ἑτέρους ἐν δυώδεκα τόποις ἐμπιπράναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαρπάζειν καὶ κατακτείνειν τοὺς ἀρίστους.

4. Ὧδε μὲν Λέντλῳ καὶ Κεθήγῳ καὶ Στατιλίῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ, τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἐδέδοκτο, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν· Ἀλλοβρίγων δὲ πρέσβεις, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν, . . . ἐς τὴν Λέντλου συνωμοσίαν ἐπήχθησαν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους τὴν Γαλατίαν. καὶ Λέντλος μὲν αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπεν ἐς Κατιλίναν Βουλτούρκιον, ἄνδρα Κροτωνιάτην, γράμματα χωρὶς ὀνομάτων γεγραμμένα φέροντα· οἱ δ' Ἀλλόβριγες ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκοινώσαντο Φαβίῳ Σάγγᾳ, ὃς ἦν τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων προστάτης, ὥσπερ ἁπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔστι τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Σάγγα μαθὼν ὁ Κικέρων συνέλαβεν ἀπιόντας τοὺς Ἀλλόβριγάς τε καὶ Βουλτούρκιον καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν εὐθέως ἐπήγαγεν· οἱ δ' ὡμολόγουν, ὅσα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λέντλον συνῄδεσαν, ἀχθέντας τε ἤλεγχον, ὡς ὁ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος εἴποι πολλάκις εἱμάρθαι τρεῖς Κορνηλίους γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων μονάρχους, ὧν ἤδη Κίνναν καὶ Σύλλαν γεγονέναι.

conversation with him in the vestibule on some subject, no matter what; draw him away from his own people, and kill him; that Lucius Bestia, the tribune, should at once call an assembly of the people by heralds and accuse Cicero as always timorous, a stirrer up of war and ready to disturb the city without cause; and that on the night following Bestia's speech the city should be set on fire by others in twelve places and looted, and the leading citizens killed. CHAP. I

4. Such were the designs of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, the chiefs of the conspiracy, and they waited for their time. Meanwhile ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were making complaint against their magistrates,[1] were solicited to join the conspiracy of Lentulus in order to cause an uprising against the Romans in Gaul. Lentulus sent in company with them, to Catiline, a man of Croton named Vulturcius, who carried letters without signatures. The Allobroges being in doubt communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state; for it was the custom of all the subject states to have patrons at Rome. Sanga communicated the facts to Cicero, who arrested the Allobroges and Vulturcius on their journey and brought them straightway before the Senate. They confessed to their understanding with Lentulus' agents, and when confronted with them testified that Cornelius Lentulus had often said that it was written in the book of fate that three Cornelii should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had already been such.

[1] Probably there is a gap in the text: *e.g.* "were in Rome, and . . ."

CAP. I

5. Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν βουλὴ Λέντλον παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἕκαστον ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν στρατηγῶν διαθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν αὐτίκα καὶ ψῆφον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδίδου. θόρυβος δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀγνοουμένου ἔτι τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς, καὶ δέος τῶν συνεγνωκότων. αὐτοῦ δὲ Λέντλου καὶ Κεθήγου θεράποντές τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι, χειροτέχνας πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες, κατ' ὀπισθίας ὁδοὺς περιήεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν οἰκίας ὡς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐξαρπασόμενοι. ὧν ὁ Κικέρων πυθόμενος ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ διαθεὶς ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φύλακας ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐπετάχυνε. Σιλανὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἔλεγεν, ὃς ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἤρητο ὑπατεύειν· ὧδε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ μέλλων ὑπατεύσειν πρῶτος ἐσφέρει γνώμην, ὡς αὐτός, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν κυρουμένων ἐργασόμενος καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περὶ ἑκάστου. ἀξιοῦντι δὲ τῷ Σιλανῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτῃ κολάσει μετιέναι πολλοὶ συνετίθεντο, ἕως, ἐπὶ Νέρωνα τῆς γνώμης περιιούσης, ὁ Νέρων ἐδικαίου φυλάττειν αὐτούς, μέχρι Κατιλίναν ἐξέλωσι πολέμῳ καὶ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μάθωσι,

6. Γάιός τε Καῖσαρ οὐ καθαρεύων μὲν ὑπονοίας μὴ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, Κικέρωνος δ' οὐ θαρροῦντος καὶ τόνδε, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα προβαλέσθαι, προσετίθει διαθέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας Κικέρωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν πόλεσιν αἷς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ, μέχρι Κατιλίνα

5. When they had so testified the Senate deprived Lentulus of his office. Cicero put each of the conspirators under arrest at the houses of the praetors, and returned directly to take the vote of the Senate concerning them. In the meantime there was a great tumult around the senate-house, the affair being as yet little understood, and a good deal of alarm among the conspirators. The slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, reinforced by numerous artisans, made a circuit by back streets and assaulted the houses of the praetors in order to rescue their masters. When Cicero heard of this he hurried out of the senate-house and stationed the necessary guards and then came back and hastened the taking of the vote. Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke first, as it was the custom among the Romans for the man who was about to assume that office to deliver his opinion first, because, as I think, he would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and hence would give more careful consideration and use more circumspection in each case. It was the opinion of Silanus that the culprits should suffer the extreme penalty, and many senators agreed with him until it came to Nero's turn to deliver his opinion. Nero judged that it would be best to keep them under guard until Catiline should be beaten in the field and they could obtain the most accurate knowledge of the facts.

CHAP. I

The conspirators arrested and put to death

6. Gaius Caesar was not free from the suspicion of complicity with these men, but Cicero did not venture to bring into the controversy one so popular with the masses. Caesar proposed that Cicero should distribute the culprits among the towns of Italy, according to his own discretion, to be kept until

CAP. I καταπολεμηθέντος ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπαχθῶσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐς ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς ᾖ πρὸ λόγου καὶ δίκης ἐξειργασμένος. δικαίου δὲ τῆς γνώμης φανείσης καὶ δεχθείσης, ἀκρατῶς οἱ πολλοὶ μετετίθεντο, μέχρι Κάτων ἤδη σαφῶς ἀνακαλύπτων τὴν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑποψίαν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεδιὼς ἀμφὶ τῇ νυκτὶ προσιούσῃ, μὴ τὸ συνεγνωκὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσι πλῆθος αἰωρούμενον ἔτι κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δεδιὸς περί τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἐργάσηταί τι ἄτοπον, ἔπεισαν ὡς αὐτοφώρων ἄνευ κρίσεως καταγνῶναι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς συνεστώσης, ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεταγαγών, τοῦ πλήθους ἀγνοοῦντος, ἐπεὶδεν ἀποθνήσκοντας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ παροδεύων ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι τεθνᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ διελύοντο πεφρικότες τε καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἀγαπῶντες ὡς διαλαθόντες.

Οὕτω μὲν ἡ πόλις ἀνέπνευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους πολλοῦ σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιστάντος· 7. Κατιλίναν δὲ ἐς δισμυρίους τε ἀγείραντα καὶ τούτων τεταρτημόριον ὁπλίσαντα ἤδη καὶ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἐπὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπιόντα Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος ὑπ' Ἀλπείοις καταλαβών, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς ἐμπλήκτως ἀλλόκοτον ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν λαβόντος τε καὶ ἐς πεῖραν ἔτι ἐμπληκτότερον ἀπαρασκεύως προαγα-

Catiline should be beaten in fight, and that then they should be regularly tried, instead of inflicting an irremediable punishment upon members of the nobility without argument and trial. As this opinion appeared to be just and acceptable, most of the senators changed completely, until Cato openly manifested his suspicion of Caesar; and Cicero, who had apprehensions concerning the coming night (lest the crowd who were concerned with the conspiracy and were still in the forum in a state of suspense, fearful for themselves and the conspirators, might do something desperate), persuaded the Senate to give judgment against them without trial as persons caught in the act. Cicero immediately, while the Senate was still in session, conducted each of the conspirators from the houses where they were in custody to the prison, without the knowledge of the crowd, and saw them put to death. Then he went back to the forum and signified that they were dead. The crowd dispersed in alarm, congratulating themselves that they had not been found out. CHAP. 1

Thus the city breathed freely once more after the great fear that had weighed upon it that day, 7. but Catiline had assembled about 20,000 troops, of whom one-fourth part were already armed, and was moving toward Gaul in order to complete his preparations, when Antonius, the other consul, overtook him at the foot of the Alps[1] and easily defeated the madly-conceived adventure of the man, which was still more madly put to the test without

B.C. 62 Battle of Pistoria and death of Catiline

[1] The battle was fought at Pistoria, at the southern base of the Apennines. The Roman army was commanded, not by the consul Antonius, but by his lieutenant Petreius.

CAP. I γόντος. οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Κατιλίνας οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν συνόντων ἐπιφανῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ ἐσδραμόντες ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπώλοντο.

Ὧδε μὲν ἡ Κατιλίνα ἐπανάστασις, παρ' ὀλίγον ἐς ἔσχατον ἐλθοῦσα κινδύνου τῇ πόλει, διελύετο. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, ἅπασιν ἐπὶ λόγου δυνάμει μόνῃ γνώριμος ὤν, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ διὰ στόματος ἦν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐδόκει περιφανῶς ἀπολλυμένῃ τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι, χάριτές τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εὐφημίαι ποικίλαι. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύσαντος ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ἥδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη περιελθεῖν ἐς τῶν νῦν αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς φαινομένους ἀξίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖσδε, καίπερ οὖσι βασιλεῦσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ἥδε, ὡς ἐντελὴς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία, ψηφίζεται.

II

CAP. II 8. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αἱρεθεὶς ἐπὶ μέν τι πρὸς τῶν χρήστων διεκρατεῖτο ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολὺ πλέονα τῆς περιουσίας ὀφλὼν διὰ τὰς φιλοτιμίας· ὅτε φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοιτο δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵνα ἔχοι μηδέν· διαθέμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας, ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπιβὰς χρηματίζειν μὲν

preparation. Neither Catiline nor any of the nobility who were associated with him deigned to fly, but all flung themselves upon their enemies and perished. CHAP. I

Such was the end of the rising of Catiline, which almost brought the city to the extreme of peril. Cicero, who had been hitherto distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction, for which reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him, amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him as the Father of his country. Some think that this honourable appellation, which is now bestowed upon those emperors who are deemed worthy of it, had its beginning with Cicero, for although they are in fact kings, it is not given even to them with their other titles immediately upon their accession, but is decreed to them in the progress of time, not as a matter of course, but as a final testimonial of the greatest services.

II

8. Caesar, who had been chosen praetor for Spain, was detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces[1] in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction CHAP. II B.C. 61

[1] About £250,000.

CAP. II

ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ διαιτᾶν δίκας ἢ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα τούτοις, ἅπαντα ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν οἷς ἐπενόει χρήσιμα, στρατιὰν δὲ ἀγείρας ἐπετίθετο τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς Ἰβήρων ἀνὰ μέρος, μέχρι τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐς τὸ ὁλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίοις ὑποτελῆ, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ταμιεῖον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θριαμβεῦσαι παρέσχεν αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ τῆς πομπῆς τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς τὸ λαμπρότατον ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ῥώμης προαστείοις διεκόσμει, ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις ὑπατείας ἦσαν παραγγελίαι, καὶ ἔδει τὸν παραγγέλλοντα παρεῖναι, ἐσελθόντι δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐπανελθεῖν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς πολλὰ τυχεῖν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τὴν πομπὴν οὐχ ἕτοιμον ἔχων ἐσέπεμπε τῇ βουλῇ δεόμενος ἐπιτρέψαι οἱ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀπόντι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῶν φίλων, εἰδὼς μὲν παράνομον, γεγονὸς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἑτέροις. Κάτωνος δ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τελευταίαν οὖσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπεριδὼν τοῦ θριάμβου καὶ παραγγείλας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέμενε τὴν χειροτονίαν.

9. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πομπήιος, ἐκ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐλθών, ἠξίου πολλά, ὅσα βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδεδώκει, τὴν βουλὴν βεβαιῶσαι. φθόνῳ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα Λεύκολλος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην, ὡς ἀσθενέστατον αὐτὸν ἀπολιπὼν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, διεκώλυεν, ἴδιον ἔργον ἀποφαίνων τὸ Μιθριδάτειον. καὶ Λευκόλλῳ συνελάμβανε Κράσσος. ἀγανακτῶν οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προσεταιρίζεται Καίσαρα,

of public business, the administration of justice, and all matters of that kind because he considered them of no use to his purposes, but he raised an army and attacked the independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph. He was making preparations outside the walls for a most splendid procession, during the days when candidates for the consulship were required to present themselves. It was not lawful for one who was going to have a triumph to enter the city and then go back again for the triumph. As Caesar was very anxious to secure the office, and his procession was not yet ready, he sent to the Senate and asked permission to go through the forms of standing for the consulship while absent, through the instrumentalities of friends, for although he knew it was against the law it had been done by others. Cato opposed his proposition and used up the last day for the presentation of candidates, in speech-making. Thereupon Caesar abandoned his triumph, entered the city, offered himself as a candidate, and waited for the comitia.

CHAP. II

Caesar in Spain

B.C. 60

9. In the meantime Pompey, who had acquired great glory and power by his Mithridatic war, was asking the Senate to ratify numerous concessions that he had granted to kings, princes, and cities. Most Senators, however, moved by envy, made opposition, and especially Lucullus, who had held the command against Mithridates before Pompey, and who considered that the victory was his, since he had left the king for Pompey in a state of extreme weakness. Crassus co-operated with Lucullus in this matter.

The triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus

CAP. 11 συμπράξειν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπομόσας· ὁ δ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Κράσσον διήλλασσε. καὶ τρεῖς οἵδε τὸ μέγιστον ἐπὶ πᾶσι κράτος ἔχοντες τὰς χρείας ἀλλήλοις συνηράνιζον. καί τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην συγγραφεύς, Οὐάρρων, ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ περιλαβὼν ἐπέγραψε Τρικάρανον.

Ὑφορωμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ βουλὴ Λεύκιον Βύβλον ἐς ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτῷ συνάρχειν· 10. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἔριδές τε καὶ ὅπλων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἰδίᾳ παρασκευαί. δεινὸς δ' ὢν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, λόγους ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ὁμονοίας διέθετο πρὸς Βύβλον, ὡς τὰ κοινὰ λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαφέροιντο. πιστευθεὶς δ' οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἀπερίσκεπτον ἤδη καὶ ἀπαράσκευον καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπονοοῦντα τὸν Βύβλον ἔχων, χεῖρά τε πολλὴν ἀφανῶς ἡτοιμάζετο καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν πενήτων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσέφερε καὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς διένεμε, καὶ τὴν ἀριστεύουσαν αὐτῆς μάλιστα περὶ Καπύην, ἣ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ διεμισθοῦτο, τοῖς οὖσι πατράσι παίδων τριῶν, ἔμμισθον ἑαυτῷ τῆσδε τῆς χάριτος πλῆθος τοσόνδε ποιούμενος· δισμύριοι γὰρ ἀθρόως ἐφάνησαν οἱ τὰ τρία τρέφοντες μόνοι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῶν, ὑποκρινάμενος δυσχεραίνειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιούντων, ἐξέδραμε καὶ βουλὴν μὲν οὐκέτι συνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὅλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐδημηγόρει· Πομπήιόν τε ἐν μέσῳ καὶ Κράσσον ἠρώτα περὶ τῶν νόμων· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς

Pompey was indignant and made friends with Caesar and promised under oath to support him for the consulship. The latter thereupon brought Crassus into friendly relations with Pompey. So these three most powerful men pooled their interests. This coalition the Roman writer Varro treated of in a book entitled *Tricaranus* (the three-headed monster). CHAP. II

The Senate had its suspicions of them and elected Lucius Bibulus as Caesar's colleague to hold him in check; 10. and strife sprang up between them immediately and they proceeded to arm themselves secretly against each other. Caesar, who was a master of dissimulation, made speeches in the Senate in the interest of concord to Bibulus, insinuating that any differences between them might have serious results for the state. As he was believed to be sincere, Bibulus was thrown off his guard, and while he was unprepared and unsuspecting Caesar secretly got a large band of soldiers in readiness and brought before the Senate measures for the relief of the poor by the distribution of the public land to them. The best part of this land especially round Capua, which was leased for the public benefit, he proposed to bestow upon those who were the fathers of at least three children, by which means he bought for himself the favour of a multitude of men, for twenty thousand, being those only who had three children each, came forward at once. As many senators opposed his motion he pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year, but harangued the people from the rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws. B.C. 59

Caesar's Agrarian Law

CAP. II

ἐπήνουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἦγεν σὺν κεκρυμμένοις ξιφιδίοις.

11. Ἡ βουλὴ δέ (οὐ γάρ τις αὐτὴν συνῆγεν, οὐδ' ἐξῆν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων συναγαγεῖν αὐτήν) ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Βύβλου συνελθόντες οὐδὲν μὲν ἀντάξιον τῆς Καίσαρος ἰσχύος τε καὶ παρασκευῆς ἐποίουν, ἐπενόουν δ' ὅμως Βύβλον ἐνίστασθαι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ μὴ δόξαν ἀμελείας, ἀλλὰ ἥσσης ἐνέγκασθαι. πεισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Βύβλος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγοροῦντος ἔτι τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἀταξίας γενομένης πληγαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ οἱ μετὰ τῶν ξιφιδίων τὰς ῥάβδους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ Βύβλου περιέκλων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἔστιν οὓς περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας ἔτρωσαν. Βύβλος δ' οὐ καταπλαγεὶς ἀπεγύμνου τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐκάλει τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον· "εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι πεῖσαι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν," ἔφη, "Καίσαρα, τό γε ἄγος αὐτῷ καὶ μύσος οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ἐπιβαλῶ." ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄκοντα ὑπεξήγαγον οἱ φίλοι ἐς τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν τοῦ Στησίου Διός, Κάτων δ' ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὥσατο μὲν ὡς νέος ἐς μέσους καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἤρχετο, μετέωρος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀρθεὶς ἐξεφέρετο. καὶ λαθὼν κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς αὖθις ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸ βῆμα καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἔτι οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἀπεγίνωσκε, τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγροίκως κατεβόα, μέχρι καὶ τότε μετέωρος ἐξερρίφη καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκύρωσε.

12. Καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τόν τε δῆμον ὥρκωσεν ἐς ἀεὶ κυρίους νομιεῖν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκέλευεν ὀμνύναι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ Κάτωνος,

Both gave their approval, and the people came to the voting-place carrying concealed daggers. CHAP. II

11. The Senate (since no one called it together and it was not lawful for one consul to do so without the consent of the other) assembled at the house of Bibulus, but did nothing to counteract the force and preparation of Caesar. They planned, however, that Bibulus should oppose Caesar's laws, so that they should seem to be overcome by force rather than to suffer by their own negligence. Accordingly, Bibulus burst into the forum while Caesar was still speaking. Strife and tumult arose, blows were given, and those who had daggers broke the fasces and insignia of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who stood around him. Bibulus was in no wise terrified, but bared his neck to Caesar's partisans and loudly called on them to strike. "If I cannot persuade Caesar to do right," he said, "I will affix upon him the guilt and stigma of my death." His friends, however, led him, against his will, out of the crowd and into the neighbouring temple of Jupiter Stator. Then Cato was summoned to the spot, and being a young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and carried out by Caesar's partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Caesar roundly until he was again lifted up and ejected by the Caesarians, and Caesar secured the enactment of his laws.

Tumult in the city

Cato ejected from the forum

12. The plebeians swore to observe these laws for ever, and Caesar directed the Senate to do the same. Many of them, including Cato, refused, and Caesar

CAP. 11 εἰσηγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ θάνατον τῷ μὴ ὀμόσαντι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου· ὤμνυον δ' αὐτίκα δείσαντες οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χρήσιμον ἀντιλέγειν ἦν κυρουμένου διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοῦ νόμου. Οὐέττιος δ' ἀνὴρ δημότης, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐσδραμὼν μετὰ ξιφιδίου γυμνοῦ, ἐπιπεμφθῆναι ἔφη πρός τε Βύβλου καὶ Κικέρωνος καὶ Κάτωνος ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον αὐτῷ Βύβλου ῥαβδοῦχον ἐπιδοῦναι Ποστούμιον. ὑπόπτου δ' ὄντος ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πράγματος ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐξετράχυνε τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ἐξετάσειν τὸν Οὐέττιον ἀνεβάλλοντο. καὶ ὁ Οὐέττιος φυλασσόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ νυκτὸς ἀνῃρέθη. εἰκαζομένου δ' ἐς ποικίλα τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀνίει καὶ τοῦτο δρᾶσαι λέγων τοὺς δεδιότας, ἕως ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ συνεχώρησεν ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἐπιβεβουλευμένοις. καὶ Βύβλος μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν ἅπαντα μεθεὶς οἷά τις ἰδιώτης οὐ προῄει τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅπαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτι ἐζήτει περὶ τοῦ Οὐεττίου, μόνος ἔχων τὸ κράτος ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

13. Νόμους δ' ἐσέφερεν, ἐκθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ἑτέρους καὶ τὰ Πομπηίῳ πεπραγμένα ἅπαντα ἐκύρου, καθάπερ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ. οἱ δ' ἱππέες λεγόμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὄντες ἐν μέσῳ, δυνατώτατοι δὲ ἐς ἅπαντα περιουσίας τε οὕνεκα καὶ μισθώσεως τελῶν καὶ

proposed and the people enacted the death penalty to the recusants. Then they became alarmed and took the oath, including the tribunes, for it was no longer of any use to speak against it after the law had been confirmed by the others. And now Vettius, a plebeian, ran into the forum with a drawn dagger and said that he had been sent by Bibulus, Cicero, and Cato to kill Caesar and Pompey, and that the dagger had been given to him by Postumius, the lictor of Bibulus. Although this affair was open to suspicion from either point of view, Caesar made use of it to inflame the multitude and postponed till the morrow the examination of the assailant. Vettius was thrown into prison and killed the same night. As this transaction was variously commented on, Caesar did not let it pass unnoticed, but said that it had been done by the opposite party, who were afraid of exposure.[1] Finally, the people furnished him a guard to protect him against conspirators, and Bibulus abstained from public business altogether, as though he were a private citizen, and did not go out of his house for the remainder of his official term, while Caesar, having now sole administration of public affairs, did not make any further inquiry concerning Vettius.

CHAP. II

The affair of Vettius

13. He brought forward new laws to win the favour of the multitude, and caused all of Pompey's acts to be ratified, as he had promised him. The knights, who held the middle place in rank between the Senate and the plebeians, and were extremely powerful in all ways by reason of their wealth, and of

Caesar conciliates the knights

[1] τοὺς δεδιότας, "those who were afraid." Mendelssohn suggests the addition of ἀντιστασιώτας, "the opposite party," to complete the sense.

CAP. II φόρων, οὓς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τελουμένους ἐξεμισθοῦντο, καὶ πλήθους βεβαιοτάτων ἐς ταῦτα θεραπόντων, ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν βουλὴν ἤτουν ἄφεσίν τινα μέρους τῶν φόρων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. καὶ ἀποδιέτριβεν ἡ βουλή. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς οὐδὲν τότε τῆς βουλῆς δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ δήμῳ χρώμενος τὰ τρίτα τῶν μισθώσεων αὐτοῖς παρῆκεν. οἱ δέ, ὑπὲρ τὴν σφετέραν ἀξίωσιν ἀδοκήτου τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐξεθείαζον αὐτόν, καὶ στῖφος ἄλλο καρτερώτερον τοῦ δήμου τόδε τῷ Καίσαρι προσγεγένητο δι' ἐνὸς πολιτεύματος. ὁ δὲ καὶ θέας ἐπεδίδου καὶ κυνηγέσια θηρίων ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, δαπανώμενος ἐς ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ πρότερα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλων παρασκευῇ καὶ χορηγίᾳ καὶ δόσεσι λαμπραῖς· ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εἵλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἄρχειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοσαν τέλη στρατοῦ τέσσαρα.

14. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν οἱ χρόνιον ὁρῶν ἐσομένην καὶ τὸν φθόνον ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ τοῖς δεδομένοις μείζονα, Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἐζεύγνυ τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ἐνηγγυημένην Καιπίωνι, δεδιώς, μὴ καὶ φίλος ὢν ἐπιφθονήσειε τῷ μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τοὺς δὲ θρασυτάτους τῶν στασιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔτους παρῆγε. καὶ ὕπατον μὲν ἀπέφηνεν Αὖλον Γαβίνιον, φίλον ἑαυτοῦ· Λευκίου δὲ Πείσωνος τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντος ὑπατεύσειν τὴν θυγατέρα Καλπουρνίαν αὐτὸς ἤγετο, βοῶντος Κάτωνος διαμαστροπεύ-

the farming of the provincial revenues which they contracted for, and who kept for this purpose multitudes of very trusty servants, had been asking the Senate for a long time to release them from a part of what they owed to the treasury. The Senate regularly shelved the question. As Caesar did not want anything of the Senate then, but was employing the people only, he released the publicans from the third part of their obligations. For this unexpected favour, which was far beyond their deserts, the knights extolled Caesar to the skies. Thus a more powerful body of defenders than that of the plebeians was added to Caesar's support through one political act. He gave spectacles and combats of wild beasts beyond his means, borrowing money on all sides, and surpassing all former exhibitions in lavish display and splendid gifts, in consequence of which he was appointed governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions.

He is appointed governor of Gaul

14. As Caesar saw that he would be away from home a long time, and that envy would be greater in proportion to the greatness of the benefits conferred,[1] he gave his daughter in marriage to Pompey, although she was betrothed to Caepio, because he feared that even a friend might become envious of his great success. He also promoted the boldest of his partisans to the principal offices for the ensuing year. He designated his friend Aulus Gabinius as consul, with Lucius Piso as his colleague, whose daughter, Calpurnia, Caesar married, although Cato cried out that the empire

He gives his daughter in marriage to Pompey

[1] Appian apparently means not that envy would increase with Caesar's honours, but that his royal bounties themselves would be a danger to him.

CAP. II

εσθαι γάμοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. δημάρχους δὲ ᾑρεῖτο Οὐατινίου τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπίκλην, ὅν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, καίπερ ἀποπεμψάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἀσέβειαν ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διώκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ κατεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἤδη τὴν συμφροσύνην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὕτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργέτουν ἐς ἄμυναν ἑτέρου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχήν.

III

CAP. III

15. Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν εὐθὺς ἐξῄει· Κικέρωνα δὲ γράφεται Κλώδιος παρανόμων, ὅτι πρὸ δικαστηρίου τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λέντλον καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνέλοι. ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖνο γενναιοτάτῳ λήματι κεχρημένος ἀσθενέστατος ἐς τὴν δίκην ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος γέμων τε αὐχμοῦ καὶ ῥύπου προσέπιπτεν οἷς ἐντύχοι κατὰ τοὺς στενωπούς, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀγνῶσιν ἐνοχλεῖν αἰδούμενος, ὥστε αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον διὰ τὴν

was become a mere matrimonial agency. For tribunes he chose Vatinius and Clodius Pulcher, although the latter had been suspected of an intrigue with the wife [1] of Caesar himself during a religious ceremony of women. Caesar, however, did not bring him to trial owing to his popularity with the masses, but divorced his wife. Others prosecuted Clodius for impiety at the sacred rites, and Cicero was the counsel for the prosecution. When Caesar was called as a witness he refused to testify against Clodius, but even raised him to the tribuneship as a foil to Cicero, who was already decrying the triumvirate as tending toward monarchy. Thus Caesar turned a private grievance to useful account and benefited one enemy in order to revenge himself on another. It appears, however, that Clodius had previously requited Caesar by helping him to secure the governorship of Gaul.

CHAP. II

III

15. Such were the acts of Caesar's consulship. He then laid down his magistracy and proceeded directly to his new government. Clodius now brought an accusation against Cicero for putting Lentulus and Cethegus and their followers to death without trial. Cicero, who had exhibited the highest courage in that transaction, became utterly unnerved at his trial. He put on humble raiment and, defiled with squalor and dirt, supplicated those whom he met in the streets, not being ashamed to annoy people who knew nothing about the business, so that his doings

CHAP. III

B.C. 58

Clodius prosecutes Cicero for putting citizens to death without trial

[1] Pompeia.

CAP. III ἀπρέπειαν ἀπὸ οἴκτου μεταπίπτειν ἐς γέλωτα. ἐς τοσοῦτο δειλίας περὶ μίαν οἰκείαν δίκην κατέπεσεν, ὃς τὸν ὅλον βίον ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ἐξήταστο λαμπρῶς, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένη φασὶ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὐδ' ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος φυγεῖν. Κλωδίου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις αὐτῷ σὺν ὕβρει διακόπτοντος ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, ἀπέγνω πάνθ' ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ἔφευγεν ἑκούσιον καὶ ὅδε φυγήν, καὶ φίλων αὐτῷ πλῆθος συνεξῄει, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίστη τὸν ἄνδρα πόλεσί τε καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις. Κλώδιος δ' αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπικατέσκαπτεν ἐπαιρόμενός τε καὶ τῷδε ἀντιπαρεβάλλετο ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει κράτος ἔχοντι.

16. Ὁ δὲ Μίλωνα, τὸν σὺν τῷ Κλωδίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεδεγμένον, θρασύτερον ὄντα τοῦ Κλωδίου, ἐς ὑπατείαν ἐπήλπιζε καὶ ἤλειφεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλώδιον καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τῷ Κικέρωνι κάθοδον ἐκέλευεν, ἐλπίσας τὸν Κικέρωνα ἐλθόντα περὶ μὲν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας οὐκέτι φθέγξεσθαι μεμνημένον, οἷα ἔπαθε, δίκας δὲ καὶ πράγματα ἐποίσειν τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

Κικέρων μὲν δὴ διὰ Πομπήιον ἐκπεσὼν διὰ Πομπήιον κατῄει, ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ μάλιστα μηνὶ τῆς ἐξελάσεως· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἀνίστη τέλεσι κοινοῖς. λαμπρῶς δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑποδεχομένων πάντων, φασὶ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένει συνέβη κατιόντι, ἀναλῶσαι.

17. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς

excited laughter rather than pity by reason of his unseemly aspect. Into such trepidation did he fall at this single trial of his own, although he had been managing other people's causes successfully all his life. In like manner they say that Demosthenes the Athenian did not stand his ground when himself accused, but fled before the trial. When Clodius interrupted Cicero's supplications on the streets with contumely, he gave way to despair and, like Demosthenes, went into voluntary exile. A multitude of his friends went out of the city with him, and the Senate gave him introductions to cities, kings, and princes. Clodius demolished his house and his villas, and was so much elated by this affair that he compared himself with Pompey, who was then the most powerful man in Rome.

CHAP. III

Cicero banished and recalled

16. Accordingly, Pompey held out to Milo, who was Clodius' colleague in office and a bolder spirit than himself, the hope of the consulship, and incited him against Clodius, and directed him to procure a vote for the recall of Cicero. He hoped that when Cicero should come back he would no longer speak against the existing status (the triumvirate), remembering what he had suffered, but would make trouble for Clodius and bring punishment upon him.

Thus Cicero, who had been exiled by means of Pompey, was recalled by means of Pompey about sixteen months after his banishment, and the Senate rebuilt his house and his villas at the public expense. He was received magnificently at the city gates, and it is said that a whole day was consumed by the greetings extended to him, as was the case with Demosthenes when he returned.

B.C. 57

17. In the meantime Caesar, who had performed

CAP. III πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένος, ὅσα μοι περὶ Κελτῶν λέγοντι εἴρηται, πλούτου γέμων ἐς τὴν ὅμορον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Γαλατίαν, τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ποταμόν, ἦκεν, ἐκ συνεχοῦς πολέμου τὸν στρατὸν ἀναπαύσων ἐπ' ὀλίγον. ὅθεν αὐτῷ περιπέμποντι ἐς Ῥώμην πολλὰ πολλοῖς χρήματα αἵ τε ἐτήσιοι ἀρχαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀπήντων καὶ οἱ ἄλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ὅσοι τε ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἐξήεσαν, ὡς ἑκατὸν μέν ποτε καὶ εἴκοσι ῥάβδους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, βουλευτὰς δὲ πλείους διακοσίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων, τοὺς δὲ χρηματιουμένους, τοὺς δ' ἄλλο τι τοιουτότροπον αὑτοῖς ἐξεργασομένους. πάντα γὰρ ἤδη διὰ τούτου ἐπράσσετο στρατιᾶς τε πολλῆς οὕνεκα καὶ δυνάμεως χρημάτων καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς ἅπαντας φιλανθρώπου. ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος, οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς δυναστείας. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε Πομπήιον μὲν καὶ Κράσσον αὖθις ὑπατεῦσαι, Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὧν εἶχεν ἐθνῶν, ἄλλην ἐπιψηφισθῆναι πενταετίαν.

Ὧδε μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεκρίθησαν, Πομπηίῳ δ' ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀντιπαρήγγελλε Δομίτιος Αἰνόβαρβος· καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἄμφω κατῆσαν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν. τῶν δ' ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ἔριδες ἦσαν καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, μέχρι τις τὸν Δομιτίου δᾳδοῦχον ἐπάταξε ξίφει. καὶ φυγὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἦν, Δομίτιός τε αὐτὸς ἐς

the many brilliant exploits in Gaul and Britain which have been described in my Celtic history, had returned with vast riches to Cisalpine Gaul on the river Po to give his army a short respite from continuous fighting. From this district he sent large sums of money to many persons in Rome, to those who were holding the yearly offices and to persons otherwise distinguished as governors and generals, and they went thither by turns to meet him.[1] So many of them came that 120 lictors could be seen around him at one time, and more than 200 senators, some returning thanks for what they had already received, others asking for money or seeking some other advantage for themselves from the same quarter. All things were now possible to Caesar by reason of his large army, his great riches, and his readiness to oblige everybody. Pompey and Crassus, his partners in the triumvirate, came also. In their conference it was decided that Pompey and Crassus should be elected consuls again and that Caesar's governorship over his provinces should be extended for five years more.

CHAP. III
B.C. 56

Caesar's conference at Luca

Thereupon they separated and Domitius Ahenobarbus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship against Pompey. When the appointed day came, both went down to the Campus Martius before daylight to attend the comitia. Their followers got into an altercation and came to blows, and finally somebody assaulted the torchbearer of Domitius with a sword. There was a scattering after this, and Domitius escaped with difficulty to his own

[1] There are textual difficulties; the Greek as it stands means "and those who were going out to governorships . . . also went to meet him."

CAP. III τὴν οἰκίαν διεσῴζετο μόλις, καὶ Πομπηίου τὴν ἐσθῆτά τινες ἡμαγμένην ἔφερον οἴκαδε. παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἑκάτερος ἦλθε κινδύνου.

18. Αἱρεθέντες δ' οὖν ὕπατοι Κράσσος τε καὶ Πομπήιος Καίσαρι μέν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστησαν, τὴν ἑτέραν πενταετίαν προσεψηφίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη διακληρούμενοι καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος εἵλετο Ἰβηρίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ἐς τάσδε τοὺς φίλους περιπέμπων αὐτὸς ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ Συρίας πλησίον ἐπιθυμίᾳ πολέμου πρὸς Παρθυαίους ὡς εὐχεροῦς δὴ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ ἐπικερδοῦς. ἀλλὰ τῷδε μὲν ἐξιόντι τῆς πόλεως πολλά τε ἄλλα ἀπαίσια ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι προηγόρευον μὴ πολεμεῖν Παρθυαίοις οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, οὐ πειθομένῳ δὲ δημοσίας ἀρὰς ἐπηρῶντο, ὧν ὁ Κράσσος οὐ φροντίσας ἀπώλετο ἐν τῇ Παρθυηνῇ σύν τε παιδὶ ὁμωνύμῳ καὶ αὐτῷ στρατῷ· μύριοι γὰρ οὐδ' ἐντελεῖς ἐκ δέκα μυριάδων ἐς Συρίαν διέφυγον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Κράσσου συμφορὰν ἡ Παρθικὴ δηλώσει γραφή, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι Πομπήιον εἵλοντο τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καί οἱ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λῃστηρίων εἴκοσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπηρέτας ἔδωκαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διαθεὶς ἐπέτρεχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἐνέπλησεν ἀγορᾶς δαψιλοῦς, ὅθεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς μέγα δόξης ἐπῆρτο καὶ δυνάμεως.

19. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἡ Καίσαρος

house. Even Pompey's clothing was carried home stained with blood,[1] so great was the danger incurred by both candidates. CHAP. III

18. Accordingly, Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls and Caesar's governorship was extended for five years according to the agreement. The provinces were allotted with an army to each consul in the following manner: Pompey chose Spain and Africa, but sent friends to take charge of them, he himself remaining in Rome. Crassus took Syria and the adjacent country because he wanted a war with the Parthians, which he thought would be easy as well as glorious and profitable. But when he took his departure from the city there were many unfavourable omens, and the tribunes forbade the war against the Parthians, who had done no wrong to the Romans. As he would not obey, they invoked public imprecations on him, which Crassus disregarded; wherefore he perished in Parthia, together with his son of the same name and his army, not quite 10,000 of whom, out of 100,000, escaped to Syria. The disaster to Crassus will be described in my Parthian history. As the Romans were suffering from scarcity, they appointed Pompey the sole manager of the grain supply and gave him, as in his operations against the pirates, twenty assistants from the Senate. These he distributed in like manner among the provinces while he superintended the whole, and thus Rome was very soon provided with abundant supplies, by which means Pompey again gained great reputation and power. B.C. 55 **The triumvirs divide the government** B.C. 53

19. About this time the daughter of Caesar, who

[1] This apparently meaningless incident is borrowed from another context. See Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 52, 53.

CAP. III θυγάτηρ κύουσα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θνήσκει. καὶ δέος ἅπασιν ἐνέπιπτεν ἀνῃρημένης τῆς ἐπιγαμίας, ὡς αὐτίκα μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίου διοισομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἀσυντάκτου μάλιστα καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγενημένης τῆς πολιτείας· αἵ τε γὰρ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἢ δωροδοκίαν σπουδῇ τε ἀδίκῳ καὶ λίθοις ἢ ξίφεσι καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἀναισχύντως τότε μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασεν, ὅ τε δῆμος αὐτὸς ἔμμισθος ἐπὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ᾔει. ὤφθη δέ που καὶ μεσεγγύημα ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπωνύμου γενόμενον ἀρχῆς. οἵ τε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὕπατοι στρατεύειν μέν που καὶ πολεμεῖν ἀπεγίνωσκον, διακλειόμενοι τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῶνδε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν· ὅσοι δ' ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀποπώτεροι, κέρδος ἀντὶ τῶν στρατειῶν ἐτίθεντο τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων διαδόχων χειροτονίας. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πάμπαν ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἄρχειν, ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ τὴν πόλιν ἄναρχον ἐκ τῆς τοιᾶσδε ἀσυνταξίας γενέσθαι, Πομπηίου πάνθ' ὑπερορῶντος ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἐν χρείᾳ γένοιντο δικτάτορος.

20. Καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἀλλήλους διελάλουν, ὅτι μόνον ἂν γένοιτο φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἡ μόναρχος ἐξουσία, χρῆναι δ' ἑλέσθαι δυνατὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἤπιον, ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον, στρατιᾶς τε ἄρχοντα ἱκανῆς καὶ φιλόδημον εἶναι δοκοῦντα καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἄγοντα διὰ τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν βίον ἐγκρατῆ καὶ σώφρονα, περί τε τὰς ἐντεύξεις εὐπρόσιτον ἢ ὄντα ἢ νομιζόμενον

was married to Pompey, died in childbirth, and fear fell upon all lest, with the termination of this marriage connection Caesar and Pompey with their great armies should come into conflict with each other, especially as the commonwealth had been for a long time disorderly and unmanageable. The magistrates were chosen by means of money, and faction fights, with dishonest zeal, with the aid of stones and even swords. Bribery and corruption prevailed in the most scandalous manner. The people themselves went already bought to the elections. A case was found where a deposit of 800 talents had been made to obtain the consulship. The consuls holding office yearly could not hope to lead armies or to command in war because they were shut out by the power of the triumvirate. The baser among them strove for gain, instead of military commands, at the expense of the public treasury or from the election of their own successors. For these reasons good men abstained from office altogether, and the disorder was such that at one time the republic was without consuls for eight months, Pompey conniving at the state of affairs in order that there might be need of a dictator.

B.C. 54

Death of Caesar's daughter

Shocking state of Roman political life

B.C. 53

20. Many citizens began to talk to each other about this, saying that the only remedy for existing evils was the authority of a single ruler, but that there was need of a man who combined strength of character and mildness of temper, thereby indicating Pompey, who had a sufficient army under his command and who appeared to be both a friend of the people and a leader of the Senate by virtue of his rank, a man of temperance and self-control and easy of access, or at all events so considered.

CAP. III

εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τὴν προσδοκίαν τήνδε λόγῳ μὲν ἐδυσχέραινεν, ἔργῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὴν πάντα ἔπραττεν ἀφανῶς καὶ τὴν ἀσυνταξίαν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσυνταξίᾳ ἐκὼν ὑπερεώρα. Μίλωνός τε τὰ ἐς Κλώδιον ὑπηρετήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρεσκομένου τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν Κικέρωνος κάθοδον, ὑπατείαν ὡς ἐν καιρῷ παρὰ τήνδε τὴν ἀναρχίαν μετιόντος ἀποδιέτριβε τὰς χειροτονίας, μέχρι βαρυθυμῶν ὁ Μίλων, ὡς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπίστου γιγνομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἐς τὴν πατρίδα Λανούβιον ἐξῄει, ἣν Διομήδη φασὶν ἀλώμενον ἐξ Ἰλίου πρώτην ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς αὐτὴν στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

21. Κλωδίου δ' ἐξ ἰδίων χωρίων ἐπανιόντος ἐπὶ ἵππου καὶ περὶ Βοΐλλας ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπείδοντο μόνον ἀλλήλους καὶ παρώδευσαν, θεράπων δὲ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπιδραμὼν τῷ Κλωδίῳ, εἴτε κεκελευσμένος εἴθ' ὡς ἐχθρὸν δεσπότου κτείνων, ἐπάταξεν ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον ξιφιδίῳ. καὶ τὸν μὲν αἵματι ῥεύμενον ἐς τὸ πλησίον πανδοκεῖον ὁ ἱπποκόμος ἐσέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Μίλων μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιστὰς ἔτι ἔμπνουν ἢ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐπανεῖλεν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν οὐ βουλεῦσαι τὸν φόνον οὐδὲ προστάξαι· ὡς δὲ κινδυνεύσων ἐξ ἅπαντος, ἠξίου τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἀτελὲς καταλιπεῖν. περιαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ πάθους ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ διενυκτέρευε, καὶ τὸ σῶμά τινες τοῦ Κλωδίου μεθ' ἡμέραν προύθεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων·

The expectation of a dictatorship Pompey discountenanced in words, but in fact he did everything secretly to promote it, and went out of his way to overlook the prevailing disorder and the anarchy consequent upon the disorder. Milo, who had assisted him in his controversy with Clodius, and had acquired great popularity by the recall of Cicero, now sought the consulship, as he considered it a favourable time in view of the present anarchy; but Pompey kept postponing the comitia until Milo, believing that Pompey was false to him, became disgusted, and withdrew to his native town of Lanuvium, which they say was the first city founded in Italy by Diomedes on his return from Troy, and which is situated about 150 stades from Rome. CHAP. III Pompey and Milo B.C. 52

21. Clodius happened to be coming from his own country-seat on horseback and he met Milo at Bovillae. They merely exchanged hostile scowls and passed along; but one of Milo's servants attacked Clodius, either because he was ordered to do so or because he wanted to kill his master's enemy, and stabbed him through the back with a dagger. Clodius' groom carried him bleeding into a neighbouring inn. Milo followed with his servants and finished him,—whether he was still alive, or already dead, is not known—for, although he claimed that he had neither advised nor ordered the murder, he was not willing to leave the deed unfinished because he knew that he would be accused in any event. When the news of this affair was circulated in Rome, the people were thunderstruck, and they passed the night in the forum. When daylight came, the corpse of Clodius was displayed on the Assassination of Clodius

CAP. III ἁρπάσαντες δ' αὐτὸ τῶν τε δημάρχων ἔνιοι καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κλωδίου καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο σὺν ἐκείνοις, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκόμισαν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τιμῇ, βουλευτικοῦ γένους ὄντα, εἴτε ἐς ὄνειδος τῆς βουλῆς τοιάδε περιορώσης. καὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ προπετέστεροι τὰ βάθρα καὶ τοὺς θρόνους τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφορήσαντες ἦψαν αὐτῷ πυράν, ὑφ' ἧς τό τε βουλευτήριον καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πλησίον οἰκίαι τῷ Κλωδίῳ συγκατεφλέγησαν.

22. Μίλωνι δὲ θράσος τοσόνδε περιῆν, ὡς οὐ δεδιέναι περὶ τῷ φόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ Κλωδίου περὶ τὴν ταφὴν τιμῇ. θεραπόντων οὖν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγροίκων πλῆθος ἀθροίσας καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον περιπέμψας χρήματα τῶν τε δημάρχων Μᾶρκον Καίλιον πριάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατῆει θρασύτατα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίλιος εὐθὺς ἐσιόντα εἶλκεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδωροδοκηκότας ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ οὐ διδόναι τῆς δίκης ἀναβολήν, ἐλπίζων δέ, εἰ αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες μεθεῖεν, ἐκλύσειν τὴν δίκην τὴν ἀληθεστέραν. καὶ Μίλων μὲν οὐ βουλεῦσαι τὸ ἔργον εἰπών (οὐ γὰρ ἂν μετὰ σκευῆς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁρμῆσαι), τὸν λοιπὸν λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κλωδίου διετίθετο ὡς θρασυτάτου δὴ καὶ φίλου θρασυτάτων, οἳ καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπικατέπρησαν αὐτῷ· ἔτι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος οἵ τε λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀδιάφθορον ὁπλισάμενοι ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν. Καίλιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Μίλων

rostra. Some of the tribunes and the friends of Clodius and a great crowd with them seized it and carried it to the senate-house, either to confer honour upon it, as he was of senatorial birth, or as an act of contumely to the Senate for conniving at such deeds. There the more reckless ones collected the benches and chairs of the senators and made a funeral pyre for him, which they lighted and from which the senate-house and many buildings in the neighbourhood caught fire and were consumed along with the corpse of Clodius.

Disorders consequent thereon

22. Such was the superabundant hardihood of Milo that he was moved less by fear of punishment for the murder than by indignation at the honour bestowed upon Clodius at his funeral. He collected a crowd of slaves and rustics, and, after sending some money to be distributed among the people and buying Marcus Caelius, one of the tribunes, he came back to the city with the greatest boldness. Directly he entered, Caelius dragged him to the forum to be tried by those whom he had bribed, as though by an assembly of the people, pretending to be very indignant and not willing to grant any delay, but really hoping that if those present should acquit him he would escape a more regular trial. Milo said that the deed was not premeditated, since nobody would set out with such intentions encumbered with his luggage and his wife. The remainder of his speech was directed against Clodius as a desperado and a friend of desperadoes, who had set fire to the senate-house and burned it to ashes over his body. While he was still speaking the other tribunes, with the unbribed portion of the people, burst into the forum armed. Caelius and Milo escaped disguised as

CAP. III δούλων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, πολὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ τοὺς Μίλωνος ἔτι φίλους ἐρευνώντων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα ἀναιρούντων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι ταῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἢ σφραγῖσιν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ διέφερον. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἀσυντάκτῳ πολιτείᾳ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ προφάσει τοῦδε τοῦ θορύβου προσπεσόντος θεράποντές τε ὄντες οἵ πλείους καὶ ὡπλισμένοι κατὰ ἀνόπλων ἐς ἁρπαγὰς ἐτράποντο· ἔργον τε οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας ἐφέροντο καὶ περιιόντες ἠρεύνων ἔργῳ μὲν τὰ εὔληπτα σφίσιν ἅπαντα, λόγῳ δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Μίλωνος· πρόφασίς τε ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ πυρὸς καὶ λίθων καὶ παντὸς ἔργου Μίλων.

23. Ἡ βουλὴ δὲ συνῄει μετὰ δέους καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφεώρων ὡς αὐτίκα σφῶν ἐσόμενον δικτάτορα· χρῄζειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο τὰ παρόντα τοιᾶσδε θεραπείας. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτοὺς μεταδιδάξαντος ὕπατον εἵλοντο χωρὶς συνάρχου ὡς ἂν ἔχοι τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν δικτάτορος, ἄρχων μόνος, τὴν δ' εὐθυναν ὑπάτου. καὶ πρῶτος ὑπάτων ὅδε ἔθνη τε δύο μέγιστα καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχων καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως μοναρχίαν διὰ τὸ μόνος ὕπατος εἶναι Κάτωνα μὲν ἐψηφίσατο, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ἐνοχλοίη, Κύπρον ἀφελέσθαι Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως, νενομοθετημένον ἤδη τοῦτο ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, ὅτι οἵ ποτε ἁλόντι ὑπὸ λῃστῶν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐς λύτρα ὑπὸ σμικρολογίας δύο τάλαντα ἐπεπόμφει. Κάτων μὲν δὴ καθίστατο Κύπρον Πτολεμαίου τὰ χρήματα ῥίψαντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος, ἐπεὶ τῶν

slaves, but there was a great slaughter of the others. Search was not made for the friends of Milo, but all who were met with, whether citizens or strangers, were killed, and especially those who wore fine clothes and gold rings. As the government was without order, these ruffians, who were for the most part slaves and were armed men against unarmed, indulged their rage and, making an excuse of the tumult that had broken out, they turned to pillage. They abstained from no crime, but broke into houses, looking for any kind of portable property, while pretending to be searching for the friends of Milo. For several days Milo was their excuse for burning, stoning, and every sort of outrage. CHAP. III

23. The Senate assembled in consternation and looked to Pompey, intending to make him dictator at once, for they considered this necessary as a remedy for the present evils; but at the suggestion of Cato they appointed him consul without a colleague, so that by ruling alone he might have the power of a dictator with the responsibility of a consul. He was the first of consuls who had two of the greatest provinces, and an army, and the public money, and autocratic power in the city, by virtue of being sole consul. In order that Cato might not cause obstruction by his presence, he framed a decree that he should go to Cyprus and take the island away from King Ptolemy[1]—a law to that effect having been enacted by Clodius because once, when he was captured by pirates, the avaricious Ptolemy had contributed only two talents for his ransom. When Ptolemy heard of the decree he threw his money into the sea and killed himself, and Cato settled the government of Cyprus. Pompey made sole consul

[1] An error of date. Cato went in 58 and returned in 56.

CAP. III ἐψηφισμένων ἐπύθετο· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος δίκας προυτίθει τῶν τε ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ μάλιστα δωροδοκίας καὶ δεκασμοῦ (ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ νοσεῖν τὰ κοινὰ ἀρξάμενα ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν ἕξειν ταχεῖαν), νόμῳ τε ὥριζεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπατείας ἐς τὸ παρὸν εὐθύνειν τὸν ἐθέλοντα. καὶ ἦν ὁ χρόνος ὀλίγῳ μείων ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ γεγένητο ὕπατος. τῶν οὖν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπονοούντων ἐς ὕβριν ἢ ἐς ἐπήρειαν αὐτὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὧδε πολὺ τοῦ χρόνου προλαβεῖν καὶ παραινούντων τὸ παρὸν διορθοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε ἀξιολόγοις, ἐπονομαζόντων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀμφὶ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠγανάκτει, ὡς ἀμείνονος ὄντος ὑποψίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῷ χρόνῳ περιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ἔλεγεν ἐς ἀκριβῆ διόρθωσιν ἐπιτετριμμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας.

IV

CAP. IV 24. Τοιαῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν αὐτίκα δικῶν ποικίλων. ἵνα τε μὴ δείσειαν οἱ δικασταί, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπώπτευε στρατιὰν περιστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπόντες ἑάλωσαν Μίλων τε ἐπὶ τῷ Κλωδίου φόνῳ καὶ Γαβίνιος παρανομίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσεβείας, ὅτι χωρὶς ψηφίσματος ἐς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐσέβαλεν

Pompey then proposed the prosecution of offenders and especially of those guilty of bribery and corruption, for he thought that the seat of the public disorder was there, and that by beginning there he should effect a speedy cure. He brought forward a law, that any citizen who chose to do so might call for an account from anybody who had held office from the time of his own first consulship to the present. This embraced a period of a little less than twenty years, during which Caesar also had been consul; wherefore Caesar's friends suspected that he included so long a time in order to cast reproach and contumely on Caesar, and urged him to straighten out the present situation rather than stir up the past to the annoyance of so many distinguished men, among whom they named Caesar. Pompey pretended to be indignant at the mention of Caesar's name, as though he were above suspicion, and said that his own second consulship was embraced in the period, and that he had gone back a considerable time in order to effect a complete cure of the evils from which the republic had been so long wasting away.

CHAP. III
His law against bribery

IV

24. After making this answer he passed his law, and straightway there ensued a great number and variety of prosecutions. In order that the jurors might act without fear Pompey superintended them in person, and stationed soldiers around them. The first defendants convicted were absentees: Milo for the murder of Clodius; Gabinius both for violation of law and for impiety, because he had invaded

CHAP. IV
Prosecutions for bribery

CAP. IV ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν Σιβυλλείων, Ὑψαῖος δὲ καὶ Μέμμιος καὶ Σέξστος καὶ ἕτεροι πλείονες ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις ἢ πλήθους δεκασμῷ. Σκαῦρον δὲ τοῦ πλήθους παραιτουμένου ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπακοῦσαι τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς κατηγόρους ἐνοχλοῦντος, σφαγή τις ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιδραμόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος κατεσιώπησεν, ὁ δὲ Σκαῦρος ἑάλω. καὶ πάντων φυγὴ κατέγνωστο, Γαβινίου δὲ καὶ δήμευσις ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ τάδε ἡ βουλὴ λαμπρῶς ἐπαινοῦσα δύο τε ἄλλα τέλη καὶ χρόνον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕτερον τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσεψηφίσαντο. Μέμμιος δὲ ἄλοὺς ἐπὶ δεκασμῷ, τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Πομπηίου διδόντος αὐτῷ φήναντι ἕτερον ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς καταδίκης, τὸν πενθερὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα προεκαλέσατο ἐς ὁμοίαν δεκασμοῦ δίκην. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν τῶν κρινομένων ἐσθῆτα μεταλαβόντος πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν μετελάμβανον. ὀλοφυράμενος οὖν ὁ Μέμμιος τὴν πολιτείαν διέλυσε τὴν δίκην.

25. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς ἤδη τὰ χρήζοντα τῆς μοναρχίας διωρθωμένος τὸν Σκιπίωνα σύναρχον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἑτέρων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένων οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐφεώρα καὶ ἐδυνάστευε, καὶ πάντ' ἦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τότε Πομπήιος· ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια τῆς βουλῆς μάλιστα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει, ζήλῳ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπατείαν κεχρημένου καὶ ὅτι νοσοῦσαν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν πολιτείαν ὀξέως ἀναλάβοι καὶ οὐδενὶ σφῶν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φορτικὸς ἢ ἐπαχθὴς γένοιτο.

Egypt without a decree of the Senate and contrary to the Sibylline books; Hypsaeus, Memmius, Sextius, and many others for taking bribes and for corrupting the populace. The people interceded for Scaurus, but Pompey made proclamation that they should submit to the decision of the court. When the crowd again interrupted the accusers, Pompey's soldiers made a charge and killed several. Then the people held their tongues and Scaurus was convicted. All the accused were banished, and Gabinius was fined in addition. The Senate praised Pompey highly for these proceedings, voted him two more legions, and extended the term of his provincial government. As Pompey's law offered impunity to any one who should turn state evidence, Memmius, who had been convicted of bribery, called Lucius Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey himself, to trial for like participation in bribery. Thereupon Pompey put on mourning and many of the jurors did the same. Memmius took pity on the republic and withdrew the accusation. CHAP. IV

25. Pompey, as though he had completed the reforms that made autocratic power necessary, now made Scipio his colleague in the consulship for the remainder of the year. At the expiration of his term, however, although others were invested with the consulship, he was none the less the supervisor, and ruler, and all-in-all in Rome. He enjoyed the good-will of the Senate, particularly because they were jealous of Caesar, who did not consult the Senate during his consulship, and because Pompey had so speedily restored the sick commonweath, and had not made himself offensive or troublesome to any of them during his term of office.

CAP. IV

Τῶν δὲ φυγάδων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἰόντων ἀθρόων καὶ παραινούντων φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Πομπήιον ὡς τὸν νόμον τοῦ δεκασμοῦ μάλιστα θέμενον ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, τούσδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρηγόρει καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐφήμει, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἔπεισεν εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον ἐξεῖναι Καίσαρι δευτέραν ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι μετιέναι. καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπατεύοντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντος ἐκεκύρωτο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιπράξειν τὴν βουλὴν ὑπονοῶν ἐδεδοίκει μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἰδιώτης γενέσθαι, ἐτέχναζε δὲ ἐπὶ δυνάμεως εἶναι, μέχρι ὕπατος ἀποδειχθείη, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἤτει χρόνου ἄλλου ὀλίγου ἐς τὴν παροῦσάν οἱ τῆς Γαλατίας ἡγεμονίαν ἢ ἐς μέρος αὐτῆς ἐπιλαβεῖν. διακωλύσαντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ὕπατος ἦν, φασὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ μηνύοντι ἀποκρίνασθαι, κόπτοντα τὴν λαβὴν τοῦ ξίφους· "ἥδε μοι δώσει."

26. Πόλιν δὲ Νεόκωμον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Λατίου δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων ᾠκίκει, ὧν ὅσοι κατ' ἔτος ἦρχον, ἐγίγνοντο Ῥωμαίων πολῖται· τόδε γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸ Λάτιον. τῶν οὖν Νεοκώμων τινά, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενον καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι νομιζόμενον, ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξηνε ῥάβδοις ἐφ' ὁτῳδή, οὐ πασχόντων τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων· καὶ τὸν νοῦν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀνεκάλυπτε, τὰς πληγὰς εἶναι ξενίας σύμβολον. καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ δεικνύναι τῷ Καίσαρι. οὕτω μὲν ὑβριστικῶς ὁ Μάρκελλος, εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ ἤδη καὶ διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, προαφαιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου· ἀλλὰ διεκώλυ-

All who were banished went to Caesar in crowds and advised him to beware of Pompey, saying that his law about bribery was especially directed against himself. Caesar cheered them up and spoke well of Pompey. He also induced the tribunes to bring in a law to enable himself to stand for the consulship a second time while absent, and this was enacted while Pompey was still consul and without opposition from him. Caesar suspected that the Senate would resist this project and feared lest he should be reduced to the condition of a private citizen and exposed to his enemies. So he tried to retain his power until he should be elected consul, and asked the Senate to grant him a little more time in his present command of Gaul, or of a part of it. Marcellus, who succeeded Pompey as consul, forbade it. They say that when this was announced to Caesar, he clapped his hand on his sword-hilt and exclaimed, "This shall give it to me."

CHAP. IV

Caesar authorized to stand for the consulship while absent

B.C. 51

26. Caesar built the town of Novum Comum at the foot of the Alps and gave it the Latin rights, which included a provision that those who had exercised year by year the chief magistracy should become Roman citizens. One of these men, who had been in office and was consequently considered a Roman citizen, was beaten with rods for some reason by order of Marcellus in defiance of Caesar—a punishment that was never inflicted on Roman citizens. Marcellus in his passion revealed his real intention that the blows should be the brand of the alien, and he told the man to carry his scars and show them to Caesar. So insulting was Marcellus. Moreover, he proposed to send successors to take command of Caesar's provinces before his time had expired;

Enmity of Marcellus

CAP. IV σεν ὁ Πομπήιος εὐπρεπείᾳ τε λόγου καὶ εὐνοίας ὑποκρίσει, μὴ δεῖν ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐς πολλὰ χρήσιμον τῇ πατρίδι γενόμενον ὑβρίζειν βραχεῖ διαστήματι χρόνου, καὶ δῆλον ἐποίησεν, ὅτι χρὴ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλύειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρα.

Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε οἱ μάλιστα ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοὐπιὸν ἠρέθησαν ὕπατοι, Αἰμίλιός τε Παῦλος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἀνεψιὸς τοῦ προτέρου Μαρκέλλου, δήμαρχός τε Κουρίων, ἐχθρὸς ὢν καὶ ὅδε τῷ Καίσαρι καρτερὸς καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον εὐχαριτώτατος καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατος. τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ Κλαύδιον μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ὑπαγαγέσθαι χρήμασι, Παῦλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῷ μήτε συμπράττειν μήτε ἐνοχλεῖν, Κουρίωνα δὲ καὶ συμπράττειν ἔτι πλειόνων, εἰδὼς ἐνοχλούμενον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολλῶν.

Παῦλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ῥωμαίοις, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλές· 27. ὁ δὲ Κουρίων, ἵνα μὴ ἄφνω μετατιθέμενος γίγνοιτο κατάφωρος, εἰσηγεῖτο βαρυτάτας ὁδῶν πολλῶν ἐπισκευάς τε καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς εἶναι, εἰδὼς μὲν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐσόμενον, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς Πομπηίου φίλους ἀντιλέξειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἔξειν τι τοῦτο πρόσκρουμα. καὶ γενομένων τῶνδε, ὡς προσεδόκησεν, ὁ μὲν εἶχε τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς διαφορᾶς, Κλαύδιος δ' εἰσηγεῖτο πέμπειν Καίσαρι διαδόχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ γὰρ ἔληγεν ὁ χρόνος. καὶ Παῦλος ἐσιώπα. Κουρίων δὲ νομιζόμενος ἀμφοτέροις διαφέρεσθαι, ἐπῄνει τὴν τοῦ Κλαυδίου γνώμην, ὡς δὲ ἐνδέον αὐτῇ

Attempts to deprive Caesar of his command B.C. 50

but Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness and good-will, saying that they ought not to put an indignity on a distinguished man who had been so extremely useful to his country, merely on account of a short interval of time; but he made it plain that Caesar's command must come to an end immediately on its expiration.

For this reason the bitterest enemies of Caesar were chosen consuls for the ensuing year: Aemilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Caesar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Caesar was not able to influence Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that the latter was heavily burdened with debt.

With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure, 27. while Curio, in order that he might not be detected changing sides too suddenly, brought forward vast plans for repairing and building roads, of which he was to be superintendent for five years. He knew that he could not carry any such measure, but he hoped that Pompey's friends would oppose him, so that he might have that as a grievance against Pompey. Things turned out as he had anticipated, so that he had a pretext for disagreement. Claudius proposed the sending of successors to take command of Caesar's provinces, as his term was now expiring. Paulus was silent. Curio, who was thought to differ from both, seconded the motion of Claudius, but

CAP. IV προσετίθει τὸ καὶ Πομπήιον ὁμοίως Καίσαρι ἀποθεσθαι τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν στρατόν· ὧδε γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καθαρὰν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀδεῆ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ὡς οὐκ ἴσον διὰ τὸ μήπω τὸν χρόνον ἐξήκειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, σαφέστερον ὁ Κουρίων ἤδη καὶ τραχύτερον ἀπεγύμνου μὴ χρῆναι μηδὲ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους, εἰ μὴ καὶ Πομπηίῳ δοῖεν· ὄντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπόπτων οὕπω τῇ πόλει τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι βεβαίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντες ἰδιωτεύσειαν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς οὐ μεθήσοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὁρῶν ἤδη τι προσκοπτόμενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς τοῦ δεκασμοῦ δίκας. εὐπρεποῦς δὲ τῆς γνώμης οὔσης ὁ δῆμος ἐπῄνει τὸν Κουρίωνα ὡς μόνον ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αἰρόμενον ἔχθραν, καί ποτε καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει τότε εἶναι φοβερώτερον τῆς Πομπηίου διαφορᾶς.

28. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος νοσηλευόμενος περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ σὺν τέχνῃ, τά τε ἔργα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαινῶν καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλέγων ὅτι τε τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας καὶ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ στρατοῦ δοθέντος οὐ μετιών, ἀλλ' ἐς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπικληθεὶς ἀξιωθείη· ἃ δὲ ἄκων ἔφη λαβεῖν, "ἑκὼν ἀποθήσομαι τοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θέλουσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένων τοὺς

added that Pompey ought to resign his provinces and army just like Caesar, for in this way he said the commonwealth would be made free and be relieved from fear in all directions. Many opposed this as unjust, because Pompey's term had not yet expired. Then Curio came out more openly and harshly against sending successors to Caesar unless Pompey also should lay down his command; for since they were both suspicious of each other, he contended that there could be no lasting peace to the commonwealth unless they should all be reduced to the character of private citizens. He said this because he knew that Pompey would not give up his command and because he saw that the people were incensed against Pompey on account of his prosecutions for bribery. As Curio's position was plausible, the plebeians praised him as the only one who was willing to incur the enmity of both Pompey and Caesar in order to fulfil worthily his duties as a citizen; and once they escorted him home, scattering flowers, as though he were an athlete and had won the prize in some great and difficult contest; for nothing was considered more perilous then than to have a difference with Pompey.

CHAP. IV

Curio insists that Pompey shall lay down his command also

28. Pompey, while lying sick in Italy, wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Caesar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward; these he had not solicited, but he had received them on being called upon to serve the state. As for the powers which he had accepted unwillingly, "I will gladly yield them," said he, "to those who wish to take them back, and will not wait the

CAP. IV

χρόνους τοὺς ὡρισμένους." ἡ μὲν δὴ τέχνη τῶν γεγραμμένων εἶχεν εὐπρέπειάν τε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐρέθισμα κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νεμομισμένῳ χρόνῳ· ἀφικόμενος δ' ἄλλα τε τούτοις ὅμοια ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τότε ὑπισχνεῖτο ἀποθήσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ δὴ φίλος καὶ κηδεστὴς γενόμενος Καίσαρι, κἀκεῖνον ἔλεγε μάλα χαίροντα ἀποθήσεσθαι· χρόνιόν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἐπίπονον κατὰ ἐθνῶν μαχιμωτάτων γεγονέναι καὶ πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι προσλαβόντα ἐπὶ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας ἥξειν καὶ ἀναπαύσεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦθ' ὡς Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα δοθησομένων διαδόχων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐσόμενος ἐν ὑποσχέσει μόνῃ. Κουρίων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σόφισμα διελέγχων οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δεῖν ἔφη μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα ἀποθέσθαι οὐδ' ἐξοπλίζειν Καίσαρα τῆς στρατιᾶς, πρὶν καὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιωτεῦσαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐκείνῳ λυσιτελεῖν οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις, ὑφ' ἑνὶ τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, εἴ τι τὴν πόλιν καταβιάζοιτο. οὐδέν τε ἐπικρύπτων ἔτι ἀφειδῶς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐβλασφήμει ὡς τυραννίδος ἐφιέμενον καί, εἰ μὴ νῦν σὺν φόβῳ τῷ Καίσαρος ἀποθοῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν, οὔποτε μεθήσοντα. ἠξίου δ', ἂν ἀπειθῶσιν, ἄμφω ψηφίζεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ στρατὸν

time fixed for their expiration." The artfulness of this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Caesar, who did not seem likely to give up his command even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way and then, also, promised to lay down his command. In virtue, of course, of his friendship and marriage connection with Caesar he said that the latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power, and now he would come back to his honours, his sacrificial duties, and his relaxations. He said these things in order that successors to Caesar might be sent at once, while he himself should merely rest content with his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Caesar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said, it would not be advisable either for Caesar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other, in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Now at last throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Caesar before his eyes, he would never lay it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them.

CHAP. IV

Increasing hostility to Caesar in the senate

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ἀγείρειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐωνημένος.

29. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτῷ χαλεψάμενός τε καὶ ἀπειλήσας εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ προάστεια ἀγανακτῶν ὑπεξήιει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ὑπόπτως μὲν εἶχεν ἤδη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, δημοτικώτερον δ' ὅμως ἡγοῦντο Πομπήιον καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδυσχέραινον τῆς παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ὑπεροψίας σφῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὄντι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἡγοῦντο διαλύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Πομπηίῳ δύναμιν, μέχρι πρότερον ἐκεῖνον ἀποθέσθαι, ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως ὄντα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμονέστερον. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κουρίων ἀνέστρεφεν, ὡς δέον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον Καίσαρα, ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντας καταλύειν. οὐ πείθων δὲ διέλυε τὴν βουλὴν ἐπὶ ἀτελέσι πᾶσι· δύναται δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ δήμαρχος· ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετεμέλησε τὴν δημαρχίαν, ἐς ἀσθενέστατον ὑπὸ Σύλλα καθηρημένην, ἀναγαγόντι αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. διαλυόμενοι δὲ ὅμως τοσόνδε μόνον ἐψηφίσαντο, Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον τέλος ἓν στρατιωτῶν ἐς Συρίαν ἑκάτερον πέμψαι φυλακῆς οὕνεκα διὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφοράν. καὶ τεχνάζων ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπῄτει τὸ τέλος, ὃ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ στρατηγῶν δύο Καίσαρος, Τιτυρίου τε καὶ Κόττα, Καίσαρι κεχρήκει. ὁ δ' αὐτό, τιμήσας ἕκαστον ἄνδρα δραχμαῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις, ἀπέπεμπεν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ συνέπεμπεν ἄλλο παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

30. Οὐδενὸς δὲ δεινοῦ περὶ Συρίαν φανέντος τάδε μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καπύῃ· οἱ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ

In this way he concealed the fact that he had been bought by Caesar. CHAP. IV

29. Pompey was angry with him and threatened him and at once withdrew indignantly to the environs. The Senate now had suspicions of both, but it considered Pompey the better republican of the two, and it hated Caesar because he had not shown it proper respect during his consulship. Some of the senators really thought that it would not be safe to the commonwealth to deprive Pompey of his power until after Caesar should lay down his, since the latter was outside of the city and was the man of more magnificent designs. Curio held the contrary opinion, that they had need of Caesar against the power of Pompey, or otherwise that both armies should be disbanded at the same time. As the Senate would not agree with him he dismissed it, leaving the whole business still unfinished, having the power to do so as tribune. Thus Pompey had occasion to regret that he had restored the tribunician power to its pristine vigour after it had been reduced to a mere shadow by Sulla. Nevertheless, one decree was voted before the session was ended, and that was that Caesar and Pompey should each send one legion of soldiers to Syria to defend the province on account of the disaster to Crassus. Pompey artfully recalled the legion that he had lately lent to Caesar on account of the disaster to Caesar's two generals, Titurius and Cotta. Caesar awarded to each soldier 250 drachmas and sent the legion to Rome together with another of his own. Pompey's neglect of preparation for war

30. As the expected danger did not show itself in Syria, these legions were sent into winter quarters at Capua. The persons who had been sent by

CAP. IV πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεθρόουν καὶ ἰσχυρίζοντο τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν στρατιὰν Καίσαρος, τετρυμένην τε πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ οἴκοι ποθοῦσαν, μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτε τὰ Ἄλπεια διέλθοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἔλεγον, εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας εἴτε διεφθαρμένοι, Καίσαρι δ' ἔρρωτο πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς προθυμίαν καὶ πόνους ὑπό τε ἔθους τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ ὑπὸ κερδῶν, ὅσα πόλεμος τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐργάζεται καὶ ὅσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα ἐλάμβανον· ἐδίδου γὰρ ἀφειδῶς, θεραπεύων εἰς ἃ ἐβούλευεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιέντες αὐτῶν ὅμως ὑπέμενον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις πίσυνος οὔτε στρατιὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν ὡς ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἤγειρεν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ γνώμην ἕκαστον ἤτει· καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος πανούργως διήρει καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτῶν παρὰ μέρος, εἰ δοκεῖ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους καὶ εἰ Πομπήιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνέιενον οἱ πλείους, Καίσαρι δ' ἐπεψήφιζον τοὺς διαδόχους. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος, εἰ ἀμφοτέρους δοκεῖ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἀποθέσθαι, δύο μὲν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδράσιν ἀπήρεσκε, τριακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐς τὸ συμφέρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἀπέκλινον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὴν βουλὴν διέλυσε βοῶν· "νικᾶτε δεσπότην ἕξειν Καίσαρα."

31. Λόγου δ' ἄφνω ψευδοῦς ἐμπεσόντος, ὅτι τὰς Ἄλπεις ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπερελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνοι, θόρυβός τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ φόβος ἁπάντων, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος εἰσηγεῖτο τὴν ἐν Καπύῃ στρατιὰν

Pompey to Caesar to bring these legions spread many reports derogatory to Caesar and repeated them to Pompey. They affirmed that Caesar's army was wasted by protracted service, that the soldiers longed for their homes and would change to the side of Pompey as soon as they should cross the Alps. They spoke in this way either from ignorance or because they were corrupted. In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Caesar and laboured zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Caesar also; for he gave with a lavish hand in order to mould them to his designs. They knew what his designs were, but they stood by him nevertheless. Pompey, however, believed what was reported to him and collected neither soldiers nor apparatus suitable for so great a contest. In the Senate the opinion of each member was asked and Claudius craftily divided the question and took the votes separately, thus: "Shall successors be sent to Caesar?" and again, "Shall Pompey be deprived of his command?" The majority voted against the latter proposition, and it was decreed that successors to Caesar should be sent. Then Curio put the question whether both should lay down their commands, and 22 senators voted in the negative while 370 went back to the opinion of Curio in order to avoid civil discord. Then Claudius dismissed the Senate, exclaiming, "Enjoy your victory and have Caesar for a master."

CHAP. IV

31. Suddenly a false rumour came that Caesar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides. Claudius moved that the army at

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ἀπαντᾶν ὡς πολεμίῳ Καίσαρι. ἐνισταμένου δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ψευδέσι τοῦ Κουρίωνος εἶπεν· "εἰ κωλύομαι ψήφῳ κοινῇ τὰ συμφέροντα διοικεῖν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ὡς ὕπατος διοικήσω." καὶ τάδε εἰπὼν ἐξέδραμε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὰ προάστεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχου ξίφος τε ὀρέγων τῷ Πομπηίῳ "κελεύω σοι," ἔφη, "κἀγὼ καὶ ὅδε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· καὶ στρατιὰν ἐς τοῦτό σοι δίδομεν, ἥ τε νῦν ἀμφὶ Καπύην ἢ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὅσην αὐτὸς ἐθέλοις ἄλλην καταλέγειν." ὁ δ' ὑπήκουε μὲν ὡς κελευόμενος πρὸς ὑπάτων, ἐπετίθει δ' ὅμως· "εἰ μή τι κρεῖσσον," ἀπατῶν ἢ τεχνάζων καὶ τότε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν. Κουρίωνι δ' οὐκ ἦν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξουσία τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ προϊέναι τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐφίεται), ὠλοφύρετο δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἠξίου κηρύσσειν μηδένα πω καταλέγοντι πείθεσθαι Πομπηίῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀνύων, ἐπεί οἱ καὶ ὁ τῆς δημαρχίας χρόνος ἔληγε, δείσας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπογονὺς ἔτι δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν τῷ Καίσαρι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει πρὸς αὐτόν.

V

CAP. V

32. Ὁ δ' ἄρτι τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκ Βρεττανῶν διεπεπλεύκει καὶ ἀπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἄλπεια διελθὼν σὺν πεντακισχιλίοις

Capua be turned against Caesar as a public enemy. When Curio opposed him on the ground that the rumour was false he exclaimed, "If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul." After saying this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the environs with his colleague, where he presented a sword to Pompey, and said, "I and my colleague command you to march against Caesar in behalf of your country, and we give you for this purpose the army now at Capua, or in any other part of Italy, and whatever additional forces you yourself choose to levy." Pompey promised to obey the orders of the consuls, but he added, "unless we can do better," thus dealing in trickery and still making a pretence of fairness. Curio had no power outside the city (for it was not permitted to the tribunes to go beyond the walls), but he publicly deplored the state of affairs and demanded that the consuls should make proclamation that nobody need obey the conscription ordered by Pompey. As he could accomplish nothing, and as his term of office as tribune was about expiring, and he feared for his safety and despaired of being able to render any further assistance to Caesar, he hastily departed to join him.

CHAP. IV

The consuls invest Pompey with the defence of Italy

V

32. Caesar had lately recrossed the straits from Britain and, after traversing the Gallic country along the Rhine, had passed the Alps with 5000 foot and

CHAP. V

CAP. V πεζοῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι τριακοσίοις κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, ἣ συναφής τε ἦν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς τελευταία. φιλοφρονησάμενος δὲ τὸν Κουρίωνα καὶ χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ὁμολογήσας ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Κουρίωνι μὲν δὴ συγκαλεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἤδη καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, Καίσαρι δ' ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι διαλύσεων. τοὺς οὖν φίλους ἐκέλευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἔθνη καὶ στρατόπεδα ἀποθήσεσθαι, μόνα δ' ἕξειν δύο τέλη καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίας, ἕως ὕπατος ἀποδειχθείη. καὶ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἀρκεῖν ἐδόκει, κατακωλυόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Κουρίων, τρισὶν ἡμέραις τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις σταδίους διαδραμών, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς νέοις ὑπάτοις ἐσιοῦσιν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους. περιεῖχε δ' ἡ γραφὴ κατάλογόν τε σεμνὸν ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεπράχει, καὶ πρόκλησιν, ὅτι θέλοι Πομπηίῳ συναποθέσθαι, ἄρχοντος δ' ἔτι ἐκείνου οὔτε ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ τιμωρὸς αὐτίκα τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τάχος ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ σφόδρα πάντες ἀνέκραγον, ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμου καταγγελίᾳ, διάδοχον εἶναι Λεύκιον Δομίτιον. καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος εὐθὺς ἐξῄει μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἐκ καταλόγου.

33. Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου δημαρχούντοιν μετὰ Κουρίωνα καὶ τὴν Κουρίωνος γνώμην ἐπαινούντοιν, ἡ βουλὴ φιλονικότερον ἔτι τὴν Πομπηίου στρατιὰν φύλακα σφῶν ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος πολεμίαν. καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι,

300 horse and arrived at Ravenna, which was contiguous to Italy and the last town in his government. After embracing Curio and returning thanks for what he had done for him, he reviewed the situation. Curio advised him to bring his whole army together now and lead it to Rome, but Caesar thought it best still to try to come to terms. So he directed his friends to make an agreement in his behalf, that he should deliver up all his provinces and soldiers, except that he should retain two legions and Illyria with Cisalpine Gaul until he should be elected consul. This was satisfactory to Pompey, but the consuls refused. Caesar then wrote a letter to the Senate, which Curio carried a distance of 1300 stades in three days and delivered to the newly-elected consuls as they entered the senate-house on the first of January.[1] The letter embraced a calm recital of all that Caesar had done from the beginning of his career and a proposal that he would lay down his command at the same time with Pompey, but that if Pompey should retain his command he would not lay down his own, but would come quickly and avenge his country's wrongs and his own. When this letter was read, as it was considered a declaration of war, a vehement shout was raised on all sides that Lucius Domitius be Caesar's successor. Domitius took the field immediately with 4000 men from the active list.

CHAP. V

B.C. 49

Caesar offers to lay down his arms at the same time as Pompey

33. Since Antony and Cassius, who succeeded Curio as tribunes, agreed with him in opinion, the Senate became more bitter than ever and declared Pompey's army the protector of Rome, and that of Caesar a public enemy. The consuls, Marcellus and

[1] Literally: "On the day of the new moon of the year."

CAP. V Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μή τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὅμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔνθα δὴ μέγα βοήσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνά τε ἕδραμε τῆς ἕδρας σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὖσα ὑβρίζοιτο, καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφέροντες, ἣν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, ἐξαλαύνοιντο σὺν ὕβρει, μήτε τινὰ σφαγὴν μήτε μύσος ἐργασάμενοι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐξέτρεχεν ὥσπερ ἔνθους, πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἀράς τε βαρείας τοῖς τούτων αἰτίοις ἐπαρώμενος. συνεξέθεον δ' αὐτῷ Κουρίων τε καὶ Κάσσιος· καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη στρατὸς ἐωρᾶτο ἐκ Πομπηίου περιιστάμενος τὸ βουλευτήριον. οἵδε μὲν δὴ τάχει πολλῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα, λαθόντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ ὀχήματος μισθωτοῦ, θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ἐνδύντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔτι ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἠρέθιζε λέγων, ὅτι καὶ σφᾶς τοσάδε ἐργασαμένους ἡγοῦνται πολεμίους καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τι φθεγξαμένους οὕτως ἐξελαύνουσιν αἰσχρῶς.

34. Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνέῳκτο καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἤδη σαφῶς, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ νομίζουσα Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν σὺν χρόνῳ παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὔποτε αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον σὺν ὀλίγοις προσέτασσε Πομπηίῳ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας Ἰταλῶν ἀγείρειν, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὡς ἐμπειροπολέμους, ξενολογεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθνῶν ὅσα ἄλκιμα. χρήματα δ' ἐς τὸν

Lentulus, ordered Antony and his friends out of the Senate lest they should suffer some harm, tribunes though they were. Then Antony sprang from his chair in anger and with a loud voice called gods and men to witness the indignity put upon the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, saying that while they were expressing the opinion which they deemed best for the public interest, they were driven out with contumely though they had wrought no murder or outrage. Having spoken thus he rushed out like one possessed, predicting war, slaughter, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and various other impending evils, and invoking direful curses on the authors of them. Curio and Cassius rushed out with him, for a detachment of Pompey's army was already observed standing around the senate-house. The tribunes made their way to Caesar the next night with the utmost speed, concealing themselves in a hired carriage, and disguised as slaves. Caesar showed them in this condition to his army, whom he excited by saying that his soldiers, after all their great deeds, had been stigmatized as public enemies and that distinguished men like these, who had dared to say a word for them, had been thus driven out with ignominy.

The Senate declares Caesar a public enemy

Caesar addresses his soldiers

34. The war had now been begun on both sides and was already openly declared; but the Senate, thinking that Caesar's army would be slow in arriving from Gaul and that he would not rush into so great an adventure with a small force, directed Pompey to assemble 130,000 Italian soldiers, chiefly veterans who had had experience in war, and to recruit as many able-bodied men as possible from the neighbouring provinces. They voted him for the war all

War openly declared

CAP. V πόλεμον αὐτῷ τά τε κοινὰ πάντα αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ σφῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ δεήσειεν, εἶναι στρατιωτικά· ἔς τε τὰς πόλεις ἐφ ἕτερα περιέπεμπον σύν τε ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ, σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες ὀξυτάτης. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν περιεπεπόμφει, χαίρων δ' ἀεὶ ταχυεργίας τε ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ τόλμης μᾶλλον ἢ παρασκευῆς δυνάμει, μετὰ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν τοσῷδε πολέμῳ καὶ φθάσαι τὰ εὔκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας.

35. Τοὺς οὖν λοχαγοὺς αὐτῶν σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτοις, εἰρηνικῶς ἐσταλμένοις, προύπεμπεν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς Ἀρίμινον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄφνω καταλαβεῖν· ἡ δ' ἐστὶν Ἰταλίας πρώτη μετὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ἑσπέραν, ὡς δὴ τὸ σῶμα ἐνοχλούμενος, ὑπεχώρησε τοῦ συμποσίου, τοὺς φίλους ἀπολιπὼν ἔτι ἑστιᾶσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβὰς ἤλαυνεν ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον, ἑπομένων οἱ τῶν ἱππέων ἐκ διαστήματος. δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμόν, ὃς ὁρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἕστη τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῇ γνώμῃ, λογιζόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποταμὸν σὺν ὅπλοις περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν ἀνενεγκών· "ἡ μὲν ἐπίσχεσις, ὦ φίλοι, τῆσδε τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἄρξει, ἡ δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις." καὶ εἰπὼν οἷά τις ἔνθους ἑτέρα σὺν ὁρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τόδε ἐπειπών· "ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω." δρόμῳ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιὼν Ἀρίμινόν τε αἱρεῖ περὶ ἕω καὶ ἐς τὸ

the money in the public treasury at once, and their own private fortunes in addition if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers. With the fury of party rage they levied additional contributions on the allied cities, which they collected with the greatest possible haste. Caesar had sent messengers to bring his own army, but as he was accustomed to rely upon the terror caused by the celerity and audacity of his movements, rather than on the magnitude of his preparations, he decided to take the aggressive in this great war with his 5000 men and to anticipate the enemy by seizing the advantageous positions in Italy. CHAP. V

35. Accordingly, he sent forward the centurions with a few of their bravest troops in peaceful garb to go inside the walls of Ariminum and take it by surprise. This was the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpine Gaul. Toward evening Caesar himself rose from a banquet on a plea of indisposition, leaving his friends who were still feasting. He mounted his chariot and drove toward Ariminum, his cavalry following at a short distance. When his course brought him to the river Rubicon, which forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped and, while gazing at the stream, revolved in his mind the evils that would result, should he cross the river in arms. Recovering himself, he said to those who were present, "My friends, to leave this stream uncrossed will breed manifold distress for me; to cross it, for all mankind." Thereupon, he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the familiar phrase, "The die is cast: so let it be!" Then he resumed his hasty journey and took possession of Ariminum about daybreak, advanced beyond it, stationed guards

Caesar crosses the Rubicon

He seizes Ariminum

CAP. V

πρόσθεν ἐχώρει, φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις ἐφιστὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἢ βίᾳ χειρούμενος ἢ φιλανθρωπίᾳ. φυγαί τε καὶ μεταναστάσεις ἦσαν ἐκ πάντων χωρίων ὡς ἐν ἐκπλήξει καὶ δρόμος ἀσύντακτος μετ' οἰμωγῆς, τό τε ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νομίζοντες μετ' ἀπείρου στρατοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἐλαύνειν.

36. Ὧν οἱ ὕπατοι πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον οὐκ εἴων ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐμπειροπολέμως εὐσταθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξώτρυνον ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ στρατολογεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως καταληφθησομένης αὐτίκα. ἥ τε ἄλλη βουλή, παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὀξείας τῆς ἐσβολῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος γενομένης, ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει μετενόουν οὐ δεξάμενοι τὰς Καίσαρος προκλήσεις, τότε νομίζοντες εἶναι δικαίας, ὅτε σφᾶς ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸ εὔβουλον ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλονίκου μετέφερε. τεράτά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπιπτε πολλὰ καὶ σημεῖα οὐράνια· αἱμά τε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὁ θεὸς ὗσαι καὶ ξόανα ἱδρῶσαι καὶ κεραυνοὶ πεσεῖν ἐπὶ νεὼς πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμίονος τεκεῖν· ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερῆ προεσήμαινε τὴν ἐς ἀεὶ τῆς πολειτείας ἀναίρεσίν τε καὶ μεταβολήν. εὐχαὶ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ φοβεροῖς προυγράφοντο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν μνήμῃ τῶν Μαρίου καὶ Σύλλα κακῶν γιγνόμενος ἐκεκράγει Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον ἀποθέσθαι τὰς δυναστείας ὡς ἐν τῷδε μόνῳ τοῦ πολέμου λυθησομένου, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πέμπειν ἐς Καίσαρα διαλλακτάς.

37. Ἀντιπραττόντων δ' ἐς ἅπαντα τῶν ὑπάτων, Φαώνιος μὲν Πομπήιον ἐπισκώπτων τοῦ ποτὲ λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι

at the commanding positions, and, either by force or by kindness, mastered all whom he fell in with. As is usual in cases of panic, there was flight and migration from all the country-side in disorder and tears, the people having no exact knowledge, but thinking that Caesar was pushing on with all his might and with an immense army. CHAP. V

36. When the consuls learned the facts they did not allow Pompey to act according to his own judgment, experienced as he was in military affairs, but urged him to traverse Italy and raise troops, as though the city were on the point of being captured. The Senate also was alarmed at Caesar's unexpectedly swift advance, for which it was still unprepared, and in its panic repented that it had not accepted Caesar's proposals, which it at last considered fair, after fear had turned it from the rage of party to the counsels of prudence. Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It rained blood. Sweat issued from the statues of the gods. Lightning struck several temples. A mule foaled. There were many other prodigies which betokened the overturn and change for all time in the form of government. Prayers were offered up in public as was customary in times of danger, and the people who remembered the evil times of Marius and Sulla, clamoured that both Caesar and Pompey ought to lay down their commands as the only means of averting war. Cicero proposed to send messengers to Caesar in order to come to an arrangement. Panic and prodigies in Italy

37. As the consuls opposed all accommodation, Favonius, in ridicule of Pompey for something he had said a little before, advised him to stamp on the

CAP. V τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναγαγεῖν· ὁ δὲ "ἕξετε," εἶπεν, "ἂν ἐπακολουθῆτέ μοι καὶ μὴ δεινὸν ἡγῆσθε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπολιπεῖν, καὶ εἰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεήσειεν." οὐ γὰρ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἔχειν ταῦτα σὺν ἑαυτοῖς· ἀμυνομένους δ' ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἐπιμένουσιν, εἰ φειδοῖ χωρίων ἢ κατασκευῆς ἀπολελείψονται τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνων, ἐξῄει τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν ἐν Καπύῃ στρατιάν, καὶ οἱ ὕπατοι συνείποντο αὐτῷ· τοὺς ἄλλους δ' ἀπορία τε ἐς πολὺ κατεῖχε, καὶ διενυκτέρευον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μετ' ἀλλήλων. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ πλέον ὅμως ἐξῄει καὶ ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον.

VI

CAP. VI 38. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Κορφινίῳ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον τὸν ἐπιπεμφθέντα οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι διάδοχον καταλαβών, οὐ πάντας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ οἱ τὸ Κορφίνιον οἰκοῦντες φεύγοντα τὸν Δομίτιον ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας καταλαβόντες τῷ Καίσαρι προσήγαγον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ προστιθεμένην οἱ προθύμως ἐδέχετο ἐς ἐρέθισμα τῶν ἄλλων, Δομίτιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀπαθῆ μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων μεθῆκεν ὅποι βούλοιτο ἀπιέναι, ἐλπίσας μὲν ἴσως διὰ τὴν εὐποιίαν παραμενεῖν, οὐ

ground with his foot and raise up from it the promised armies. "You can have them," replied Pompey, "if you will follow me and not be horrified at the thought of leaving Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves will recover their homes also." After saying this and threatening those who should remain behind and desert their country's cause in order to save their fields and their goods, he left the Senate and the city immediately to take command of the army at Capua, and the consuls followed him. The other senators remained undecided a long time and passed the night together in the senate-house. At daybreak, however, most of them departed and hastened after Pompey.

CHAP. V

Pompey departs to the army at Capua

VI

38. At Corfinium Caesar came up with and besieged Lucius Domitius, who had been sent to be his successor in the command of Gaul, but who did not have all of his 4000 men with him. The inhabitants of Corfinium captured him at the gates, as he was trying to escape, and brought him to Caesar. The latter received the soldiers of Domitius, who offered themselves to him, with kindness, in order to encourage others to join him, and he allowed Domitius to go unharmed wherever he liked, and to take his own money with him. He hoped perhaps that Domitius would stay with him on account of this beneficence,

CHAP. VI

Caesar captures Corfinium and Lucius Domitius

CAP. VI

κωλύσας δ' ἐς Πομπήιον ἰόντα. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων οὕτως ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς Νουκερίαν ἐκ Καπύης καὶ ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἠπείγετο, ὡς τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλῶν ἐς Ἤπειρον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν παρασκευὴν συστήσων ἐν αὐτῇ. ἔθνεσί τε πᾶσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δυνάσταις ἔγραφε κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅ τι δύναιτο ἕκαστος, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συμφέρειν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀθρόως ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ' ἴδιος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου στρατὸς ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν ὡς ὁρμήσων, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

39. Αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τελῶν τὰ μὲν ἔδωκε τοῖς ὑπάτοις προαπάγειν ἐς Ἤπειρον ἐκ Βρεντεσίου, καὶ διέπλευσαν οἵδε αὐτίκα ἀσφαλῶς ἐς Δυρράχιον· ἦν Ἐπίδαμνόν τινες εἶναι νομίζουσι διὰ τοιάνδε ἄγνοιαν. βασιλεὺς τῶν τῇδε βαρβάρων, Ἐπίδαμνος, πόλιν ᾤκισεν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν Ἐπίδαμνον. τούτου θυγατριδοῦς Δύρραχος, νομιζόμενος εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, ἐπίνειον ᾤκισε τῇ πόλει καὶ Δυρράχιον ὠνόμασε. πολεμουμένῳ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῷδε τῷ Δυρράχῳ συνεμάχησεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς, ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἐπανιών· ὅθεν οἱ Δυρράχιοι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς μερίτην τῆς γῆς, οἰκιστὴν σφῶν τίθενται, οὐκ ἀρνούμενοι μὲν οὐδὲ τὸν Δύρραχον, φιλοτιμούμενοι δ' ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐς τὸν Ἡρακλέα μᾶλλον ὡς ἐς θεόν. φασὶ δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇδε Δυρράχου παῖδα Ἰόνιον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐξ ἀγνοίας ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ σῶμα θάψαντα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γένοιτο. χρόνῳ δὲ

but he did not prevent him from joining Pompey. While these transactions were taking place thus swiftly, Pompey hastened from Capua to Nuceria and thence to Brundusium in order to cross the Adriatic to Epirus and complete his preparations for war there. He wrote letters to all the provinces and the commanders thereof, to princes, kings, and cities to send aid for carrying on the war with the greatest possible speed, and this they did zealously. Pompey's own army was in Spain ready to move wherever it might be needed. CHAP. VI

39. Pompey gave some of the legions he already had in Italy to the consuls to be moved from Brundusium to Epirus, and the consuls crossed safely to Dyrrachium, which some persons, by reason of the following error, consider the same as Epidamnus. A barbarian king of the region, Epidamnus by name, built a city on the sea-coast and named it after himself. Dyrrachus, the son of his daughter and of Neptune (as is supposed), added a dockyard to it which he named Dyrrachium. When the brothers of this Dyrrachus made war against him, Hercules, who was returning from Erythea, formed an alliance with him for a part of his territory; wherefore the men of Dyrrachium claim Hercules as their founder because he had a share of their land, not that they repudiate Dyrrachus, but because they pride themselves on Hercules even more as a god. In the battle which took place it is said that Hercules killed Ionius, the son of Dyrrachus, by mistake, and that after raising a barrow he threw the body into the sea in order that it might bear his name. At a later

The consuls cross over to Dyrrachium

Legend of Dyrrachium

CAP. VI τῆς τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως κατασχεῖν Βρίγας ἐκ Φρυγῶν ἐπανελθόντας καὶ Ταυλαντίους ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ταυλαντίοις ἕτερον γένος Ἰλλυριῶν Λιβυρνούς, οἳ τὰ περίοικα νησὶ ταχείαις ἐληίζοντο· καὶ Λιβυρνίδας ἐντεῦθεν ἡγοῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ναῦς τὰς ταχείας, ὧν ἄρα πρώτων ἐς πεῖραν ἦλθον. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Λιβυρνῶν ἐξελαθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρραχίου Κερκυραίους ἐπαγόμενοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Λιβυρνούς· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι σφετέρους ἐγκατέμιξαν οἰκήτορας, ὅθεν Ἑλληνικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπίνειον. τὴν δ' ἐπίκλησιν ὡς οὐκ αἶσιον ἐναλλάξαντες οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ τήνδε ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκάλουν, καὶ Θουκυδίδης οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν· ἐκνικᾷ δ' ὅμως τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ Δυρράχιον κληίζεται.

40. Οἱ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τῶν ὑπάτων διεπεπλεύκεσαν ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τὸν ὑπόλοιπον στρατὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀγαγὼν τάς τε ναῦς ἀνέμενεν ἐπανελθεῖν, αἳ τοὺς ὑπάτους διέφερον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπελθόντα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἠμύνετο τήν τε πόλιν διετάφρευε, μέχρι καταπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ἀπέπλευσε, τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπολιπών· οἳ καὶ αὐτοὶ νυκτὸς ἐρχομένης ἐξέπλεον οὐρίῳ πνεύματι.

Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὧδε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐς Ἤπειρον ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεπέρα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρει μέν, ὅπῃ τραπείη καὶ ὅθεν ἄρξαιτο τοῦ πολέμου, τὴν

period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took possession of the city and the surrounding country. They were supplanted by the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who were displaced in their turn by the Liburnians, another Illyrian tribe, who were in the habit of making piratical expeditions against their neighbours with very swift ships. Hence the Romans call swift ships *Liburnians* because these were the first ones they came in conflict with. The people who had been expelled from Dyrrachium by the Liburnians procured the aid of the Corcyreans, who then ruled the sea, and drove out the Liburnians. The Corcyreans mingled their own colonists with them and thus it came to be considered a Greek port; but the Corcyreans changed its name, because they considered it unpropitious, and called it Epidamnus from the town just above it, and Thucydides gives it that name also. Nevertheless, the former name prevailed finally and it is now called Dyrrachium.

Pompey escapes from Caesar at Brundusium

40. A portion of Pompey's forces had crossed to Dyrrachium with the consuls. Pompey led the remainder to Brundusium, where he awaited the return of the ships that had carried the others over. Here Caesar advanced against him, and he defended himself from behind the walls and dug trenches to cut off the city until his fleet came back. Then he took his departure in the early evening, leaving the bravest of his troops on the walls. These also sailed away after nightfall, with a favourable wind.

Thus Pompey and his whole army abandoned Italy and passed over to Epirus. Caesar, seeing the general drift of public opinion toward Pompey, was at a loss which way to turn or from what point to

CAP. VI ὁρμὴν πανταχόθεν οὖσαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ὁρῶν, δείσας δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατόν, πολύν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ γεγυμνασμένον, μή οἱ διώκοντι τὸν Πομπήιον κατόπιν ἐπιγένοιτο, τόνδε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔγνω προκαθελεῖν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐλάσας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐς πέντ' ἐπιδιήρει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐν Ὑδροῦντι κατέλιπε, τοὺς δ' ἐν Τάραντι, φύλακας εἶναι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἑτέρους δ' ἔπεμπεν ἅμα Κοΐντῳ Οὐαλερίῳ, Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον καταλαβεῖν πυροφοροῦσαν· καὶ κατέλαβον. Ἀσίνιός τε Πολλίων ἐς Σικελίαν πεμφθείς, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Κάτων, πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Κάτωνι, πότερα τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ δήμου δόγμα φέρων ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμβάλλοι, ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο· "ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτά με ἔπεμψε."

Καὶ Κάτων μὲν τοσόνδε ἀποκρινάμενος, ὅτι φειδοῖ τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐκ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἀμυνεῖται, διέπλευσεν ἐς Κέρκυραν καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἐς Πομπήιον· 41. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς τόν τε δῆμον, ἐκ μνήμης τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν πεφρικότα, ἐλπίσι καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνσημαινόμενος φιλανθρωπίαν εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον ἑλὼν ἀπαθῆ μεθείη μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων. τὰ δὲ κλεῖθρα τῶν δημοσίων ταμείων ἐξέκοπτε καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἑνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἠπείλει. τῶν τε ἀψαύστων ἐκίνει χρημάτων, ἃ φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἀρᾷ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδέν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι.

begin the war. As he had apprehensions of Pompey's army in Spain, which was large and well disciplined by long service (lest while he was pursuing Pompey it should fall upon his rear), he decided to march to Spain and destroy that army first. He now divided his forces into five parts, one of which he left at Brundusium, another at Hydrus, and another at Tarentum to guard Italy. Another he sent under command of Quintus Valerius to take possession of the grain-producing island of Sardinia, which was done. He sent Asinius Pollio to Sicily, which was then under the command of Cato. When Cato asked him whether he had brought the order of the Senate, or that of the people, to take possession of a government that had been assigned to another, Pollio replied, "The master of Italy has sent me on this business."

Cato answered that in order to spare the lives of those under his command he would not make resistance there. He then sailed away to Corcyra and from Corcyra to Pompey. 41. Caesar meanwhile hastened to Rome. He found the people shuddering with recollection of the horrors of Marius and Sulla, and he cheered them with the prospect and promise of clemency. In proof of his kindness to his enemies, he said that he had taken Lucius Domitius prisoner and allowed him to go away unharmed with his money. Nevertheless, he hewed down the bars of the public treasury, and when Metellus, one of the tribunes, tried to prevent him from entering threatened him with death. He took away money hitherto untouched, which, they say, had been deposited there long ago, at the time of the Gallic invasion, with a public curse upon anybody who should take it out except in case of a war with the

Caesar takes the money from the public treasury

CAP. VI ὁ δὲ ἔφη Κελτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἑλὼν λελυκέναι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀράν. Λέπιδον δὲ Αἰμίλιον ἐφίστη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον Μᾶρκον Ἀντώνιον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἔς τε τὰ ἔξω Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ἡρεῖτο ἡγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόιντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπε καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεπε Λικινίῳ Κράσσῳ. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ νεῶν στόλους δύο γίγνεσθαι κατὰ σπουδήν, ἀμφί τε τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ περὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν· καὶ ναυάρχους αὐτοῖς ἔτι γιγνομένοις ἐπέστησεν Ὁρτήσιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν.

42. Οὕτω κρατυνάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄβατον Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ᾔει, ἔνθα Πετρηίῳ καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατηγοῖς συμβαλὼν ἧττον αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τά γε πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ἀγχωμάλως ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἰλέρτην. καὶ στρατοπεδεύων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ κρημνῶν ἐσιτολόγει διὰ γεφύρας τοῦ Σικόριος ποταμοῦ. χειμάρρου δ' ἄφνω τὴν γέφυραν καταβαλόντος, ἀνδρῶν τε πλῆθος ἀπολεφθὲν ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ διέφθειραν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πετρήιον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐμύχθει μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ πάνυ καρτερῶς ὑπό τε δυσχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ χειμῶνος ἤδη καὶ πολεμίων· οὐδέν τε ἀλλ' ἢ πολιορκίας ἔργον ἦν, μέχρι θέρους ἐπελθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἀφράνιος καὶ ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρίαν ἐχώρουν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀθροίσοντες. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀεὶ προλαμβάνων διετάφρευε τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἐκώλυεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναί τε καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν, προπεμπόμενον ἐς

Gauls. Caesar said that he had subjugated the Gauls completely and thus released the commonwealth from the curse. He then placed Aemilius Lepidus in charge of the city, and the tribune, Marcus Antonius, in charge of Italy and of the army guarding it. Outside of Italy he chose Curio to take command of Sicily in place of Cato, and Quintus Valerius for Sardinia. He sent Gaius Antonius to Illyria and entrusted Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius Crassus. He ordered the building of two fleets with all speed, one in the Adriatic and the other in the Tyrrhenian sea, and appointed Hortensius and Dolabella their admirals while they were still under construction. CHAP. VI

Caesar marches to Spain

42. Having prevailed so far as to make Italy inaccessible to Pompey, Caesar went to Spain, where he encountered Petreius and Afranius, Pompey's lieutenants, and was worsted by them at first and afterward had an indecisive engagement with them near the town of Ilerta. He pitched his camp on some high ground and obtained his supplies by means of a bridge across the river Sicoris. Suddenly a spate carried way his bridge and cut off a great number of his men on the opposite side, who were destroyed by the forces of Petreius. Caesar himself, with the rest of his army, suffered very severely from the difficulty of the site, from hunger, from the weather, and from the enemy, his situation being in no wise different from that of a siege. Finally, on the approach of summer, Afranius and Petreius withdrew to the interior of Spain to recruit more soldiers, but Caesar continually anticipated them, blocked their passage, and prevented their advance. He also surrounded one of their divisions

CAP. VI στρατοπέδου κατάληψιν, ἐκυκλώσατο. οἱ δὲ ἐπέθεσαν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τὰς ἀσπίδας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἑαυτοὺς παραδιδόντων. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε συνέλαβεν οὔτε κατηκόντισεν, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀφράνιον ἀπιέναι, δημοκοπῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους πανταχοῦ. ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις ἐπιμιξίαι τε εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐγίγνοντο συνεχεῖς καὶ λόγοι περὶ συμβάσεων κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

43. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν καὶ ἑτέροις ἐδόκει τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐκστῆναι Καίσαρι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπιέναι, Πετρήιος δὲ ἀντέλεγε καὶ περιθέων ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔκτεινεν, ὅσους εὑρίσκοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν τῶν Καίσαρος, τῶν τε ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων ἐνιστάμενόν τινα αὐτοχειρὶ διεχρήσατο· ἐξ ὧν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀχθόμενοι τῷ σκυθρωπῷ τοῦ Πετρηίου, ἐς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐτρέποντο ταῖς γνώμαις. ἐπεὶ δέ που καὶ τὴν ὑδρείαν αὐτῶν προύλαβεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ γενόμενος ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς λόγους τῷ Καίσαρι συνῆει μετὰ Ἀφρανίου, ἐφορώντων αὐτοὺς τῶν στρατῶν ἑκατέρωθεν. καὶ συνέβησαν ὁ μὲν ἐκστῆναι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καίσαρι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοὺς ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Οὐᾶρον ποταμὸν διαγαγεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε χωροῦντας ἐς Πομπήιον ἐᾶν. γενόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ συνήγαγεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐπήκοον, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἔκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ ἐδημηγόρησεν ὧδε· "ὑμῶν, ὦ πολέμιοι (τῷδε γὰρ ἔτι τῷ ῥήματι χρώμενος ἐναργεστέραν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην ποιήσω), οὔτε τοὺς προπεμφθέντας ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἳ σφᾶς ἐμοὶ παρέδοσαν,

that had been sent forward to capture his camp. They raised their shields over their heads in token of surrender, but Caesar neither captured nor slaughtered them, but allowed them to go back to Afranius unharmed, after his usual manner of winning the favour of his enemies. Hence it came to pass that there was continual intercourse between the camps and talk of reconciliation among the rank and file. CHAP. VI

43. To Afranius and some of the other officers it now seemed best to abandon Spain to Caesar, provided they could go unharmed to Pompey. Petreius opposed this and ran through the camp killing those of Caesar's men whom he found holding communication with his own. He even slew with his own hand one of his officers who tried to restrain him. Moved by these acts of severity on the part of Petreius, the minds of the soldiers were still more attracted to the clemency of Caesar. Soon afterward Caesar managed to cut off the enemy's access to water, and Petreius was compelled by necessity to come with Afranius to a conference with Caesar between the two armies. Here it was agreed that they should abandon Spain to Caesar, and that he should conduct them unharmed to the other side of the river Varus and allow them to proceed thence to Pompey. Arrived at this stream, Caesar called a meeting of all those who were from Rome or Italy and addressed them as follows: "My enemies (for by still using this term I shall make my meaning clearer to you), I did not destroy those of you who surrendered to me when you had been

CAP. VI διέφθειρα οὔτε τὸν ἄλλον ὑμῶν στρατόν, λαβὼν τὰ ὑδρεύματα, Πετρηίου ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Σίκοριν ποταμὸν ἀποληφθέντας προανελόντος. εἰ δή τις ἔστι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τούτων χάρις, φράζετε αὐτὰ τοῖς Πομπηίου στρατιώταις ἅπασι." τοσάδε εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀπέλυεν ἀπαθεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπέφαινεν ἡγεῖσθαι Κάσσιον Κόιντον.

VII

CAP. VII Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα· 44. Λιβύης δὲ Οὐᾶρος Ἄττιος ἐστρατήγει τῷ Πομπηίῳ, καὶ Ἰόβας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων Νομάδων βασιλεὺς τῷ Οὐάρῳ συνεμάχει, Κουρίων δ' ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπέπλει δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ δυώδεκα μακραῖς καὶ ὁλκάσι πολλαῖς. Ἰτύκῃ δὲ προσσχὼν ἐν μέν τινι βραχείᾳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἱππομαχίᾳ τρέπεταί τινας τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔτι οὔσης αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπέστη προσαγορευθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ τιμὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τόδε τὸ προσαγόρευμα παρὰ τῶν στρατῶν, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρούντων ἀξίως σφῶν αὐτοκράτορας εἶναι· καὶ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔργοις προσίεντο, νῦν δ' ὅρον εἶναι τῇδε τῇ εὐφημίᾳ πυνθάνομαι τὸ μυρίους πεσεῖν. ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ πλέοντος ἐκ Σικελίας, οἱ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. νομίσαντες αὐτὸν διὰ δοξοκοπίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν χάρακα τὸν Σκιπίωνος κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλουργίας στρατο-

sent to seize my camp, nor the rest of your army when I had cut you off from water, although Petreius had previously slaughtered those of my men who were intercepted on the other side of the river Sicoris. If there is any gratitude among you for these favours tell them to all of Pompey's soldiers." After speaking thus he dismissed them uninjured, and he appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain. CHAP. VI

VII

THESE were the operations of Caesar. 44. Meanwhile in Africa Attius Varus commanded the Pompeian forces, and Juba, king of the Numidians, was in alliance with him. Curio sailed from Sicily against them in behalf of Caesar with two legions, twelve war vessels, and a number of ships of burden. He landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as Imperator by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands. This title is an honour conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders. In the olden times the generals accepted this honour only for the greatest exploits. At present I understand that the distinction is limited to cases where at least 10,000 of the enemy have been killed. While Curio was crossing from Sicily the inhabitants of Africa, thinking that, in emulation of the glory of Scipio, he would establish his quarters near the camp of the latter, CHAP. VII

Campaign of Curio in Africa

CAP. VII

πεδεύσειν, τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφάρμαξαν. καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ διήμαρτον· ὅ τε γὰρ Κουρίων ἐστάθμευσεν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐνόσει, πιοῦσί τε τὸ βλέμμα ἀμαυρὸν ἦν ὥσπερ ἐν ὁμίχλῃ, καὶ ὕπνος ἐπεγίγνετο σὺν κάρῳ, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἔμετοι τροφῆς ποικίλοι καὶ σπασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος. ὧν δὴ χάριν ὁ Κουρίων παρ' αὐτὴν Ἰτύκην μετεστρατοπέδευε, δι' ἕλους ἰσχυροῦ τε καὶ μακροῦ τὸν στρατόν, ἀσθενῆ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν γεγονότα, ἄγων. ὡς δέ σφισιν ἡ νίκη Καίσαρος ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπηγγέλθη, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ παρετάξαντο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν βραχεῖ χωρίῳ. μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς γενομένης Κουρίωνος μὲν εἷς ἀνὴρ ἔπεσεν, Οὐάρου δὲ ἑξακόσιοι, καὶ κατετρώθησαν ἔτι πλείονες.

45. Ἰόβα δ' ἐπιόντος δόξα ψευδὴς προεπήδησεν, ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν οὐ πολὺ διεστῶτα ὑπεστροφέναι τὸν Ἰόβαν, πορθουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων, Σαβούρραν στρατηγὸν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταλιπόντα. καὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ πίσυνος ὁ Κουρίων θέρους θερμοῦ περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἡμέρας ἦγε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβούρραν, ὁδὸν ψαμμώδη καὶ ἄνυδρον· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ νᾶμα χειμέριον ἦν, ἐξήραντο ὑπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπό τε Σαβούρρα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρόντος κατείχετο τοῦ βασιλέως. σφαλεὶς οὖν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Κουρίων ἐς λόφους ἀνέδραμεν ὑπό τε καμάτου καὶ πνίγους καὶ δίψης ἐνοχλούμενος. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν κατεῖδον οὕτως ἔχοντα οἱ πολέμιοι, τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέρων ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι· καὶ ὁ Κουρίων κατέβαινεν ἀφρόνως μάλα καὶ κατα-

poisoned the water in the neighbourhood. Their expectation was fulfilled. Curio encamped there and his army immediately fell sick. When they drank the water their eyesight became dim as in a mist, and sleep with torpor ensued, and after that frequent vomiting and spasms of the whole body. For this reason Curio changed his camp to the neighbourhood of Utica itself, leading his enfeebled army through an extensive marshy region. But when they received the news of Caesar's victory in Spain they took courage and put themselves in order of battle in a narrow space along the seashore. Here a severe battle was fought in which Curio lost only one man, while Varus lost 600 killed, besides a still larger number wounded. CHAP. VII

45. Meantime, while Juba was advancing, a false report preceded him, that he had turned back at the river Bagradas, which was not far distant, because his kingdom had been invaded by his neighbours, and that he had left Saburra, his general, with a small force at the river. Curio believed this report and about the third hour of a hot summer day led the greater part of his army against Saburra by a sandy road destitute of water; for even if there were any streams there in winter they were dried up by the heat of the sun. He found the river in possession of Saburra and of the king himself. Disappointed in his expectation Curio retreated to some hills, oppressed by fatigue, heat, and thirst. When the enemy beheld him in this condition they crossed the river prepared for fight. Curio despised the danger and very imprudently led his enfeebled army down to the plain,

CAP. VII φρονητικῶς, ἀσθενῆ τὸν στρατὸν ἄγων. κυκλωσαμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέων ἐπὶ μέν τινα χρόνον ὑπεχώρει καὶ ἐς βραχὺ συνεστέλλετο, ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ἀνέφευγεν αὖθις ἐς τοὺς λόφους. Ἀσίνιος μὲν δὴ Πολλίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ κακοῦ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰτύκῃ στρατόπεδον σὺν ὀλίγοις, μή τις ἐξ Οὐάρου γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἐνταῦθα κακοπραγίας ἐπίθεσις· Κυρίων δὲ φιλοκινδύνως μαχόμενος σὺν ἅπασι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔπεσεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ Πολλίωνι μηδένα ἄλλον ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς Ἰτύκην.

46. Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν μάχης ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Κυρίωνος ἀποτμηθεῖσα ἐς Ἰόβαν ἐφέρετο· ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ κακοῦ φανεροῦ γενομένου, Φλάμμας μὲν ὁ ναύαρχος αὐτίκα ἔφευγεν αὐτῷ στόλῳ, πρίν τινα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, Ἀσίνιος δ' ἐς τοὺς παρορμοῦντας ἐμπόρους ἀκατίῳ διαπλεύσας ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν ἐπιπλεῦσαί τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν. καί τινες ἐς τοῦτο νυκτὸς ἐπέπλευσαν, ἀθρόων δ' ἐσβαινόντων ἐκείνων τά τε σκάφη κατεδύετο, καὶ τῶν ἀναχθέντων οἱ ἔμποροι τοὺς πολλοὺς χρήματα φέροντας ἕνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐρρίπτουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἀναχθέντας, ἕτερα δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ, νυκτὸς ἔτι, περὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐγίγνετο ὅμοια. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οἱ μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰόβας ἐπελθὼν περιέστησεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ὡς λείψανα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νίκης κατηκόντισεν, οὐδέν τι φροντίσας οὐδὲ Οὐάρου παρακαλοῦντος. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ σὺν Κυρίωνι ἐς Αιβύην ἐπιπλεύσαντα Ῥωμαίων

where he was surrounded by the Numidian horse. Here for some time he sustained the attack by retiring slowly and drawing his men together into a small space, but being much distressed he retreated again to the hills. Asinius Pollio, at the beginning of the trouble, had retreated with a small force to the camp at Utica lest Varus should make an attack upon it as soon as he should hear the news of the disaster at the river. Curio perished fighting bravely, together with all his men, not one returning to Utica to join Pollio. CHAP. VII Curio defeated and killed His army destroyed

46. Such was the result of the battle at the river Bagradas. Curio's head was cut off and carried to Juba. As soon as the news of this disaster reached the camp at Utica, Flamma, the admiral, fled, fleet and all, not taking a single one of the land forces on board, but Pollio rowed out in a small boat to the merchant ships that were lying at anchor near by and besought them to come to the shore and take the army on board. Some of them did so by night, but the soldiers came aboard in such crowds that some of the small boats were sunk. Of those who were carried out to sea, and who had money with them, many were thrown overboard by the merchants for the sake of the money. So much for those who put to sea, but similar calamities, while it was still night, befell those who remained on shore. At daybreak they surrendered themselves to Varus, but Juba came up and, having collected them under the walls, put them all to the sword, claiming that they were the remainder of his victory, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of even Varus himself. Thus the two Roman legions that sailed to Africa with

CAP. VII δύο τέλη διώλετο ἅπαντα καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἱππέες τε καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ στρατοῦ· Ἰόβας δ' ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀνέστρεφε, μέγιστον ἔργον τόδε Πομπηίῳ καταλογιζόμενος.

47. Καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀντώνιός τε περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα ἠττᾶτο ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίου κατὰ Δολοβέλλα Πομπηίῳ στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ στρατιὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλη περὶ Πλακεντίαν στασιάσασα τῶν ἀρχόντων κατεβόησεν, ὡς ἔν τε τῇ στρατείᾳ βραδύνοντες καὶ τὰς πέντε μνᾶς οὐ λαβόντες, ἥν τινα δωρεὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι περὶ Βρεντέσιον ὑπέσχητο. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυθόμενος ἐκ Μασσαλίας ἐς Πλακεντίαν ἠπείγετο συντόμως καὶ ἐς ἔτι στασιάζοντας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε· "τάχει μὲν ὅσῳ περὶ ἕκαστα χρῶμαι, σύνιστέ μοι· βραδύνει δ' ὁ πόλεμος οὐ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντας ἡμᾶς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἔν τε Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς ὀνάμενοι καὶ ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὅλον, οὐκ ἐς μέρος αὐτοῦ μοι συνομόσαντες ἐν μέσοις ἔργοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολείπετε καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπανίστασθε καὶ προστάττειν ἀξιοῦτε, παρ' ὧν χρὴ προστάγματα λαμβάνειν. μαρτυράμενος οὖν ἐμαυτὸν τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς μέχρι δεῦρο φιλοτιμίας χρήσομαι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ ἑνάτου τέλους, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα τῆς στάσεως κατῆρξε, τὸ δέκατον διακληρώσω θανεῖν." θρήνου δὲ ἀθρόως ἐξ ἅπαντος τοῦ τέλους γενομένου, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ προσπεσόντες ἱκέτευον, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ μόλις τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδοὺς ἐς τοσοῦτον ὅμως ὑφῆκεν, ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μόνους, οἳ κατάρξαι μάλιστα ἐδόκουν, διακληρῶ-

Curio were totally destroyed, together with the cavalry, the light-armed troops, and the servants belonging to the army. Juba, after vaunting his great exploit to Pompey, returned home. CHAP. VII

47. About this time Antonius was defeated in Illyria by Pompey's lieutenant against Dolabella,[1] Octavius, and another army of Caesar mutinied at Placentia, crying out against their officers for prolonging the war and not paying them the five minae that Caesar had promised them as a donative while they were still at Brundusium. When Caesar heard of this he flew from Massilia to Placentia and coming before the soldiers, who were still in a state of mutiny, addressed them as follows: "You know what kind of speed I use in everything I undertake. This war is not prolonged by us, but by the enemy, who keep retiring from us. You reaped great advantages from my command in Gaul, and you took an oath to me for the whole of this war and not for a part only; and now you abandon us in the midst of our labours, you revolt against your officers, you propose to give orders to those from whom you are bound to receive orders. Being myself the witness of my liberality to you heretofore I shall now execute the law of our country by decimating the ninth legion, where this mutiny began." Straightway a cry went up from the whole legion, and the officers threw themselves at Caesar's feet in supplication. Caesar yielded little by little and so far remitted the punishment as to designate 120 only (who seemed to have been the leaders Mutiny in Caesar's army at Placentia

[1] The Greek text is conjectural.

CAP. VII

σαι καὶ δυώδεκα αὐτῶν τοὺς λαχόντας ἀνελεῖν. τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα τῶνδε ἐφάνη τις οὐδ' ἐπιδημῶν, ὅτε ἡ στάσις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐμφήναντα λοχαγὸν ἔκτεινεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

48. Ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πλακεντίαν στάσις οὕτως ἐλέλυτο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην παρῆλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος πεφρικὼς ᾑρεῖτο δικτάτορα, οὔτε τι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης οὔτε προχειροτονοῦντος ἄρχοντος. ὁ δέ, εἴτε παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπίφθονον εἴτε οὐ χρήζων, ἄρξας ἐπὶ ἔνδεκα μόνας ἡμέρας (ὧδε γάρ τισι δοκεῖ) ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ Πούπλιον Ἰσαυρικόν. ἡγεμόνας τε ἐς τὰ ἔθνη περιέπεμπεν ἢ ἐνήλλαττεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλέγων, ἐς μὲν Ἰβηρίαν Μᾶρκον Λέπιδον, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν Αὖλον Ἀλβῖνον, ἐς δὲ Σαρδὼ Σέξστον Πεδουκαῖον, ἐς δὲ τὴν νεόληπτον Γαλατίαν Δέκμον Βροῦτον. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ λιμώττοντι σῖτον ἐπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας δεομένῳ καταγαγεῖν συνεχώρησε, χωρὶς Μίλωνος. αἰτοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς διά τε πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶνδε τοῖς πιπρασκομένοις ἐποῦσαν εὐωνίαν, τὰς μὲν ἀποκοπὰς οὐκ ἔδωκε, τιμητὰς δὲ τῶν ὠνίων ἀπέφηνεν, ὧν ἔδει τοὺς χρήστας τοῖς δανείσασιν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων διδόναι. καὶ τάδε πράξας περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς περιέπεμπε τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντᾶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτός τε ἐξῄει Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα τὴν νουμηνίαν τοῦ ἔτους πλησιάζουσαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἵπετο παρακαλῶν συμβῆναι Πομπηίῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέψεσθαι.

of the revolt), and chose twelve of these by lot to be put to death. One of the twelve proved that he was absent when the conspiracy was formed, and Caesar put to death in his stead the centurion who had accused him. CHAP. VII

48. After thus quelling the mutiny at Placentia Caesar proceeded to Rome, where the trembling people chose him dictator without any decree of the Senate and without the intervention of a magistrate. But he, either deprecating the office as likely to prove invidious or not desiring it, after holding it only eleven days (as some say) designated himself and Publius Isauricus as consuls. He appointed or changed the governors of provinces according to his own pleasure. He assigned Marcus Lepidus to Spain, Aulus Albinus to Sicily, Sextus Peducaeus to Sardinia, and Decimus Brutus to the newly acquired Gaul. He distributed corn to the starving people and at their petition he allowed the return of all exiles except Milo. When he was asked to decree an abolition of debts, on the ground that the wars and seditions had caused a fall of prices, he refused it, but appointed appraisers of saleable goods which debtors might give to their creditors instead of money. When this had been done, about the winter solstice, he sent for his whole army to rendezvous at Brundusium and he himself took his departure in the month of December, according to the Roman calendar, not waiting for the beginning of his consulship on the calends of the new year, which was close at hand. The people followed him to the city gates, urging him to come to an arrangement with Pompey, for it was evident that whichever of the two should conquer would assume sovereign power. Brief dictatorship of Caesar

VIII

CAP. VIII

49. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥδευεν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων δυνατῆς ἐπείξεως, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ναῦς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ στρατὸν αἰεὶ πλείονα καὶ χρήματα συνῆγε καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ Καίσαρος τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἑλὼν ἐφύλασσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν διάπλουν τόν τε στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, συντρέχων καὶ συνιππεύων καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχων πόνου παρ' ἡλικίαν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως εὔνοιά τε ἦν, καὶ συνέθεον ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια Πομπηίου πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ θεάν. ἦν δ' ἐς τότε Καίσαρι μὲν δέκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἱππέες μύριοι, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πέντε μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, μεθ' ὧν τὸν Ἰόνιον διεπεπλεύκει, καὶ τούτοις ὅσοι συνετάσσοντο ἱππέες, ἐκ δὲ Παρθυαίων δύο, τῶν σὺν Κράσσῳ πεπολεμηκότων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, . . . καί τι μέρος ἄλλο τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐσβαλόντων μετὰ Γαβινίου, σύμπαντα ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν ἕνδεκα τέλη καὶ ἱππέες ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑπτακισχιλίους. σύμμαχοι δ' ἐξ Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Βοιωτίας τοξόται τε Κρῆτες καὶ σφενδονῆται Θρᾷκες καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὸν Πόντον βέλεσι χρῶνται, ἱππέες τέ τινες Κελτῶν καὶ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἕτεροι τῆς ἑῴας Κομμαγηνοί τε ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου πεμφθέντες καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας τινὲς καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι. ὧν οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐς μάχας, ἀλλ' ἐς φρούρια καὶ ταφρείας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ στρατοῦ χρῆσθαι διενοεῖτο, ἵνα μηδένα τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοῦ

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Pompey's forces

49. Caesar departed on his journey and travelled with all possible speed, but in the meantime Pompey was using all diligence to build ships and collect additional forces of men and money. He captured forty of Caesar's ships in the Adriatic and guarded against his crossing. He disciplined his army and took part in the exercises of both infantry and cavalry, and was foremost in everything, notwithstanding his age. In this way he readily gained the good-will of his soldiers; and the people flocked to see Pompey's military drills as to a spectacle. Caesar at that time had ten legions of infantry and 10,000 Gallic horse. Pompey had five legions from Italy, with which he had crossed the Adriatic, and the cavalry belonging to them; also the two surviving legions that had served with Crassus in the Parthian war[1] and a certain part of those who had made the incursion into Egypt with Gabinius, making altogether eleven legions of Italian troops and about 7000 horse. He had auxiliaries also from Ionia, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Boeotia, Cretan archers, Thracian slingers, and Pontic javelin-throwers. He had also some Gallic horse and others from eastern Galatia, together with Commageneans sent by Antiochus, Cilicians, Cappadocians, some troops from Lesser Armenia, also Pamphylians and Pisidians. Pompey did not intend to use all these for fighting. Some were employed in garrison duty, in building fortifications, and in other service for the Italian soldiers, so that none of the latter should be

[1] There is a small gap in the text here.

CAP. VIII πολέμου περισπῴη. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πεζά, νῆες δὲ μακραὶ μὲν ἐντελεῖς τοῖς πληρώμασιν ἑξακόσιαι, καὶ τούτων ἐς ἑκατὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβατῶν, αἳ καὶ μάλιστα προύχειν ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ ὁλκάδων καὶ σκευοφόρων ἄλλο πλῆθος. ναύαρχοί τε πολλοὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μᾶρκος Βύβλος.

50. Ὡς δέ οἱ πάντα ἦν ἕτοιμα, συναγαγὼν ὅσοι τε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα ἐς ἐπήκοον, ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι πολεμοῦντες, οὐ τὰ οἰκήματα πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι νομίζοντες· καὶ τόδε πράξαντες ὀξέως αὐτὴν ἀνέλαβόν τε καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ἀπέφηναν· καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι Κελτῶν ἐπιόντων ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνεσώσατο ἐξ Ἀρδεατῶν Κάμιλλος ὁρμώμενος. πάντες τε οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὅπῃ ποτ' ἂν ὦσιν, ἡγοῦνται πατρίδα. ὃ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνθυμούμενοι δεῦρο διεπλεύσαμεν, οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρασκευασόμενοί τε καλῶς ἐνθάδε καὶ ἀμυνούμενοι τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῇ, διὰ δὲ τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἄφνω καταλαβόντα. ὃν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε εἶναι πολέμιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἡγεμόνας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑμέτερα περιπέμπει καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐφίστησι καὶ ἑτέρους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν· τοσῇδε

kept away from the battles. Such were Pompey's land forces. He had 600 war-ships perfectly equipped, of which about 100 were manned by Romans and were understood to be much superior to the rest. He also had a great number of transports and ships of burden. There were numerous naval commanders for the different divisions, and Marcus Bibulus had the chief command over all. CHAP. VIII

50. When all was in readiness Pompey called the senators, the knights, and the whole army to an assembly and addressed them as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the Athenians, too, abandoned their city for the sake of liberty when they were fighting against invasion, because they believed that it was not houses that made a city, but men[1]; and after they had done so they presently recovered it and made it more renowned than even before. So, too, our own ancestors abandoned the city when the Gauls invaded it, and Camillus hastened from Ardea and recovered it.[2] All men of sound mind think that their country is wherever they can preserve their liberty. Because we were thus minded we sailed hither, not as deserters of our native land, but in order to prepare ourselves to defend it gloriously against one who has long conspired against it, and, by means of bribe-takers, has at last seized Italy by a sudden invasion. You have decreed him a public enemy, yet he now sends governors to take charge of your provinces. He appoints others over the city and still others throughout Italy. With such audacity has he deprived the people of their own Pompey's speech to his army

[1] Herodotus viii. 41. The latter part of the sentence was a commonplace from Alcaeus downwards.

[2] B.C. 389 is a probable date.

CAP. VIII τόλμῃ τὸν δῆμον ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ εἰ τάδε πολεμῶν ἔτι καὶ δεδιὼς καὶ δίκην σὺν θεῷ δώσων ἐξεργάζεται, τί χρὴ νικήσαντα προσδοκᾶν ἐκλείψειν ὠμότητος ἢ βίας; καὶ τάδε πράττοντι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος σύνεισίν τινες ἐωνημένοι χρημάτων ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας Γαλατίας πεπόρισται, δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσονομίας αἱρούμενοι.

51. Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἐξέλιπον οὐδ' ἂν ἐκλίποιμι τὸν μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτην ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπιδίδωμι καί, εἴ τις ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη ἀηττήτῳ μέχρι νῦν γενομένῳ, καὶ τάδε μοι πάντα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὰ παρόντα συνενεγκεῖν εὔχομαι καὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι κινδυνευούσῃ καθὰ καὶ περικτωμένῃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αἴσιος. θαρρεῖν δὲ χρὴ τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦ πολέμου, καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἔχοντι φιλοτιμίαν ὑπὲρ πατρίου πολιτείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ, τῷ πλήθει τῆς παρασκευῆς τῷ τε νῦν ὄντι ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ τε ἀεὶ καὶ προσεσομένῳ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἔργων ἀψώμεθα. ὅσα γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω καὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον ἔθνη, πάντα, ἑλληνικά τε καὶ βάρβαρα, ἡμῖν σύνεστι· καὶ βασιλέες, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἐμοὶ φίλοι, στρατιὰν καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν χορηγοῦσιν. ἴτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἀξίως τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ὕβρεως μνημονεύοντες καὶ ὀξέως ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χωροῦντες."

government. If he does these things while the war is still raging and while he is apprehensive of the result and when we intend, with heaven's help, to bring him to punishment, what cruelty, what violence is he likely to abstain from if he wins the victory? And while he is doing these things against the fatherland certain men, who have been bought with money that he obtained from our province of Gaul, co-operate with him, choosing to be his slaves instead of his equals. CHAP. VIII

51. "I have not failed and I never will fail to fight with you and for you. I give you my services both as soldier and as general. If I have any experience in war, if it has been my good fortune to remain unvanquished to this day, I pray the gods to continue all these blessings in our present need, and that I may become a man of happy destiny for my country in her perils as I was in extending her dominion. Surely we may trust in the gods and in the righteousness of the war, which has for its noble and just object the defence of our country's constitution. In addition to this we may rely upon the magnitude of the preparations which we behold on land and sea, which are all the time growing and will be augmented still more as soon as we come into action. We may say that all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and barbarian, stand with us; and kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions, and other implements of war. Come to your task then with a spirit worthy of your country, of yourselves, and of me, mindful of the wrongs you have received from Caesar, and ready to obey my orders promptly."

CAP. VIII 52. Ὁ μὲν ὧδε εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἅπας καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολὺ καὶ γνωριμώτατον πλῆθος, εὐφήμουν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευον ἄγειν, ἐφ' ὅ τι χρήζοι. ὁ δέ (ἠγεῖτο γάρ, δυσχεροῦς ἔτι τῆς ὥρας οὔσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλιμένου, μετὰ χειμῶνα ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ὕπατόν τε ὄντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοσῷδε διαθήσεσθαι) τοῖς μὲν ναυάρχοις προσέταττεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς χειμασίαν ἐπιδιῄρει καὶ περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν.

Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν οὕτω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμελῶς ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὥς μοι προείρητο, περὶ χειμερίους τροπὰς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἠπείγετο, νομίζων τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ μάλιστα ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οὔτε δὲ ἀγορὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν οὔτε τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἠθροισμένον ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταλαβών, τοὺς παρόντας ὅμως ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν·

53. "Οὔτε τῆς ὥρας τὸ χειμέριον, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμοὶ συναίρεσθε, οὔθ' ἡ τῶν ἄλλων βραδυτὴς ἢ ἔνδεια τῆς πρεπούσης παρασκευῆς ἐφέξει με τῆς ὁρμῆς· ἀντὶ γὰρ πάντων ἡγοῦμαί μοι συνοίσειν τὴν ταχυεργίαν. καὶ πρώτους ἡμᾶς, οἳ πρῶτοι συνεδράμομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀξιῶ θεράποντας μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπολιπέσθαι, ἵνα ἡμᾶς αἱ παροῦσαι νῆες ὑποδέξωνται, μόνους δ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάντας περᾶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαλάθοιμεν, τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιθέντες, τῇ δ' ὀλιγότητι τόλμαν, τῇ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐπορίαν, ἧς ἔστιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ

CHAP. VIII

52. When Pompey had thus spoken the whole army, including the senators and a great many of the nobility who were with him, applauded him vociferously and told him to lead them to whatsoever task he would. Pompey thought that as the season was bad and the sea harbourless Caesar would not attempt to cross till the end of winter, but would be occupied in the meantime with his duties as consul. So he ordered his naval officers to keep watch over the sea, and then divided his army and sent it into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia.

Caesar at Brundusium

So heedlessly did Pompey form his judgment of what was about to take place. Caesar, as I have already said, hastened to Brundusium about the winter solstice, intending to strike terror into his enemies by taking them by surprise. Although he found neither provisions, nor apparatus, nor his whole army collected at Brundusium, he, nevertheless, called those who were present to an assembly and addressed them as follows:—

He addresses his soldiers

53. "Fellow soldiers—you who are joined with me in the greatest of undertakings—neither the winter weather, nor the delay of our comrades, nor the want of suitable preparation shall check my onset. I consider rapidity of movement the best substitute for all these things. I think that we who are first at the rendezvous should leave behind us here our servants, our pack-animals, and all our apparatus in order that the ships which are here may hold us, and that we should embark alone and cross over at once without the enemy's knowledge. Let us oppose our good fortune to the winter weather, our courage to the smallness of our numbers, and to our want of supplies the abundance of the enemy, which will be

CAP. VIII τὴν γῆν κρατεῖν, ἣν εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι μὴ κρατήσασιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἴδιον. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐπὶ θεράποντάς τε καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐκείνων, ἕως χειμάζουσιν ἐν ὑποστέγοις. ἴωμεν, ἕως Πομπήιος ἡγεῖται κἀμὲ χειμάζειν ἢ περὶ πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας ὑπατικὰς εἶναι. εἰδόσι δ' ὑμῖν ἐκφέρω δυνατώτατον ἐν πολέμοις ἔργον εἶναι τὸ ἀδόκητον· φιλότιμον δὲ καὶ πρώτιστον δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτίκα διωξομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆ τὰ ἐκεῖ προετοιμάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν καιρὸν πλεῖν ἂν ἢ λέγειν μᾶλλον ἐβουλόμην, ἵνα με Πομπήιος ἴδῃ, νομίζων ἔτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατίθεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον εὐπειθὲς εἰδὼς ὅμως ἀναμένω τὴν ἀπόκρισιν."

54. Ἀναβοήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὁρμῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἄγειν σφᾶς, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, πέντε πεζῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας λογάδας ἑξακοσίους. καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεσάλευε κλυδωνίου διαταράσσοντος. χειμέριοι δ' ἦσαν τροπαί, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄκοντα καὶ ἀσχάλλοντα κατεκώλυε, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρῖψαι. καὶ δύο τελῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ τάδε προσλαβὼν ἀνήγετο χειμῶνος ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων· αἳ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ νῆες ὀλίγαι μακραί, Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν ἐφρούρουν. ὑπὸ δὲ χειμώνων ἐς τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη περιαχθεὶς τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν περιέπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ' ᾔει νυκτὸς ἐπὶ πόλιν Ὤρικον διὰ τραχείας ἀτραποῦ καὶ στενῆς, ἐς μέρη πολλὰ διασπώμενος ὑπὸ

ours to take as soon as we touch the land, if we realize that unless we conquer nothing is our own. Let us go then and possess ourselves of their servants, their apparatus, their provisions, while they are spending the winter under cover. Let us go while Pompey thinks that I am spending my time in winter quarters also, or in processions and sacrifices appertaining to my consulship. It is needless to tell you that the most potent thing in war is unexpectedness. It will be glorious for us to carry off the first honours of the coming conflict and to make everything safe in advance yonder for those who will immediately follow us. For my part I would rather now be sailing than talking, so that I may come in Pompey's sight while he thinks me engaged in my official duties at Rome. I am certain that you agree with me, but yet I await your response." CHAP. VIII

54. The whole army cried out with enthusiasm that he should lead on. Caesar at once led, direct from the platform to the seashore, five legions of foot-soldiers and 600 chosen horse, but as a storm came up he was obliged to anchor off shore. It was now the winter solstice and the wind kept him back, chafing and disappointed, and held him in Brundusium until the first day of the new year. In the meantime two more legions arrived and Caesar embarked these also and started in the winter time on merchant ships, for he had only a few war-ships and these were guarding Sardinia and Sicily. The ships were driven by the winds to the Ceraunian Mountains and Caesar sent them back immediately to bring the rest of the army. He then marched by night against the town of Oricum by a rough and narrow path, with his force divided in several parts He sails for Epirus B.C. 48

CAP. VIII τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὡς εὐεπιχείρητος ἄν, εἴ τις ἤσθετο, γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἕω μόλις αὐτῷ συνήει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ φρούραρχος ὁ τῆς Ὠρίκου, τῶν ἔνδον αὐτῷ προειπόντων οὐ κωλύσειν ἐπιόντα Ῥωμαίων ὕπατον, τάς τε κλεῖς παρέδωκε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κατέμεινε τιμῆς ἀξιούμενος. Λουκρήτιος δὲ καὶ Μινούκιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ὠρίκου ναυσὶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μακραῖς Πομπηίῳ σῖτον ἐν πλοίοις φυλάσσοντες τά τε πλοῖα κατέδυσαν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὰ λάβοι, καὶ ἐς Δυρράχιον διέφυγον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὠρίκου Καῖσαρ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἠπείγετο· καὶ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν αὐτὸν δεχομένων, Σταβέριος ὁ φρούραρχος ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν.

55. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἁλίσας τον ἑαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἀνέμνησεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν τοῦ τε χειμῶνος σὺν τῇ τύχῃ περιγένοιντο καὶ θαλάσσης τοσῆσδε χωρὶς νεῶν κρατήσειαν Ὠρικόν τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀμαχεὶ λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοιεν, καθάπερ εἶπεν, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι Πομπηίου. "εἰ δὲ καὶ Δυρράχιον," ἔφη, "τὸ ταμιεῖον τῆς Πομπηίου παρασκευῆς προλάβοιμεν, ἔσται πάντα ἡμῖν, ἃ ἐκείνοις δι' ὅλου θέρους πεπονημένοις." τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἦγε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον αὐτοὺς ὁδὸν μακράν, οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαύων. Πομπήιος δὲ προμαθὼν ἀντιπαρώδευεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, σὺν ἐπείξει καὶ ὅδε πολλῇ, κόπτων τε τὴν ὕλην, ἣν παρώδευεν, ἵνα Καίσαρι δύσβατος εἴη, καὶ ποταμῶν γεφύρας διαιρῶν καὶ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πᾶσαν ἐμπιπράς,

on account of the difficulties of the road, so that if anyone had observed it he might have been easily beaten. With much trouble he got his detachments together about daylight and the commander of the garrison of Oricum, having been forbidden by the townsmen to oppose the entrance of a Roman consul, delivered the keys of the place to Caesar and remained with him in a position of honour. Lucretius and Minucius, who were on the other side of Oricum with eighteen war-ships guarding merchant ships loaded with corn for Pompey, sunk the latter to prevent them from falling into Caesar's hands, and fled to Dyrrachium. From Oricum Caesar hastened to Apollonia, the inhabitants of which received him. Straberius, the commander of the garrison, abandoned the city. CHAP. VIII

55. Caesar assembled his army and congratulated them on the success they had achieved by their rapid movement in mid-winter, on conquering such a sea without war-ships, on taking Oricum and Apollonia without a fight, and on capturing the enemy's supplies, as he had predicted, without Pompey's knowledge. "If we can anticipate him in reaching Dyrrachium, his military arsenal," he added, "we shall be in possession of all the things they have collected by the labours of a whole summer." After speaking thus he led his soldiers directly toward Dyrrachium over a long road, not stopping day or night. Pompey, being advised beforehand, marched toward the same place from Macedonia with extreme haste also, cutting down trees along the road, in order to obstruct Caesar's passage, destroying bridges, and setting fire to all the supplies he met with, considering it at the same time of the

He marches towards Dyrrachium

CAP. VIII ἐν μεγίστῳ, καθάπερ ἦν, καὶ ὅδε τιθέμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευὴν διαφυλάξαι. κονιορτὸν δ' ἡ πῦρ ἢ καπνὸν εἴ ποτε μακρόθεν ἴδοιεν αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, νομίζοντες εἶναι τὰ ἀλλήλων ἐφιλονίκουν ὡς ἐν ἀγῶνι δρόμου. καὶ οὔτε τροφῆ καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ὕπνῳ· ἔπειξις δ' ἦν καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ βοαὶ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ λαμπτῆρσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ὡς τῶν πολεμίων αἰεὶ πλησιαζόντων. ὑπὸ δὲ καμάτου τινὲς ἀπερρίπτουν, ἃ ἔφερον, ἢ ἐν φάραγξι διαλαθόντες ὑπελείποντο, τὴν αὐτίκα ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φόβου διαλλασσόμενοι.

56. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἑκατέρων κακοπαθούντων προύλαβεν ὅμως ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν. ναῦς τε ἐπιπέμψας Ὥρικον αὖθις εἶλε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκριβεστέραις φρουραῖς ἐφύλασσεν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν Ἄλωρα ποταμὸν ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσε. καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντες ἱππομάχουν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρη, ἀθρόοις δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, Πομπήιος μὲν ἔτι γυμνάζων τοὺς νεοστρατεύτους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς ἐκ Βρεντεσίου περιμένων. νομίσας δ' ἔαρος μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων διαπλέοντας οὐ λήσειν τὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου τριήρεις θαμινὰ ἐς φυλακὴν ἀναπλεούσας, χειμῶνος δ' εἰ παραβάλλοιντο, ναυλοχούντων ἐς νήσους τῶν πολεμίων, λαθεῖν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἴσως ἢ καὶ βιάσασθαι μεγέθει τε νεῶν καὶ πνεύματι, μετεπέμπετο κατὰ σπουδήν. οὐκ ἀναγομένων δ' ἐκείνων αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν ἐπὶ τὴν

greatest importance (as it was) to safeguard his own stores. If either army saw any dust, or fire, or smoke at a distance they thought it was caused by the other, and they strove like athletes in a race. They did not allow themselves time for food or sleep. All was haste and eagerness mingled with the shouts of guides who carried torches, causing tumult and fear as the hostile armies were ever drawing nearer and nearer to each other. Some of the soldiers from fatigue threw away their loads. Others hid themselves in ravines and were left behind, exchanging their fear of the enemy for the rest which the moment craved.

He encamps before it

56. In the midst of such distresses on either side Pompey arrived first at Dyrrachium and encamped near it. He sent a fleet and retook Oricum and kept the strictest watch on the sea. Caesar pitched his camp so that the river Alor [1] ran between himself and Pompey. By crossing the stream they had occasional cavalry skirmishes with each other, but the armies did not come to a general engagement, for Pompey was still exercising his new levies and Caesar waited for the forces left at Brundusium. The latter apprehended that if these should sail in merchant ships in the spring they would not escape Pompey's triremes, which would be patrolling the sea, as guard ships, in great numbers, but if they should cross in winter while the enemy were lying inside among the islands they might perhaps be unnoticed, or might force their way by the strength of the wind and the size of their ships. So he sent orders to them to hasten. As they did not start he

[1] Caesar and all other authorities say the river Apsus.

CAP. VIII στρατιὰν διαπλεῦσαι λαθών, ὡς οὔ τινος αὐτὴν ἄλλου ῥᾳδίως ἐπαξομένου. καὶ τὸ βούλευμα ἐπικρύψας ἔπεμπε τρεῖς θεράποντας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ δυώδεκα σταδίων ὄντα, οὗ κελήτιον ὀξὺ καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον ὡς δή τινι πεμπομένῳ πρὸς Καίσαρος ἔμελλον ἑτοιμάσειν.

IX

CAP. IX 57. Αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ διαίτης ὑπεχώρησε μὲν ὡς κάμνων τῷ σώματι, τοὺς φίλους ἔτι ἑστιᾶσθαι κελεύσας, ἐπιθέμενος δ' ἐσθῆτα ἰδιώτου καὶ ὀχήματος εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὡς ὅδε ὢν ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεσταλμένος· τά τε λοιπὰ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων προσέτασσεν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένος τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μάλιστα ἀγνοούμενος. χειμερίου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ὄντος θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευον οἱ θεράποντες τὸν κυβερνήτην ὡς τῷδε μάλιστα λησόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποταμὸν ὁ κυβερνήτης εἰρεσίᾳ βιαζόμενος ἔπλει· ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἡ θάλασσα σὺν κλυδωνίῳ καὶ πνεύματι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀνέκοπτεν, ὁ μὲν ἐπισπερχόντων αὐτὸν τῶν θεραπόντων ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὡς ἐς οὐδὲν προκόπτων ἀπέκαμνε καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀποκαλυψάμενος ἐνεβόησεν αὐτῷ· "θαρρῶν ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην." ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ἐρετῶν καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου προθυμία τε πᾶσιν ἐνίπιπτε καὶ ἡ ναῦς ὑπὸ βίας ἐξέπιπτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὸ πνεῦμα δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ κῦμα μετέωρον ἐς τὰς ὄχθας

decided to cross over secretly to that army, because no one else could bring them so easily. He concealed his intention and sent three servants to the river, a distance of twelve stades, to procure a fast-sailing boat with a first rate pilot, saying that it was for a messenger sent by Caesar. CHAP. VIII

IX

57. Rising from supper he pretended to be fatigued and told his friends to remain at the table. He put on the clothing of a private person, stepped into a carriage, and drove away to the ship, pretending to be the messenger sent by Caesar. He gave the rest of his orders through his servants and remained concealed by the darkness of the night and unrecognized. As there was a severe wind blowing the servants told the pilot to be of good courage and seize this opportunity to avoid the enemy who were in the neighbourhood. The pilot made his way down the river by rowing, but when they came toward the mouth they found it broken into surf by the wind and the sea. The pilot, urged by the servants, put forth all his efforts, but as he could make no progress fatigue and despair came upon him. Then Caesar threw off his disguise and called out to him, "Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Caesar and Caesar's fortunes." Both the rowers and the pilot were astounded and all took fresh courage and gained the mouth of the river, but the wind and waves violently tossed the ship high on towards the bank. As the dawn was near and they CHAP. IX

Caesar attempts to cross the Adriatic in a small boat

CAP. IX διερρίπτει, μέχρι πλησιαζούσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὡς ἐν φωτὶ κατάδηλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, τῷ δαιμονίῳ χαλεψάμενος ὡς φθονερῷ, ἐφῆκε τὴν ναῦν ἐπανιέναι.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ πνεύματι ταχεῖ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέπλει, 58. Καίσαρα δ' οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τῆς εὐτολμίας, οἱ δ' ἐπεμέμφοντο ὡς στρατιώτῃ πρέπον ἔργον εἰργασμένον, οὐ στρατηγῷ. ὁ δ' οὐκέτι λήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν Ποστούμιον ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξε διαπλεῦσαί τε καὶ φράσαι Γαβινίῳ τὸν στρατὸν εὐθὺς ἄγειν διὰ θαλάσσης· ἂν δ' ἀπειθῇ ταῦτα προστάσσειν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τρίτῳ μετὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον Καληνῷ. εἰ δ' οἱ τρεῖς ἀποκνοῖεν, ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸν ἐγέγραπτο ἄλλη, τὸν βουλόμενον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἔπεσθαι τῷ Ποστουμίῳ καὶ καταίρειν ἀναχθέντας ἐς χωρίον, ἐς ὅ τι ὁ ἄνεμος ἐκφέρῃ, μηδὲν τῶν νεῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ νεῶν χρῄζειν Καίσαρα, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν.

Οὕτω μὲν ἀντὶ λογισμῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποίθει τῇ τύχῃ. τάδε οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος ἐς μάχην διεσκευασμένος ἐπῄει. καὶ δύο αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐν μέσῳ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρευνωμένων, ᾗ μάλιστα εἴη διαβατός, τῶν τις Καίσαρος εἰς ἐπιδραμὼν τοὺς δύο ἀνεῖλε. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀνεζεύξεν, οὐκ αἴσιον τὸ συμβὰν ἡγούμενος. αἰτίαν δ' εἶχε παρὰ πᾶσι καιρὸν ἄριστον ἐκλιπεῖν.

59. Ποστούμιον δὲ διαπλεύσαντος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὁ μὲν Γαβίνιος οὐχ ὑποστὰς τὸ πρόσταγμα ἦγε τοὺς βουλομένους διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, οὐδαμοῦ διαναπαύων· καὶ ἀνηρέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἤνεγκεν

feared lest the enemy should discover them in the daylight, Caesar, blaming the ill-will of his evil genius, allowed the ship to return. So the ship sailed up the river with a strong wind. 58. Some of Caesar's friends were astonished at this act of bravery; while others blamed him, saying that it was a deed becoming a soldier but not a general. As Caesar saw that he could not conceal a second attempt he ordered Postumius to sail to Brundusium in his place and tell Gabinius to cross over with the army immediately, and if he did not obey, to give the same order to Antony, and if he failed then to give it to Calenus. Another letter was written to the whole army in case all three should hesitate, saying, "that everyone who was willing to do so should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place where the wind might carry them, and not to mind what happened to the ships, because Caesar did not want ships but men."

He sends for reinforcements

Thus did Caesar put his trust in fortune rather than in prudence. Pompey, in order to anticipate Caesar's reinforcements, made haste and led his army forward prepared for battle. While two of his soldiers were searching in midstream for the best place to cross the river, one of Caesar's men attacked and killed them both, whereupon Pompey drew back, as he considered this event inauspicious. All of his friends blamed him for missing this capital opportunity.

59. When Postumius arrived at Brundusium Gabinius did not obey the order, but led those who were willing to go with him by way of Illyria by forced marches. Almost all of them were destroyed by the Illyrians and Caesar was obliged to endure

Antony arrives with the remainder of the army

CAP. IX

ὑπ' ἀσχολίας. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβήσας Ἀπολλωνίαν μὲν παρέπλευσεν, ἱστίοις μεστοῖς ἐπιπνέοντος ἀνέμου· χαλάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἴκοσι τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, ἐπ' ἔρευναν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναχθεῖσαι, καθορῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐδίωκον. τοῖς δὲ ὡς ἐν γαλήνῃ δέος ἦν πολύ, μὴ σφᾶς ἀνατρήσειαν ἢ καταδύσειαν αἱ μακραὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις· καὶ τὰ εἰκότα παρεσκεύαζοντο, σφενδόναι τε ἠφίεντο ἤδη καὶ βέλη. καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος ἄφνω μείζων ἢ πρότερον ἐπέρραξεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις αὖθις ἱστίοις ἐξ ἀέλπτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδέχοντο καὶ διέπλεον ἀδεῶς· αἱ δ' ἀπελείποντο, ῥοθίῳ καὶ πνεύματι καὶ θαλάσσῃ κοίλῃ κακοπαθοῦσαι. καὶ μόλις ἐς ἀλίμενα καὶ πετρώδη διερρίφησαν, δύο τινὰς ἐς τέλμα τῶν Καίσαρος κατενεχθείσας ἑλοῦσαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐς τὸ καλούμενον Νυμφαῖον κατήχθη.

60. Καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς ἤδη παρῆν, παρῆν δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ. καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευον ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ λόφων ἐν φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, πεῖραί τε ἦσαν περὶ ἕκαστον φρούριον πυκναὶ περιταφρευόντων καὶ περιτειχιζόντων ἀλλήλους καὶ γιγνομένων ὁμοῦ καὶ ποιούντων ἐν ἀπόροις. ἐν δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς πείραις περί τι φρούριον ἡττωμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ λοχαγός, ᾧ Σκεῦας ὄνομα ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρῶν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐτρώθη βέλει καὶ προπηδήσας κατέσεισεν ὡς εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμενος. σιωπῆς δ' αὐτῷ γενομένης, Πομπηίου λοχαγὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδρίᾳ γνώριμον ἐκάλει· "σῷζε τὸν ὅμοιον

the outrage as he could not spare time for vengeance. Antony embarked the remainder of the army and sailed past Apollonia with a strong favouring wind. About noon the wind failed and twenty of Pompey's ships, that had put out to search the sea, discovered and pursued them. There was great fear on Caesar's vessels lest in this calm the warships of the enemy should ram them with their prows and sink them. They prepared themselves for battle and began to discharge stones and darts, when suddenly the wind sprang up stronger than before, filled their great sails unexpectedly, and enabled them to complete their voyage without fear. The pursuers were left behind and they suffered severely from the wind and waves in the narrow sea and were scattered along a harbourless and rocky coast. With difficulty they captured two of Caesar's ships that ran on a shoal. Antony brought the remainder to the port of Nymphaeum. CHAP. IX

Skirmishes at Dyrrachium

60. By this time Caesar had his whole army concentrated together and Pompey his. They encamped opposite each other on hills in numerous redoubts. There were frequent collisions around each of these redoubts while they were making lines of circumvallation and trying to cut off each other's supplies. In one of these fights in front of a redoubt Caesar's men were worsted, and a centurion, of the name of Scaeva, while performing many deeds of valour, was wounded in the eye with a dart. He advanced in front of his men beckoning with his hand as though he wished to say something. When silence was obtained he called out to one of Pompey's centurions, who was likewise distinguished for bravery, "Save your

CAP. IX σεαυτῷ, σῷζε τὸν φίλον καὶ πέμπε μοι τοὺς χειραγωγήσοντας, ἐπεὶ τέτρωμαι." προσδραμόντων δ' ὡς αὐτομολοῦντι δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν μὲν ἔφθασε κτείνας, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ὦμον ἀπέκοψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε ἔπρασσεν ἀπογιγνώσκων ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις αἰδὼς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ ὁρμὴ προσέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ φρούριον περιεσώθη, πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουράρχου Μινουκίου παθόντος, ᾧ γέ φασι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀναδέξασθαι βέλη, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἓξ τραύματα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὁμοίως ἐκκοπῆναι. τούτους μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀριστείοις πολλοῖς ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δ', ἐκ Δυρραχίου τινὸς αὐτῷ πρασσομένης προδοσίας, ἦκε μέν, ὡς συνέκειτο, νυκτὸς σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ πύλας καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος . . .

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐκ Συρίας ἦγε Πομπηίῳ Σκιπίων ὁ κηδεστής· καὶ αὐτῷ Γάιος Καλουίσιος περὶ Μακεδονίαν συμβαλὼν ἡττᾶτο, καὶ τέλος ἓν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη χωρὶς ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν.

61. Καίσαρι μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἦν ἐκ θαλάσσης διὰ Πομπήιον ναυκρατοῦντα· ἐλίμαινεν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόαν ἠρτοποίουν, αὐτόμολοί τε Πομπηίῳ τοιούσδε ἄρτους προσήνεγκαν ὡς εὐφρανοῦντες ἰδόντα." ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἥσθη, ἀλλ' εἶπεν, "οἵοις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα." ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τὸν στρατὸν ἅπαντα συνῆγεν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα Πομπήιον βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην· ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φρουρίων ἐκ τοῦδε κεκενωμένα προσλαβὼν ἡσύχαζε. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα

comrade, your friend, and send somebody to lead me by the hand, for I am wounded." Two soldiers advanced to him thinking that he was a deserter. One of these he killed before the stratagem was discovered and he shore off the shoulder of the other. This he did because he despaired of saving himself and his redoubt. His men, moved by shame at this act of self-devotion, rushed forward and saved the redoubt. Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scaeva, lost an eye. Caesar honoured them both with many military gifts. He himself, as an offer for the betrayal of the town had been made from Dyrrachium, went by agreement with a small force by night to the gates at the temple of Artemis. . . .[1] CHAP. IX

The same winter Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, advanced with another army from Syria. Caesar's general, Gaius Calvisius, had an engagement with him in Macedonia, was beaten, and lost a whole legion except 800 men.

61. As Caesar could obtain no supplies by sea, on account of Pompey's naval superiority, his army began to suffer famine and was compelled to make bread from roots. When deserters brought loaves of this kind to Pompey, thinking that he would be gladdened by the spectacle, he was not at all pleased, but said, "What wild beasts we are fighting with!" Then Caesar, compelled by necessity, drew his whole army together in order to force Pompey to fight even against his will. The latter occupied a number of the redoubts that Caesar had vacated Caesar attempts to surround Pompey

[1] There is a gap in the text at this place. The attempt failed, as we learn from Dio Cassius (xli. 50).

CAP. IX ἀνιαθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπετόλμησεν ἔργῳ δυσχερεῖ τε καὶ παραλόγῳ, πάντα Πομπήιου τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν ἀποτειχίσαι, ὡς μεγάλην, εἰ καὶ διαμάρτοι, δόξαν οἰσόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι· στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνεχείρει τοσῷδε ἔργῳ, Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸν ἀνταπετάφρευε καὶ ἀντῳκοδόμει· καὶ μάταια τὰ ἔργα ἀλλήλοις ἐποίουν. γίγνεται δ' αὐτοῖς ἀγὼν εἷς μέγας ἐν ᾧ Πομπήιος τρέπεταί τε τοὺς Καίσαρος πάνυ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας σημεῖά τε πολλὰ εἷλεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν αἰετόν, ὃ δὴ κυριώτατόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις, μόλις ἔφθασεν ὁ φέρων ὑπὲρ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς ἔνδον ῥῖψαι.

62. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέρωθεν ἦγεν ἄλλον στρατόν, οὕτω δή τι καὶ τοῦτον περίφοβον, ὡς Πομπηίου μακρόθεν ἐπιφανέντος μήτε στῆναι περὶ τὰς πύλας ὄντας ἤδη μήτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐν κόσμῳ μήτε πεισθῆναι τοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἕκαστον, ὅπῃ τύχοιεν, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ χωρὶς αἰδοῦς καὶ παραγγέλματος καὶ λογισμοῦ. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοὺς περιθέοντός τε καὶ σὺν ὀνείδει μακρὰν ἔτι τὸν Πομπήιον ὄντα ἐπεδεικνύοντος, καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὰ σημεῖα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ μόλις ὑπ' αἰδοῦς κατέκυπτον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄπρακτοι· τοσοῦτος αὐτοῖς τάραχος ἐνεπεπτώκει. εἷς δὲ καὶ στρέψας

and refused to move. Caesar was greatly vexed at this and ventured upon an extremely difficult and chimerical task; that is, to carry a line of circumvallation around the whole of Pompey's positions from sea to sea, thinking that even if he should fail he would acquire great renown from the boldness of the enterprise. The circuit was 1200 stades.[1] Caesar actually began this great work, but Pompey built a corresponding line of trench and rampart. Thus they parried each other's efforts. Nevertheless, they fought one great battle in which Pompey defeated Caesar in the most brilliant manner and pursued his men in headlong flight to his camp and took many of his standards. The eagle (the standard held in highest honour by the Romans) was saved with difficulty, the bearer having just time to throw it over the palisade to those within. CHAP. IX

Battle of Dyrrachium

62. After this remarkable defeat Caesar brought up other troops from another quarter, but these also fell into a panic even when they beheld Pompey still far distant. Although they were already close to the gates they would neither make a stand, nor enter in good order, nor obey the commands given to them, but all fled pell-mell without shame, without orders, without reason. Caesar ran among them and with reproaches showed them that Pompey was still far distant, yet under his very eye some threw down their standards and fled, while others bent their gaze upon the ground in shame and did nothing; so great consternation had befallen them. One of the standard bearers, with his standard reversed, dared

Caesar defeated twice

[1] The text here is probably corrupt. The distance mentioned is equal to 133 miles. Caesar (iii. 63) says that it was 17 miles; Florus (iv. 2) says 16 miles.

CAP. IX τὸ σημεῖον ἀνέτεινε τὸν οὐρίαχον ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Καίσαρος ὑπασπισταὶ κατέκοπτον, οἱ δ' ἐσελθόντες οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπήντων, ἀλλὰ μεθειμένα πάντα ἦν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ἀφύλακτον, ὥστε αὐτὸ δοκεῖ συνεσπεσὼν ἂν τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἑλεῖν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ πάντα ἐξεργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ Λαβιηνὸς αὐτόν, θεοῦ παράγοντος, ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔπειθε τραπῆναι· καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ὤκνησεν, ἢ τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἐνέδραν ὑφορώμενος ἢ ὡς ἤδη κεκριμένου τοῦ πολέμου καταφρονήσας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω τραπεὶς ἑτέρους τε ἔκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἔλαβεν ἐν ταῖς δύο μάχαις ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν καὶ δεύτερον τόνδε καιρὸν ἐντελοῦς ἔργου μεθῆκεν. ὃ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρά φασιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι σήμερον ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐξείργαστο τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ τὸν νικᾶν ἐπιστάμενον εἶχον.

X

CAP. X 63. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τήν τε νίκην ὑπερεπαίρων ἐπέστελλε βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος ἤλπιζε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μεταβαλεῖσθαι, λιμῷ τε πεπιεσμένον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης καταπεπληγμένον, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῦ, τὸ σφέτερον ἁμάρτημα φοβουμένους. οἱ δέ, θεοῦ σφᾶς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν ἄγοντος, τὸ ἁμάρτημα ᾐδοῦντο καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεμφομένου τε πράως καὶ συγγνώμην διδόντος

to thrust the end of it at Caesar himself, but the bodyguard cut him down. When the soldiers entered the camp they did not station any guards. All precautions were neglected and the fortification was left unprotected, so that it is probable that Pompey might then have captured it and brought the war to an end by that one engagement had not Labienus, in some heaven-sent lunacy, persuaded him to pursue the fugitives instead. Moreover Pompey himself hesitated, either because he suspected a stratagem when he saw the gates unguarded or because he contemptuously supposed the war already decided by this battle. So he turned against those outside of the camp and made a heavy slaughter and took twenty-eight standards in the two engagements of this day, but he here missed his second opportunity to give the finishing stroke to the war. It is reported that Caesar said, "The war would have been ended to-day in the enemy's favour if they had had a commander who knew how to make use of victory." CHAP. IX

X

63. Pompey sent letters to all the kings and cities magnifying his victory, and he expected that Caesar's army would come over to him directly, conceiving that it was oppressed by hunger and cast down by defeat, and especially the officers through fear of punishment for their base conduct in the battle. But the latter, as though some god had brought them to repentance, were ashamed of their baseness, and as Caesar chided them gently and granted them pardon, they became still more angry with them- CHAP. X

CAP. X

ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο καθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου μεταβολῆς ἐκέλευον τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ διακληρώσαντα αὐτοὺς τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἀναιρεῖν. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος μᾶλλον ἠδοῦντο καὶ συνεγίνωσκον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ σφῶν ἠδικῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς φέροντας τὰ σημεῖα κτείνειν ἐπεβόων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοί ποτε φυγόντες, εἰ μὴ τὰ σημεῖα προαπεστράφη. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἀνασχόμενος ὀλίγους μόλις ἐκόλασεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μετριοπάθειαν ὁρμὴ τοσήδε ἐνέπιπτεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἄγειν ἀξιοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἐνέκειντο σφόδρα προθύμως, παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι διορθώσεσθαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα νίκῃ καλῇ· κατά τε σφᾶς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἱλαδὸν κατὰ μέρη συνώμνυντο, ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, μὴ ἐπανήξειν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν.

64. Ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκάλουν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοιᾷδε μετανοίᾳ καὶ προθυμίᾳ στρατοῦ· ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος εἶπεν, ὅτι μετὰ βελτιόνων καιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄξει, καὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῆσδε τῆς προθυμίας διεκελεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι χρὴ καὶ τῶνδε προεξελεῖν τὸν φόβον τῆς ἥττης πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενόμενον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ φρόνημα ἀκμάζον προκαθελεῖν. ὁμολόγει τε μεταγιγνώσκειν πρὸς Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύσας, ἔνθα ἔστιν

Caesar encourages his men

selves and by a surprising revulsion of sentiment demanded that they should be decimated according to the traditional rule. When Caesar did not agree to this they were still more ashamed, and acknowledged that they had done him a wrong which he had little deserved at their hands. They cried out that he should at least put the standard-bearers to death because they themselves would never have run away unless the standards had first been turned backwards in flight. Caesar would not consent even to this, but he reluctantly punished a few. So great was the zeal excited among all by his moderation that they demanded to be led against the enemy immediately. They urged him vehemently, encouraging him and promising to wipe out their disgrace by a splendid victory. Of their own accord they visited each other in military order and took an oath by companies, under the eye of Caesar himself, that they would not leave the field of battle except as victors.[1]

64. Caesar's friends, therefore, urged him to avail himself of the army's repentance and eagerness promptly, but he said in the hearing of the host that he would take a better opportunity to lead them against the enemy, and he exhorted them to be mindful of their present zeal. He privately admonished his friends that it was necessary first for the soldiers to recover from the very great alarm of their recent defeat, and for the enemy to lose something of their present high confidence. He confessed also that he had made a mistake in encamping before Dyrrachium where Pompey had abundance of

[1] This agrees with the account given by Caesar himself of what took place in his camp after his defeat at Dyrrachium.

CAP. X ἡ παρασκευὴ πᾶσα Πομπηίῳ, δέον ἀποσπᾶν αὐτὸν ἑτέρωθι ἐς ὁμοίας ἀπορίας.

Καὶ τάδε εἰπὼν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν εὐθὺς μετῄει καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν νυκτὸς ὑπεχώρει λανθάνων· Γόμφους τε πόλιν μικρὰν οὐ δεχομένην αὐτὸν ἐξεῖλεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ στρατῷ διαρπάσαι. οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν, ὥστε δοκεῖ καὶ τότε ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν ἐργάσασθαί τι λαμπρόν, εἰ μὴ διώκειν ὅλως ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Καῖσαρ ἑπτὰ συντόνως ἡμέραις ὁδεύσας ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ Φάρσαλον. λέγεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Γόμφοις γενέσθαι παθήματα γενναῖα καὶ νεκροὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γερόντων ἐν ἰατρείῳ φανῆναι, κυλίκων αὐτοῖς παρακειμένων ἀτρώτοις, εἴκοσι μὲν ὡς ἐκ μέθης κατακεκλιμένους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἕνα δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου παρακαθεζόμενον οἷα ἰατρόν, ὃς τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖς ἄρα παρέσχε.

65. Πομπήιος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ἀναζεύξει βουλὴν προυτίθει. καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὸ ναυτικόν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πολὺ προῦχεν, ἐπιπέμπειν Καίσαρι καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἀλωμένῳ καὶ ἀπορουμένῳ, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν αὐτὸν Πομπήιον ἄγειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὔνουν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν οὖσαν καὶ πολεμίων ἔρημον, κρατυνάμενον δ' αὐτήν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐξ οἰκείας καὶ ἡγεμονίδος γῆς αὖθις ἐπιχειρεῖν Καίσαρι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἄριστα ἂν οἱ γενόμενα

supplies, whereas he ought to have drawn him to some place where he would be subject to the same scarcity as themselves. CHAP. X

He marches to Thessaly

After saying this he marched directly to Apollonia and from there to Thessaly, advancing by night in order to conceal his movements. The small town of Gomphi, to which he came, refused to open its gates to him, and he took it by storm and gave it over to his army to plunder. The soldiers, who had suffered much from hunger, ate immoderately and drank wine to excess, the Germans among them being especially ridiculous under the influence of drink, so that it seems probable that Pompey might have attacked them then and gained another victory had he not disdainfully neglected a close pursuit. After seven days of rapid marching Caesar encamped near Pharsalus. It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi, the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were found lying on the floor in an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, but that one of them was seated in a chair like a physician, and had no doubt dealt out poison to them.

Pompey encamps at Pharsalus

65. After Caesar had withdrawn Pompey called a council of war, at which Afranius advised that they should make use of their naval force, in which they were much superior, and being masters of the sea should harass Caesar, who was now wandering and destitute, and that Pompey himself should conduct his infantry with all haste to Italy, which was well disposed toward him and was now free from a hostile army. Having mastered it, together with Gaul and Spain, they could attack Caesar again from their own home, the seat of imperial power. Although this was

CAP. X παριδὼν ἐπείθετο τοῖς λέγουσιν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος στρατὸν μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἢ οὐ πολὺ σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τὸ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Δυρράχιον γενομένῃ νίκῃ· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αἴσχιστον εἶναι, καταλιπεῖν φεύγοντα Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἡττηθεῖσιν ὁμοίως τὸν νικῶντα φεύγειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῖσδε προσθέμενος αἰδοῖ μάλιστα τῶν ἐῴων ἐθνῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώντων καὶ φειδοῖ Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, μή τι περὶ Μακεδονίαν ὢν ἔτι πάθοι, μάλιστα δ' ἐς ἀγῶνα χρήσασθαι θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ διανοούμενος ἐπῆλθε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀλλήλων ἀπεῖχον.

66. Ἀγορὰ δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἦν πανταχόθεν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προδιώκηντο καὶ ὁδοὶ καὶ λιμένες καὶ φρούρια, ὡς ἔκ τε γῆς αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης πάντα ἄνεμον αὐτῷ φέρειν· Καίσαρ δὲ μόνον εἶχεν, ὅ τι μόλις εὕροι καὶ λάβοι κακοπαθῶν. καὶ οὐδ' ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπέλιπεν οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ σπουδῇ δαιμονίῳ συνενεχθῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὠρέγοντο καὶ ἡγοῦντο πολέμῳ μὲν εἶναι παρὰ πολὺ ἀμείνους νεοστρατεύτων ἔτι ὄντων δέκα ἔτεσιν ἠσκημένοι, εἰς δὲ ταφρείας ἢ περιτειχίσεις ἢ σιτολογίας ἐπιπόνους ἀσθενέστεροι διὰ γῆρας· ὅλως τε κάμνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει δρᾶν τι . . . μετ' ἀργίας ἢ λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι. ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος

the best possible advice Pompey disregarded it and allowed himself to be persuaded by those who said that Caesar's army would presently desert to him on account of hunger, or that there would not be much left of it anyway after the victory of Dyrrachium. They said it would be disgraceful to abandon the pursuit of Caesar when he was in flight, and for the victor to flee as though vanquished. Pompey sided with these advisers partly out of regard for the opinions of the eastern nations that were looking on, partly to prevent any harm befalling Lucius Scipio, who was still in Macedonia, but most of all because he thought that he ought to fight while his army was in high spirits. Accordingly he advanced and pitched his camp opposite to Caesar's near Pharsalus, so that they were separated from each other by a distance of thirty stades. CHAP. X

66. Pompey's supplies came from every quarter, for the roads, harbours, and strongholds had been so provided beforehand that food was brought to him at all times from the land, and every wind blew it to him from the sea. Caesar, on the other hand, had only what he could find with difficulty and seize by hard labour. Yet even so nobody deserted him, but all, by a kind of divine fury, longed to come to close quarters with the enemy. They considered that they, who had been trained in arms for ten years, were much superior to the new levies of Pompey in fighting, but that for digging ditches and building fortifications and for laborious foraging they were weaker by reason of their age. Tired as they were they altogether preferred to perform some deed of valour[1] rather than perish by hunger or inaction. Caesar short of supplies

[1] A few words are wanting in the Greek.

CAP. X αἰσθανόμενος ἐπικίνδυνον μὲν ἡγεῖτο γεγυμνασμένοις καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν αὐτῶν ἀνδράσι καὶ τύχῃ Καίσαρος λαμπρᾷ περὶ τῶν ὅλων συνενεχθῆναι δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου, δυνατώτερον δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον ἐκτρῦσαι ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτοὺς οὔτε γῆς εὐπόρου κρατοῦντας οὔτε θαλάσσῃ χρωμένους οὔτε ναῦς ἐς φυγὴν ταχεῖαν ἔχοντας.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ κρατίστῳ λογισμῷ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ἐς λοιμὸν ἐκ λιμοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφέρειν· 67. πολὺ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀπό τε τῆς βουλῆς ὁμοτίμων οἱ καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων οἱ διαφανέστατοι βασιλέες τε πολλοὶ καὶ δυνάσται, οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀπειρίας, οἱ δ' ἀμέτρως τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον εὐπραγήμασιν ἐπηρμένοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τῷ πλέονες εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ κάμνοντες ὅλως τῷ πολέμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ταχυτέραν μᾶλλον ἢ πρέπουσαν ἐπειγόμενοι γενέσθαι, πάντες ἐξώτρυνον αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐπιδεικνύοντες αἰεὶ τὸν Καίσαρα παρατάττοντά τε καὶ προκαλούμενον. ὁ δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τοῦδε αὐτοὺς ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι Καίσαρι μὲν τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, σφίσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὔκαιρον ἡσυχάζειν, ὅτι Καῖσαρ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπείγοιτο. ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ὑπό τε τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐπηρμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀμέτρως καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀξιώσεως αὐτὸν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς ἑκόντα βραδύνοντα, ἵν' ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτίμων τοσῶνδε ἄρχοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα τε βασιλέων καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καλούντων, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦρχεν, ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν

Pompey perceived this and considered it dangerous to risk everything on a single battle with disciplined and desperate men, and against the brilliant good fortune of Caesar. It would be easier and safer to reduce them by want as they controlled no fertile territory, and could get nothing by sea, and had no ships for rapid flight. CHAP. X

So on the most prudent calculation he decided to protract the war and drive the enemy from famine to plague, 67. but he was surrounded by a great number of senators, of equal rank with himself, by very distinguished knights, and by many kings and princes. Some of these, by reason of their inexperience in war, others because they were too much elated by the victory at Dyrrachium, others because they outnumbered the enemy, and others because they were quite tired of the war and preferred a quick decision rather than a sound one—all urged him to fight, pointing out to him that Caesar was always drawn up for battle and challenging him. Pompey endeavoured to shew them from this very fact that just as Caesar was compelled to do so by his want of supplies, so they had the more reason to remain quiet because Caesar was being driven on by necessity. Yet, harassed by the whole army, which was unduly puffed up by the victories at Dyrrachium, and by men of rank who accused him of being fond of power and of delaying purposely in order to prolong his authority over so many men of his own rank —and who for this reason called him derisively "king of kings" and "Agamemnon," because he also ruled over kings while the war lasted—he allowed himself to be moved from his own purpose and gave in to them, being even now under that same divine

Pompey prefers delay but is overruled by his council

CAP. X καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἤδη καὶ τἆλλα παρ' ὅλον τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. νωθής τε γὰρ καὶ βραδὺς παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν ἅπασι γεγονὼς παρεσκευάζετο ἄκων ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ κακῷ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτὸν ἀναπειθόντων.

68. Καίσαρι δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης τρία μὲν ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἐξῄει τέλη (τὸν γὰρ Πομπήιον ἐπαινῶν τῆς βραδυτῆτος καὶ οὐδαμοῦ νομίζων μεταθήσεσθαι τοῦ βουλεύματος περιέπεμπεν ἐπὶ σῖτον), πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἥσθη τε τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἣν εἴκαζεν ἠναγκάσθαι Πομπήιον ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τάχιστα ἀνεκάλει πάντα καὶ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. θυόμενός τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἄρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην (ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἴλου τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡγεῖτο εἶναι), νεών τε αὐτῇ νικηφόρῳ χαριστήριον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποιήσειν εὔχετο κατορθώσας. ὡς δὲ καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαπτὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβέσθη, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἔσεσθαί τι λαμπρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σβέσειν αὐτὸς ἐμπεσὼν τὰ Πομπηίου. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτός τινα τῶν ἱερείων ἐκφυγόντα οὐ συνελήφθη, καὶ μελισσῶν ἔσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ζῴου νωχελοῦς. μικρόν τε πρὸ ἕω πανικὸν ἐνέπεσεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ τόδε περιδραμὼν αὐτὸς καὶ καταστήσας ἀνεπαύετο σὺν ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ· περιεγειράντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, ὅναρ

infatuation which led him astray during the whole of this war. He had now become, contrary to his nature, sluggish and dilatory in all things, and he prepared for battle against his will, to his own hurt and that of the men who had persuaded him. CHAP. X

68. That same night three of Caesar's legions started out to forage; for Caesar himself approved Pompey's dilatory proceedings, and had no idea that he would change, and accordingly sent them out to procure food. When he perceived that the enemy was preparing to fight he was delighted at the pressure which he conjectured had been put upon Pompey by his army, and he recalled all of his forces at once and made preparations on his own side. He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Aeneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Caesar's camp to Pompey's, where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said that it signified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Caesar interpreted it as a meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the power of Pompey. When Pompey was sacrificing the same night some of the victims escaped and could not be caught, and a swarm of bees, torpid creatures, settled on the altar. Shortly before daylight a panic occurred in his army. He himself went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep, and when his friends aroused him he said that he had Prodigies before the battle

CAP. X

ἔφασκεν ἄρτι νεὼν ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθιεροῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ νικηφόρῳ.

69. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας πυθόμενοι ἥδοντο, καὶ τἄλλα ἀλόγως σὺν ὁρμῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐπὶ ἕτοιμον. ὧν γε πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς δάφναις ἀνέστεφον ἤδη, συμβόλῳ νίκης· καὶ οἱ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς δαῖτα λαμπροτάτην ἐπόρσυνον· εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐς ἀλλήλους ἤδη διήριζον. ἅπερ ὁ Πομπήιος οἷα πολέμων ἔμπειρος ἀπεστρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώπα δ' ὅμως ὑπὸ ὄκνου καὶ δέους, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. τοσοῦτον ἀνδρὶ μεγαλουργῷ καὶ παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον ἐς ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐτυχεστάτῳ γενομένῳ τὸ δύσθυμον ἐνεπεπτώκει, εἴτε ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κύβον ἐχώρει πλήθους ἀνδρῶν τοσῶνδε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐς τότε ἀηττήτου· εἴτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτὸν πλησιάζοντος ἤδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνετάρασσε, μέλλοντα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐκ δυναστείας τοσῆσδε ἀθρόως ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν εἰπὼν τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα, ὁπότερος ἂν ἐπικρατήσῃ, μεγάλων ἐς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξει κακῶν, παρέτασσεν ἐς τὴν μάχην· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν προπεσεῖν τινες ἐν

just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory.[1] CHAP. X

69. His friends and his whole army when they heard of this were delighted, being in ignorance of Caesar's vow, and in other respects too going to the battle in an unreasoning, a reckless, and contemptuous way as though it were already won. Many of them adorned their tents with laurel branches, the insignia of victory, and their slaves prepared a magnificent banquet for them. Some, too, of them began already to contend with each other for Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus. Pompey, being experienced in military affairs, turned away from these follies with concealed indignation, but he remained altogether silent through hesitancy and dread, as though he were no longer commander but under command, and as though he were doing everything under compulsion and against his judgment; so deep the dejection which had come over this man of great deeds (who, until this day, had been most fortunate in every undertaking), either because he had not carried his point in deciding what was the best course, and was about to cast the die involving the lives of so many men and also involving his own reputation as invincible; or because some presentiment of approaching evil troubled him, presaging his complete downfall that very day from a position of such vast power. Remarking merely to his friends that whichever should conquer, that day would be the beginning of great evils to the Romans for all future time, he began to make arrangements for the battle. In this remark some people thought his real intentions escaped him, involuntarily expressed in a moment of

[1] *Venus Victrix.*

CAP. X τῷ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἡγοῦντο οὐδ' ἂν Πομπήιον κρατήσαντα μεθεῖναι τὴν μοναρχίαν.

70. Στρατιὰ δ' ἦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πολλῶν ἀμφίλογα εἰπόντων ἑπομένῳ μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφουσι περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀνδρῶν, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαρροῦντες τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀναγράφουσιν ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ὀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσθήκην χώραν ἔχοντα, Καίσαρι μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις, καὶ τούτων ἱππέες ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους, Πομπηίῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον, καὶ τούτων ἱππέες ἐς ἑπτακισχιλίους. ὧδε μὲν τοῖς τὰ πιθανώτατα λέγουσι δοκεῖ μυριάδας ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν συμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐς μάχην· οἱ δ' ὀλιγωτέρους ἑξακισμυρίων φασίν, οἱ δ' ὑπερεπαίροντες τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι λέγουσι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἡμιόλιον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τριῶν νομίζουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ δύο τῷ Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι μέρη. τοσάδε μὲν ἀμφιγνοοῦσι περὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· ὅπως δ' οὖν εἶχε, τοῖσδε μάλιστα τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐθάρρει. τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ἦν Καίσαρι μὲν ἱππέες τε Κελτοὶ . . . καὶ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἀριθμὸς ἄλλος· Ἑλλήνων δ' ἐπέλταζον αὐτῷ Δόλοπες, Ἀκαρνᾶνες, Αἰτωλοί. τοσοίδε μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχουν, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἑῷα ἔθνη κατὰ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ πεζοί, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος Λάκωνες ὑπὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσι τασσόμενοι, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος καὶ Βοιωτοὶ μετ' αὐτῶν. ἐστράτευον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, κηρυξάντων μὲν αὐτοὺς

fear, and they inferred that even if Pompey had been victorious he would not have laid down the supreme power. CHAP. X

70. Since many writers differ as to Caesar's army, I shall follow the most credible Roman authorities, who give the most careful enumeration of the Italian soldiers, as the backbone of the army, but do not make much account of the allied forces or record them exactly, regarding them as mere foreigners and as contributing little to the issue of the day. The army, then, consisted of about 22,000 men and of these about 1000 were cavalry. Pompey had more than double that number, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. Some of the most trustworthy writers say that 70,000 Italian soldiers were engaged in this battle. Others give the smaller number, 60,000. Still others, grossly exaggerating, say 400,000. Of the whole number some say Pompey's forces were half as many again as Caesar's, others that they were two-thirds of the total number engaged. So much doubt is there as to the exact truth. However that may be, each of them placed his chief reliance on his Italian troops. In the way of allied forces Caesar had cavalry from both Cisalpine[1] and Transalpine Gaul, besides some light-armed Greeks, consisting of Dolopians, Acarnanians, and Aetolians. Such were Caesar's allies. Pompey had a great number from all the eastern nations, part horse, part foot. From Greece he had Lacedemonians marshalled by their own kings, and others from Peloponnesus and Boeotians with them. Athenians marched to his aid also, although proclamation had been made that The armies at Pharsalus

[1] This is the simplest way to fill up the slight lacuna in the Greek.

CAP. X

ἑκατέρων μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν Θεσμοφόρων, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἄρα τοῦ πολέμου τραπέντες ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιούμενοι.

71. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀλίγου πάντες, ὅσοι περιιόντι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, Θρᾷκές τε καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Ἴωνες, Λυδοί τε καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες, καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος καὶ Ἄραβες οἱ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Κύπριοί τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Κρῆτες σφενδονῆται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι νησιῶται. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ βασιλέες καὶ δυνάσται στρατὸν ἄγοντες, Δηιόταρος μὲν τετράρχης Γαλατῶν τῶν ἑῴων, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλεύς. Ἀρμενίους δὲ ἦγε τοὺς ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου στρατηγὸς Ταξίλης καὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην Μεγαβάτης, ὕπαρχος Ἀρταπάτου βασιλέως· ἄλλοι τε μικροὶ δυνάσται συνεπελαμβάνοντο τοῦ πόνου. λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νῆες ἑξήκοντα αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων, Κλεοπάτρας τε καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, παιδὸς ἔτι ὄντος. ἀλλ' αἵδε μὲν οὐ συνεμάχησαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἐν Κερκύρᾳ κατέμενε. καὶ δοκεῖ Πομπήιος τόδε μάλιστα ἀφρόνως ἐργάσασθαι, τῶν μὲν νεῶν καταφρονήσας, αἷς δὴ πολὺ προύχων ἐδύνατο πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐπακτὸν ἀγορὰν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ἀγῶνι πεζῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἀνδρά-

they, being consecrated to the Thesmophori, should do no harm to the army of either party.[1] Nevertheless, they wished to share in the glory of the war because this was a contest for the Roman leadership. CHAP. X

71. Besides the Greeks almost all the nations of the Levant sent aid to Pompey: Thracians, Hellespontines, Bithynians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Paphlagonians; Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, the Hebrews, and their neighbours the Arabs; Cyprians, Rhodians, Cretan slingers, and all the other islanders. Kings and princes were there leading their own troops: Deïotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Taxiles commanded the Armenians from the hither side of the Euphrates; those from the other side were led by Megabates, the lieutenant of King Artapates. Some other small princes took part with Pompey in the action. It was said that sixty ships from Egypt were contributed to him by the sovereigns of that country, Cleopatra and her brother, who was still a boy. But these did not take part in the battle, nor did any other naval force, but they remained idle at Corcyra. Pompey seems to have acted very foolishly in this respect both in disregarding the fleet, in which he excelled so greatly that he could have deprived the enemy of all the supplies brought to them from abroad, and in risking a battle on land

[1] A difficult passage, of which the above is the most likely interpretation. The *Thesmophori* were Demeter and Persephone, goddesses of tillage and the arts of civilization. Their festival was held yearly.

CAP. X

σιν ἐκ πόνου πολλοῦ μεγαλαύχοις τε καὶ θηριώδεσιν ἐς μάχας γενομένοις. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν αὐτοὺς φυλαξάμενον περὶ Δυρράχιον θεοβλάβεια δοκεῖ παραγαγεῖν, ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων ἥδε τῷ Καίσαρι γενομένη· διὰ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου κουφόνως μάλα ἐπήρθη, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφῶν κατεκράτησαν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀπειροπολέμως ἐτράποντο.

XI

CAP. XI

72. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὠκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν τῆσδε τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας· τότε δ' αὐτῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἑκάτερος συναγαγὼν ἐπώτρυνε, Πομπήιος μὲν τοιάδε λέγων· "ὑμεῖς, ὦ συστρατιῶται, στρατηγεῖτε τοῦ πόνου μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγεῖσθε· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ τὰ Καίσαρος ἐκτρύχειν ἔτι βουλομένου τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε προυκαλέσασθε. ὡς οὖν ἀγωνοθέται τῆς μάχης χρήσασθε μὲν ὡς ἐλάττοσι πολὺ πλείονες, καταφρονεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἡττημένων νενικηκότες καὶ γερόντων νέοι καὶ πολλὰ κεκμηκότων ἀκμῆτες ἄνδρες, οἷς ὑπάρχει δύναμις τοσήδε καὶ παρασκευὴ καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτὸ τῆς αἰτίας· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμεθα μετὰ νόμων καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς καὶ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ βουλῆς, τῶν δ' ἱππέων, πρὸς ἄνδρα ἕνα ληστεύοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἴτε οὖν, ὡς ἠξιοῦτε, μετ' ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐν ὄψει τιθέμενοι τήν τε φυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον γενομένην καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα μιᾶς ἡμέρας κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐλάβομεν."

with men exulting in their recent labours, and thirsting like tigers for blood. Although he had been on his guard against them at Dyrrachium, a certain spell seems to have come over him, most opportunely for Caesar, with the result that Pompey's army became light-headed to a degree, taking entire charge of its commander, and rushing into action in a most unworkmanlike way. CHAP. X

XI

72. Such was the ordering of divine Providence to usher in the universal imperial power of our own day. Each of the commanders assembled his soldiers and made an appeal to them. Pompey spoke as follows: "You, my fellow soldiers, are the leaders in this task rather than the led, for you urged on this engagement while I was still desirous of wearing Caesar out by hunger. Since, therefore, you are the marshalls of the lists of battle, conduct yourselves like those who are greatly superior in numbers. Despise the enemy as victors do the vanquished, as young men do the old, as fresh troops do those who are wearied with many toils. Fight like those who have the power and the means, and the consciousness of a good cause. We are contending for liberty and country. On our side are the laws and honourable fame, and this great number of senators and knights, against one man who is piratically seizing supreme power. Go forward then, as you have desired to do, with good hope, keeping in your mind's eye the flight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of their standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there." CHAP. XI

Speeches of the commanders

CAP. XI 73. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ὧδε ἔλεγεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοιάδε· "τὰ μὲν δυσχερέστερα ἤδη νενικήκαμεν, ὦ φίλοι· ἀντὶ γὰρ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπορίας ἀνδράσι μαχούμεθα· ἥδε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κρινεῖ πάντα. μέμνησθέ μοι τῆς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ὧν ἐφορῶντος ἐμοῦ συνώμνυσθε ἀλλήλοις, μὴ νικῶντες οὐδ' ἐπανήξειν. οἵδε εἰσίν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐφ' οὓς ἐξ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἤλθομεν· οἵδε οἱ περιφυγόντες ἡμᾶς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οἳ τοὺς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀθλοῦντας ἡμᾶς καὶ πολέμους τοσούσδε καὶ νίκας δυσαριθμήτους ἀνύσαντας καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν ἔθνη τετρακόσια περιποιήσαντας τῇ πατρίδι διέλυον ἀγεράστους ἄνευ θριάμβου τε καὶ δωρεᾶς, καὶ οὐδ' ἐς τὰ δίκαια αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ προκαλούμενος ἔπειθον οὐδὲ χάρισιν ἐξήνυον. ἴστε, οὓς μεθῆκα ἀπαθεῖς, ἐλπίσας ἡμῖν τι παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι δίκαιον. τῶνδε οὖν μοι τήμερον ἀθρόον ἀνενέγκατε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴ τι σύνιστέ μοι, κηδεμονίας ἢ πίστεως ἢ δωρεῶν μεγαλοφροσύνης.

74. "Ἔστι δὲ οὐ δυσχερὲς νεοστρατεύτων καὶ ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι πολυπόνους ἀγωνιστὰς περιγενέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐς ἀταξίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τραπέντων, ὃν ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι δεδιότα καὶ ἄκοντα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τύχῃ τε παρακμάζοντα ἤδη καὶ νωθῆ καὶ βραδὺν ἐς ἅπαντα γεγενημένον καὶ οὐδὲ στρατηγοῦντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενον. καὶ τάδε μοι περὶ μόνων ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μηδὲ φροντίζετε μηδ' ἐν λόγῳ

73. Such was Pompey's speech. Caesar addressed his men as follows: "My friends, we have already overcome our more formidable enemies, and are now about to encounter not hunger and want, but men. This day will decide everything. Remember what you promised me at Dyrrachium. Remember how you swore to each other in my presence that you would never leave the field except as conquerors. These men, fellow-soldiers, are the same that we have come to meet from the Pillars of Hercules, the same men who gave us the slip from Italy. They are the same who sought to disband us without honours, without a triumph, without rewards, after the toils and struggles of ten years, after we had finished those great wars, after innumerable victories, and after we had added 400 nations in Spain, Gaul, and Britain to our country's sway. I have not been able to prevail upon them by offering fair terms, nor to win them by benefits. Some, you know, I dismissed unharmed, hoping that we should obtain some justice from them. Recall all these facts to your minds to-day, and if you have any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith, and the generosity of my gifts to you. CHAP XI

74. "Nor is it difficult for hardy and veteran soldiers to overcome new recruits who are without experience in war, and who, moreover, like boys, spurn the rules of discipline and of obedience to their commander. I learn that he was afraid and unwilling to come to an engagement. His star has already passed its zenith; he has become slow and hesitating in all his acts, and no longer commands, but obeys the orders of others. I say these things of his Italian forces only. As for his allies, do not think about them, pay no attention to them, do not

CAP. XI

τίθεσθε μηδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλως ἐκείνοις. ἀνδράποδα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Σύρια καὶ Φρύγια καὶ Λύδια, φεύγειν αἰεὶ καὶ δουλεύειν ἕτοιμα· οἷς ἐγὼ σαφῶς οἶδα, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτίκα ὄψεσθε, οὐδὲ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν τάξιν ἐγγυῶντα πολέμου. ἔχεσθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων, κἂν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς τῶνδε μὲν ὡς συγγενῶν φειδώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶνδε κατάπληξιν ἐξεργάσασθε. πρὸ δὲ πάντων, ὡς ἂν εἰδείην ὑμᾶς ἔγωγε ὧν συνετίθεσθε μεμνημένους τε καὶ νίκην πάντως ἢ θάνατον αἱρουμένους, καθέλετέ μοι προϊόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τείχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔχωμεν, ἂν μὴ κρατῶμεν, ἴδωσι δ' ἡμᾶς ἀσταθμεύτους οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ συνῶσιν, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεῦσαι."

75. Ὁ μὲν τοσάδε εἰπὼν φυλακὴν ὅμως τῶν σκηνῶν κατέπεμπε δισχιλίους τοὺς πάνυ γέροντας· οἱ δ' ἐξιόντες τὸ τεῖχος ἤρειπον μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης καὶ ἐς τὴν τάφρον αὐτὸ ἐνεχώννυον. ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἡγουμένων τινῶν ἐς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς συσκευάζεσθαι, συνίει τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ ἔστενε καθ' αὑτόν, ὅτι χωροῦσιν ἐς χεῖρας θηρίοις, λιμὸν ἔχοντες, ἄξιον θηρίων φάρμακον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀναδῦναι ἔτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐπὶ ξυροῦ. διὸ δὴ καὶ τετρακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰταλῶν φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταλιπὼν παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιεκόσμει, τοὺς μὲν Ἰταλοὺς ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐς τρία

fight with them at all. They are Syrian, Phrygian, and Lydian slaves, always ready for flight or servitude. I know very well, and you will presently see, that Pompey himself will not entrust to them any place in the ranks of war. Give your attention to the Italians only, even though these allies come running around you like dogs trying to frighten you. When you have put the enemy to flight let us spare the Italians as being our own kindred, but slaughter the allies in order to strike terror into the others. Before all else, in order that I may know that you are mindful of your promise to choose victory or death, throw down the walls of your camp as you go out to battle and fill up the ditch, so that we may have no place of refuge if we do not conquer, and so that the enemy may see that we have no camp and know that we are compelled to encamp in theirs."

CHAP. XI

75. Nevertheless, after he had thus spoken Caesar detailed 2,000 of his oldest men to guard the tents. The rest, as they passed out, demolished their fortification in the profoundest silence and filled up the ditch with the debris. When Pompey saw this, although some of his friends thought that it was a preparation for flight, he knew it was an exhibition of daring, and groaned in spirit, to think that they were now coming to grips with wild beasts, although they had on their side famine, the best tamer of wild beasts. But there was no drawing back now, when things were balanced on the razor's edge. Wherefore, leaving 4,000 of his Italian troops to guard his camp, Pompey drew up the remainder between the city of Pharsalus and the river Enipeus opposite the place where Caesar was marshalling his forces. Each of them ranged his Italians in front,

Preparations for battle

CAP. XI διαιρῶν ἐπὶ μετώπου, μικρὸν ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπὶ τοῖς κέρασι τοῖς κατὰ μέρη τάσσων. τοξόται δὲ πᾶσιν ἀναμεμίχατο καὶ σφενδονῆται. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν οὕτω κεκόσμητο, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος ἐθάρρει· τὰ συμμαχικὰ δ' ἦγον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ὡς ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. πολύθρουν δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπηίου συμμαχικὸν καὶ πολύγλωσσον· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος Μακεδόνας μὲν καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδεξάμενος τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ σιωπῆς, παρεστήσατο τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Ἰταλικῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἴκαζεν, ἔξω τάξεως ἐκέλευσε κατὰ φυλὰς ἐφεδρεύοντας, ὅταν ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγὼν γένηται, κυκλοῦσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώκειν, ὅσα δύναιντο βλάπτοντας, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ Καίσαρος ἀχαράκωτον ὂν διαρπάζειν.

76. Ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὁ κηδεστὴς Σκιπίων ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ Δομίτιος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Λέντλος· Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττον. Καίσαρι δ' ἐστρατήγουν μὲν Σύλλας καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Δομίτιος, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως συνετάσσετο τῷ δεκάτῳ τέλει, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἰδόντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων, ἵνα πλέονες ὄντες, εἰ δυνηθεῖεν, κυκλώσαιντο. συνεὶς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τρισχιλίους εὐτολμοτάτους πεζοὺς ἐνήδρευσεν, οἷς ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αἴσθωνται τοὺς πολεμίους περιθέοντας, ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐσπηδῶντας ἀνίσχειν ὀρθὰ ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν

divided into three lines with a moderate space between them, and placed his cavalry on the wings of each division. Archers and slingers were mingled among all. Thus were the Italian troops disposed, on which each commander placed his chief reliance. The allied forces were marshalled by themselves rather for show than for use. There was much jargon and confusion of tongues among Pompey's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Boeotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behaviour. The rest, as Caesar had anticipated, he ordered to lie in wait by tribes outside of the line of battle, and when the engagement should become close to surround the enemy, to pursue, to do what damage they could, and to plunder Caesar's camp, which was without defences. CHAP. XI

76. The centre of Pompey's formation was commanded by his father-in-law, Scipio, the left wing by Domitius, and the right by Lentulus. Afranius and Pompey guarded the camp.[1] On Caesar's side the commanders were Sulla, Antony, and Domitius. Caesar took his place in the tenth legion, on the right wing, as was his custom. When the enemy saw this they transferred, to face that legion, the best of their horse, in order to surround it if they could, by their superiority of numbers. When Caesar perceived this movement he placed 3,000 of his bravest foot-soldiers in ambush and ordered them, when they should see the enemy trying to flank him, to rise, dart forward, and thrust their spears directly in the faces of the men because, as they were fresh and

[1] An error of some sort. Pompey commanded one wing in person.

CAP. XI ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ οἴσειν ἀπείρους καὶ νέους, ὡραΐζομένους ἔτι, τὸν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα κίνδυνον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμηχανῶντο καὶ περιῆσαν ἑκάστους, καθιστάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπείγοντα καὶ ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὰ συνθήματα ἀναδιδόντες, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ Ἀφροδίτην νικηφόρον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Ἡρακλέα ἀνίκητον.

77. Ὡς δὲ σφίσιν ἕτοιμα πάντα ἦν, ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ ὡς ἀνέμενον ἐν βαθείᾳ σιωπῇ, μέλλοντες ἔτι καὶ ὀκνοῦντες καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, ὁπότερος ἄρξει τῆς μάχης. τό τε γὰρ πλῆθος ὤκτειρον, οὐδενός πω τοσοῦδε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς ἕνα κίνδυνον συνελθόντος, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκκρίτων ὄντων ἑκατέρων ἠλέουν, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοιεν Ἰταλοὺς Ἰταλοῖς συμφερομένους. ἐγγύς τε τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένοις αὐτοῖς ἡ μὲν ἐκκαίουσα καὶ τυφλοῦσα πάντας φιλοτιμία ἐσβέννυτο καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς δέος, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἐκαθάρευε δοξοκοπίας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐμέτρει καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι περὶ πρωτείων δύο ἄνδρε ἐρίζοντε ἀλλήλοιν αὐτώ τε κινδυνεύετον ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, μηδ' ἐσχάτῳ πάντων ἡττηθέντε ἔτι εἶναι, καὶ τοσόνδε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν δι' αὐτούς. ἐσῄει δὲ σφᾶς, ὅτι φίλοι καὶ κηδεσταὶ τέως ὄντες καὶ πολλὰ συμπράξαντες ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν, ξίφη νῦν φέρουσι κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τοὺς ὑποστρατευομένους ἐς ὁμοίας ἀθεμιστίας ἄγουσιν, ὁμοεθνεῖς τε ὄντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολίτας καὶ φυλέτας καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐνέλειπεν ἐκείνῃ

inexperienced and still in the bloom of youth, they would not endure injury to their faces. Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful, exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Caesar's side was "Venus the Victorious," and on Pompey's "Hercules the Invincible." CHAP. XI

77. When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never before had such large Italian armies confronted the same danger together. They had pity for the valour of these men (the flower of both parties), especially because they saw Italians embattled against Italians. As the danger came nearer, the ambition that had inflamed and blinded them was extinguished, and gave place to fear. Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and laid bare the cause of the war, showing how two men contending with each other for supremacy were throwing into the scale their own lives and fortunes—for defeat would mean the lowest degradation—and those of so large a number of the noblest citizens. The leaders reflected also that they, who had lately been friends and relatives by marriage, and had co-operated with each other in many ways to gain rank and power, had now drawn the sword for mutual slaughter and were leading to the same impiety those serving under them, men of the same city, of the same tribe, blood relations, and in some cases brothers against brothers. Even these circumstances were

CAP. XI

τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τοσαῖσδε μυριάσιν ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔθνους ἐπ' ἀλλήλας ἰούσαις πολλὰ τὰ παράδοξα συνέπιπτεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος ἑκάτερος μετανοίας τε οὐ δυνατῆς ἔτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ ὡς ἐσόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἢ πρῶτος ἢ τελευταῖος ὤκνει τοσῆσδε ἀμφιβολίας ἄρξαι. καί φασιν αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον καὶ δακρῦσαι.

78. Μέλλουσι δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡ ἡμέρα προύκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν ἅπαν εὐσταθῶς ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἀκριβοῦς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ὁ Πομπήιος αὐτοῦ ταρασσόμενον ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως καὶ δείσας, μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀταξίας κατάρξειεν, ὑπεσήμαινε πρῶτος, καὶ ἀντήχησε Καῖσαρ, αὐτίκα δ' αἵ τε σάλπιγγες αὐτοὺς ἐξώτρυνον ὀρθίοις κλαγγαῖς ὡς ἐν τοσῷδε πλήθει πολλαὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέοντες ἤπειγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐπῄεσαν μετά τε θάμβους καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης ὡς πολλῶν ἀγώνων τοιῶνδε ἐμπειροπόλεμοι. πλησιάζουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἤδη τόξα καὶ λίθοι πρῶτον ἦν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων βραχὺ τὰ πεζὰ προλαβόντων πεῖραί τε καὶ ἐπελάσεις ἐπ' ἀλλήλους. καὶ προύχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸ δέκατον τέλος ἐκυκλοῦντο. Καίσαρος δὲ τὸ σημεῖον τοῖς ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἄραντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξαναστάντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἐχώρουν, ὀρθοῖς ἄνω τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τύπτοντες τοὺς ἐπικαθημένους, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τὴν ἀπόνοιαν οὔτε τὰς ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς πληγὰς ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πεζὸν

not wanting in this battle; because many unnatural things must happen when thousands of the same nation come together in the clash of arms. Reflecting on these things each of them was seized with unavailing repentance, and since this day was to decide for each whether he should be the highest or the lowest of the human race, they hesitated to begin so critical a battle. It is said that both of them even wept. CHAP XI

78. When they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he sounded the signal first and Caesar echoed it back. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among the divisions of so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. They all advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stupor and deepest silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements. And now, as they came nearer together, there was first a discharge of arrows and stones. Then, as the cavalry were a little in advance of the infantry, they charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to outflank the tenth legion. Caesar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush and these, starting up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry, and with spears elevated aimed at the faces of the riders, who could not endure the enemy's savagery, nor the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder. There-

CAP. XI εὐθὺς ἱππέων ἔρημον γενόμενον ἐκυκλοῦντο οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἱππέες, αὐτοὶ δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν.

79. Πομπήιος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε τοῖς πεζοῖς μήτ' ἐπεκθεῖν ἔτι μήτ' ἐκτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος μηδ' ἀκοντίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐν προβολῇ διαστάντας ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ χειρὸς τοῖς δόρασι τοὺς ἐπιόντας. καὶ τόδε τινὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατήγημα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὡς ἄριστον ἐν περικυκλώσει, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται· τάς τε γὰρ πληγὰς ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς εὐτονωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου προθυμοτέρους· ἑστῶτας δ' ἀποψύχεσθαί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέουσιν εὐβλήτους δι' ἀτρεμίαν οἷα σκοποὺς εἶναι. ὃ καὶ τότε γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τέλος σὺν αὐτῷ περιδραμεῖν τὰ λαιὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔρημα ἱππέων γενόμενα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐς τὰ πλευρὰ ἐσακοντίζειν, μέχρι θορυβουμένοις ἐμπεσόντας βίᾳ τρέψασθαι καὶ τῆς νίκης κατάρξαι. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν ἔτι τραυμάτων καὶ φόνων ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα· βοὴ δὲ οὐδεμία ἐκ τοσῆσδε φάλαγγος τοιάδε δρώσης οὐδ' οἰμωγαὶ τῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἢ πλησσομένων, ἀλλὰ βρυχήματα μόνα καὶ στόνοι πιπτόντων, ἔνθα συνετάχθησαν, εὐσχημόνως. οἱ σύμμαχοι δέ, καθάπερ ἀγῶνα πολέμου θεώμενοι, κατεπλήσσοντο τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ οὔτε ἐς τὰς σκηνὰς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐτόλμων ὑπὸ θαύματος, ὀλίγων αὐτὰς καὶ

upon Caesar's men,[1] who had just now been afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey's infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports. CHAP. XI

79. When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to open their ranks, bring their spears to rest, and so ward off the onset of the enemy. Some persons praise this order of Pompey as the best in a case where one is attacked in flank, but Caesar criticises it in his letters. He says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Caesar himself, surrounded Pompey's left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory. In the rest of the field slaughter and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were falling honourably in their tracks. The allies, who were looking at the battle as at a spectacle, were astonished at the discipline of the combatants. So dumbfounded were they that they did not dare attack Caesar's tents, although they were guarded

[1] The text says "Caesar's horse," but Schweighäuser considers this a manifest error since Appian, in § 79, says that it was the tenth legion that struck Pompey's left flank. Caesar himself says (B.C. 3. 93. 5) that the six cohorts in reserve executed this decisive movement.

CAP. XI

πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν φυλασσόντων, περιδραμεῖν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἢ ἑστῶτες ἐθάμβουν.

80. Ὡς δὲ ἐνέδωκε τὸ λαιὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε βάδην ὑπεχώρουν ἅμα καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον ἄπρακτοι, βοῶντες· "ἡσσήμεθα." καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς σφῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ὡς ἀλλότρια προλαβόντες διέσπων καὶ διήρπαζον ἐς τὴν φυγὴν ὅ τι δύναιντο ἐπάγεσθαι. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὁπλιτικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε ἥσσης αἰσθανόμενον ὑπεχώρει κατὰ πόδα, πρῶτον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἔτι ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀμυνόμενοι· ἐπικειμένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν εὐπραξίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστράφησαν ἐς φυγήν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εὐμηχάνως δὴ τότε μάλιστα, ἵνα μὴ συνέλθοιεν αὖθις μηδὲ τὸ ἔργον γένοιτο μάχης μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, κήρυκας ἐς τὰς τάξεις πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπεν, οἳ τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐκέλευον ἀψαυστεῖν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους μόνους χωρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἡττωμένοις προσεπέλαζον παραινοῦντες ἀδεῶς ἑστάναι. ἀνήρ τε παρ' ἀνδρὸς ἐκμανθάνων τὸ κήρυγμα εἱστήκει· καὶ σύμβολον ἤδη τοῦτο τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἦν, τὸ ἀδεῶς ἑστάναι, τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὁμοιοτρόπως ἐσκευασμένων τε καὶ φωνὴν ὁμοίαν ἀφιέντων. διεκθέοντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ δυναμένους ἀντέχειν ἀνῄρουν· καὶ ὁ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα ἐγίγνετο φόνος.

81. Πομπήιος δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν τροπὴν εἶδεν, ἔκφρων αὑτοῦ γενόμενος ἀπῄει βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἄναυδος,

only by a few old men. Nor did they accomplish anything else, but stood in a kind of stupor. CHAP. XI

80. As Pompey's left wing began to give way his men even still retired step by step and in perfect order, but the allies who had not been in the fight, fled with headlong speed, shouting, "We are vanquished," dashed upon their own tents and fortifications as though they had been the enemy's, and pulled down and plundered whatever they could carry away in their flight. Then the rest of Pompey's Italian legions, perceiving the disaster to the left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisting as well as they could; but when the enemy, flushed with victory, pressed upon them they turned in flight. Thereupon Caesar, in order that they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, with greater prudence than he had ever shewn before, sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near to the retreating enemy and told them to stand still and fear not. As this proclamation was passed from man to man they halted, and the phrase "stand and fear not" began to be passed as a sort of watch-word among Pompey's soldiers; for, being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Caesar's men and spoke the same language. Accordingly, the latter passed by them and fell upon the auxiliaries, who were not able to resist, and made a very great slaughter among them.

Total defeat of the Pompeians

81. When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he became bereft of his senses and retired at a slow pace to his camp, and when he reached his tent he

CAP. XI οἷόν τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνος Αἴαντά φασιν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθεῖν, ἐν μέσοις πολεμίοις ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐσῄεσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ γὰρ κήρυγμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑστάναι τε ἀκινδύνως ἐποίει, καὶ παραδραμόντων τῶν πολεμίων διεσκίδνη κατὰ μέρος. ληγούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατὸν ἀσχέτως που περιθέων ἱκέτευε προσπονῆσαι, μέχρι καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Πομπηίου λάβοιεν, ἐκδιδάσκων, ὅτι, εἰ συσταῖεν αὖθις οἱ πολέμιοι, μίαν ἡμέραν ἔσονται νενικηκότες, εἰ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἕλοιεν, τὸν πόλεμον ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ κατωρθωκότες ἂν εἶεν. τάς τε οὖν χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὤρεγε καὶ πρῶτος ἐξῆρχε δρόμου. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν σώματα ἔκαμνε, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ὅ τε λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ συντρέχων ἐκούφιζεν. ᾐώρει δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων εὐπραξία καὶ ἐλπίς, ὅτι καὶ τὸν χάρακα αἱρήσουσι καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ· ἥκιστα δ' ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἢ εὐτυχίαις ἄνθρωποι καμάτων αἰσθάνονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷδε προσπεσόντες ἐπεχείρουν σὺν πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπομαχομένους καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος μαθὼν ἐξ ἀλλοκότου σιωπῆς τοσοῦτον ἀπέρρηξεν· "οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα ἡμῶν;" καὶ εἰπὼν τήν τε στολὴν ἐνήλλαξε καὶ ἵππου ἐπιβὰς σὺν φίλοις τέσσαρσιν οὐκ ἀνέσχε δρόμου, πρὶν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐν Λαρίσσῃ γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσσων, ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου χάρακι ἐστάθμευσε, καὶ αὐτός τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαίσαντο.

82. Ἀπέθανον δὲ ἑκατέρων, τῶν γε Ἰταλῶν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν γε συμμάχων οὐδ' ἐξαρίθμησις

sat down speechless, resembling Ajax, the son of Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived of his senses by some god. Very few of the rest returned to the camp, for Caesar's proclamation caused them to remain unharmed, and as their enemies had passed beyond them they dispersed in groups. As the day was declining Caesar ran hither and thither among his troops and besought them to continue their exertions till they should capture Pompey's camp, telling them that if they allowed the enemy to rally they would be the victors for only a single day, whereas if they should take the enemy's camp they would finish the war with this one blow. He stretched out his hands to them and took the lead in person. Although they were weary in body, the words and example of their commander lightened their spirits. Their success so far, and the hope of capturing the enemy's camp and the contents thereof, excited them; for in the midst of hope and prosperity men feel fatigue least. So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned this he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, "What! in our very camp?" Having spoken thus he changed his clothing, mounted a horse, and fled with four friends, and did not draw rein until he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Caesar established himself in Pompey's camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey's supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy's expense.

CHAP. XI

B.C. 48

Flight of Pompey

82. The losses of Italians on each side—for there was no report of the losses of auxiliaries, either

Losses on both sides

CAP. XI

ἐγένετο ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ καταφρονήσεως) ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τριάκοντα λοχαγοὶ καὶ ὁπλῖται διακόσιοι, ἤ, ὡς ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πομπηίου βουλευταὶ μὲν δέκα, ὧν ἦν καὶ Λεύκιος Δομίτιος, ὁ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν διάδοχος, τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς οἱ μὲν ἐπαίροντές φασι δισμυρίους ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίοις, Ἀσίνιος δὲ Πολλίων, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης στρατηγῶν, ἑξακισχιλίους ἀναγράφει νεκροὺς εὑρεθῆναι τῶν Πομπηίου.

Τοῦτο τέλος ἦν τῆς ἀοιδίμου περὶ Φάρσαλον μάχης. ἀριστεῖα δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς καὶ πρῶτα καὶ δεύτερα ἐκ πάντων ἐφέρετο, ὁμολογούμενος ἀριστεῦσαι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ δέκατον· τὰ δὲ τρίτα Κρασσίνιος λοχαγός, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν ἐξιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤρετο, ὅ τι προσδοκῴη, ὁ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀνεβόησε· "νικήσομεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, κἀμὲ τήμερον ἢ ζῶντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξῃ"· ἡ στρατιὰ δ' ἐμαρτύρει καθάπερ ἔνθουν ἐς ἑκάστην τάξιν μεταθέοντα πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρᾶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζητούμενος ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὑρέθη, τὰ ἀριστεῖα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ περιέθηκε καὶ συνέθαψε καὶ τάφον ἐξαίρετον ἀνέστησεν ἐγγὺς τοῦ πολυανδρίου.

XII

CAP. XII

83. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ἐκ Λαρίσσης ὁμοίῳ δρόμῳ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐπειχθεὶς σκάφους ἐπέβη σμικροῦ

because of their multitude or because they were despised—were as follows: in Caesar's army, thirty centurions and 200 legionaries, or, as some authorities have it, 1200; on Pompey's side ten senators, among whom was Lucius Domitius, the same who had been sent to succeed Caesar himself in Gaul, and about forty distinguished knights. Some exaggerating writers put the loss in the remainder of his forces at 25,000, but Asinius Pollio, who was one of Caesar's officers in this battle, records the number of dead Pompeians found as 6000. CHAP. XI

Such was the result of the famous battle of Pharsalus. Caesar himself carries off the palm for first and second place by common consent, and with him the tenth legion. The third place is taken by the centurion Crassinius, whom Caesar asked at the beginning of the battle what result he anticipated, and who responded proudly, "We shall conquer, O Caesar, and you will thank me either living or dead." The whole army testifies that he darted through the ranks like one possessed and did many brilliant deeds. When sought for he was found among the dead, and Caesar bestowed military honours on his body and buried it, and erected a special tomb for him near the common burial-place of the others.

XII

83. From Larissa Pompey continued his flight to the sea where he embarked in a small boat, and CHAP. XII

CAP. XII καὶ νεὼς παραπλεούσης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Μιτυλήνην διέπλευσεν· ὅθεν τὴν γυναῖκα Κορνηλίαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τριήρων τεσσάρων ἐπιβάς, αἳ αὐτῷ παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Τυρίων ἀφίκοντο, Κερκύρας μὲν καὶ τότε καὶ Λιβύης ὑπερεῖδεν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἦν ἄλλος πολὺς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀκραιφνές, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἕω φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθυαῖον ὡς δι' ἐκείνου πάντα ἀναληψόμενος τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἐπέκρυπτε, μέχρι περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν μόλις ἐξέφερε τοῖς φίλοις. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἠξίουν φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Παρθυαῖον, ἐπιβεβουλευμένον τε ἔναγχος ὑπὸ Κράσσου καὶ θυμούμενον ἔτι τῇ Κράσσου συμφορᾷ, μηδ' ἐς ἀκρατεῖς βαρβάρους ἄγειν εὐπρεπῆ γυναῖκα Κορνηλίαν, Κράσσου μάλιστα γεγενημένην. δεύτερα δ' αὐτοῦ προθέντος περί τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἰόβα, Ἰόβα μὲν ὑπερεώρων ὡς ἀδόξου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ συνεφρόνουν, ἐγγύς τε οὖσαν καὶ μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ναυσὶ καὶ σίτῳ καὶ χρήμασι· τούς τε βασιλεύοντας αὐτῆς, εἰ καὶ παῖδές εἰσι, πατρικοὺς εἶναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ φίλους.

84. Ὁ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔπλει· ἄρτι δ' ἐκπεσούσης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας, ἣ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνῆρχε, καὶ στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀγειρούσης, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῖς Κλεοπάτρας ἐσβολαῖς ἐφήδρευε, καί πως κατὰ δαίμονα ἐς τὸ Κάσσιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Πομπήιον κατέφερε. θεασάμενος δὲ στρατὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πολὺν ἔστησε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ εἴκασεν,

meeting a ship by chance he sailed to Mitylene. There he joined his wife, Cornelia, and they embarked with four triremes which had come to him from Rhodes and Tyre. He decided not to sail for Corcyra and Africa, where he had other large military and naval forces as yet untouched, but intended to push on eastward to the king of the Parthians, expecting to receive every assistance from him. He concealed his intention until he arrived at Cilicia, where he revealed it hesitatingly to his friends; but they advised him to beware of the Parthian, against whom Crassus had lately led an expedition, and who was puffed up by his victory over the latter, and especially not to put in the power of these barbarians the beautiful Cornelia, who had formerly been the wife of Crassus.[1] Then he made a second proposal respecting Egypt and Juba.[2] The latter they despised as not sufficiently distinguished, but they all agreed about going to Egypt, which was near and was a great kingdom, still prosperous and powerful in ships, provisions, and money. Its sovereigns, too, although children, were allied to Pompey by their father's friendship.

CHAP. XII
Pompey sails for Egypt

84. For these reasons he sailed to Egypt, whence Cleopatra, who had previously reigned with her brother, had been lately expelled, and was collecting an army in Syria. Ptolemy, her brother, was at Casium in Egypt, lying in wait for her invasion, and, as Providence would have it, the wind carried Pompey thither. Seeing a large army on the shore he stopped his ship, rightly judging that the king was there. So he sent messengers to tell

[1] The younger Crassus. [2] King of Numidia.

CAP. XII

ὅπερ ἦν, παρεῖναι τὸν βασιλέα. πέμψας τε ἔφραζε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίας. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν περὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονώς, ἐπετρόπευον δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν Ἀχιλλᾶς, τὰ δὲ χρήματα Ποθεινὸς εὐνοῦχος· οἷ βουλὴν προυτίθεντο περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ παρὼν ὁ Σάμιος Θεόδοτος ὁ ῥήτωρ, διδάσκαλος ὢν τοῦ παιδός, ἀθέμιστον εἰσηγεῖτο ἔργον, ἐνεδρεῦσαι καὶ κτεῖναι Πομπήιον ὡς χαριουμένους Καίσαρι. κυρωθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης σκάφος εὐτελὲς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμπετο, ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης οὔσης ἁλιτενοῦς καὶ μεγάλαις ναυσὶν οὐκ εὐχεροῦς, ὑπηρέται τέ τινες τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνέβαινον ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ Σεμπρώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος τότε μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, πάλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατευσάμενος, δεξιὰν ἔφερε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐς φίλον τὸν παῖδα διαπλεῦσαι. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξετάσσετο ἅπας, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσῳ τῇ φοινικίδι κατάδηλος ἦν περικειμένῃ.

85. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἅπαντα, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σκάφους εὐτέλειαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτόν οἱ παραγενέσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινας πέμψαι· τοσοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν Σοφοκλέους ἰαμβείων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκών· "ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ," ἐνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἐν τῷ διάπλῳ σιωπώντων ἁπάντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπώ-

of his arrival and to speak of his father's friendship. CHAP XII
The king was then about thirteen years of age and was under the tutelage of Achillas, who commanded his army, and the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his treasury. These took counsel together concerning Pompey. There was present also Theodotus, a rhetorician of Samos, the boy's tutor, who offered the infamous advice that they should lay a trap for Pompey and kill him in order to curry favour with Caesar. His opinion prevailed. So they sent a miserable skiff to bring him, pretending that the sea was shallow and not adapted to large ships. Some of the king's attendants came in the skiff, among them a Roman, named Sempronius,[1] who was then serving in the king's army and had formerly served under Pompey himself. He gave his hand to Pompey in the king's name and directed him to take passage in the boat to the young man as to a friend. At the same time the whole army was marshalled along the shore as if to do honour to Pompey, and the king was conspicuous in the midst of them by the purple robe he wore.

85. Pompey's suspicions were aroused by all that he observed—the marshalling of the army, the meanness of the skiff, and the fact that the king himself did not come to meet him nor send any of his high dignitaries. Nevertheless, he entered the skiff, repeating to himself these lines of Sophocles,[2] "Whoso resorts to a tyrant becomes his slave, even if he be free when he goes." While rowing to the shore all were silent, and this made him still more suspicious.

[1] Caesar, Plutarch, Florus, and Dio Cassius, give this miscreant the name of Septimus.

[2] Nauck, *Trag. Graec. fr.*[2], p. 316, n. 789.

CAP. XII πτευε· καὶ τὸν Σεμπρώνιον εἴτε ἐπιγινώσκων Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα καὶ ἐστρατευμένον ἑαυτῷ, εἴτε τοπάζων ἐκ τοῦ μόνον ἑστάναι, κατὰ δὴ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἄρα διδασκαλίαν οὐ συνεδρεύοντα αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· "ἆρά σε γινώσκω, συστρατιῶτα;" καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπένευσεν, ἀποστραφέντα δ' εὐθὺς ἐπάταξε πρῶτος, εἶθ' ἕτεροι. καὶ τὸ μὲν γύναιον τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἱ φίλοι ταῦτα μακρόθεν ὁρῶντες ἀνώμωζόν τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐς θεοὺς ἐκδίκους σπονδῶν ἀνίσχοντες ἀπέπλεον τάχιστα ὡς ἐκ πολεμίας.

86. Πομπηίου δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ περὶ Ποθεινὸν ἐφύλασσον Καίσαρι ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίσταις ἀμοιβαῖς (ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἠμύνατο ἀξίως τῆς ἀθεμιστίας), τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμά τις ἔθαψεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἠϊόνος καὶ τάφον ἤγειρεν εὐτελῆ· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλος ἐπέγραψε· "τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου."

Χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν τάφον τόνδε ἐπικρυφθέντα ὅλον ὑπὸ ψάμμου καὶ εἰκόνας, ὅσας ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὕστερον οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθηκαν, λελωβημένα πάντα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄδυτόν του ἱεροῦ κατενεχθέντα ἐζήτησε καὶ εὗρεν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐπιδημῶν, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεκάθηρε γνώριμον αὖθις εἶναι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διωρθώσατο.

Finally, either recognizing Sempronius as a Roman soldier who had served under him or guessing that he was such because he alone remained standing (for, according to military discipline, a soldier does not sit in the presence of his commander), he turned to him and said, "Do I not know you, comrade?" The other nodded and, as Pompey turned away, he immediately gave him the first stab and the others followed his example. Pompey's wife and friends who saw this at a distance cried out and, lifting their hands to heaven, invoked the gods, the avengers of violated faith. Then they sailed away in all haste as from an enemy's country. CHAP. XII

He is assassinated there

86. The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Caesar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody else wrote this inscription :—

"How pitiful a tomb for one so rich in temples." [1]

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his kinsfolk at a later period near Mount Cassius had all been outraged and afterwards removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey's images in their proper places.

[1] The point is not obvious, but Pompey seems credited with the possession of such temples as were in territories which he had conquered.

CAP. XII

Τόδε μὲν δὴ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἦν Πομπηίῳ τῷ μεγίστους πολέμους ἀνύσαντι καὶ μέγιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὠφελήσαντι καὶ Μεγάλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ὀνομασθέντι καὶ οὐχ ἡττηθέντι ποτὲ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ ἀηττήτῳ καὶ εὐτυχεστάτῳ ἐξέτι νέου γενομένῳ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν οὐ διέλιπεν ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ μὲν ἰσχύι μοναρχικῶς δυναστεύων, τῇ δε δόξῃ διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος ζῆλον δημοτικῶς νομιζόμενος ἄρχειν.

87. Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργου διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐπὶ Κερκύρας ἠπείγοντο πρὸς Κάτωνα, ἑτέρου στρατοῦ καὶ τριακοσίων τριήρων ἄρχειν ὑπολελειμμένου, εὐβουλότερον οἵδε τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ περιφανέστατοι νειμάμενοι τὸ ναυτικόν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπλει πρὸς Φαρνάκην ὡς ἀναστήσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Κάτων ἐς Λιβύην ἔπλεον, Οὐάρῳ τε πίσυνοι καὶ τῷ μετὰ Οὐάρου στρατῷ καὶ Ἰόβᾳ Νομάδων βασιλεῖ συμμαχοῦντι. Πομπήιος δ', ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρεσβύτερος υἱός, καὶ Λαβιηνὸς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκάπλας τὸ μέρος ἔχοντες ἠπείγοντο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποστήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸν ἄλλον ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ θεραπόντων συνέλεγον ἔν τε παρασκευῇ μείζονι ἐγίγνοντο. τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις τῆς Πομπηίου παρασκευῆς ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Πομπήιος ἔφυγε. τῶν δ'

Such was the end of Pompey, who had successfully carried on the greatest wars and had made the greatest additions to the empire of the Romans, and had acquired by that means the title of Great. He had never been defeated before,[1] but had remained unvanquished and most fortunate from his youth up. From his twenty-third to his fifty-eighth year he had not ceased to exercise power which as regards its strength was that of an autocrat, but by the inevitable contrast with Caesar had an almost democratic appearance.[2] CHAP. XII

87. Lucius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and the other notables who had escaped from the battle of Pharsalus, more prudent than Pompey, hurried to Corcyra and joined Cato, who had been left there with another army and 300 triremes. The leaders apportioned the fleet among themselves, and Cassius sailed to Pharnaces in Pontus to induce him to take up arms against Caesar. Scipio and Cato embarked for Africa, relying on Varus and his army and his ally, Juba, king of Numidia. The elder son of Pompey, together with Labienus and Scapula, each with his own part of the army, hastened to Spain and, having detached it from Caesar, collected a new army of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and slaves, and made formidable preparations for war. So great were the forces still remaining which Pompey had prepared, and which Pompey himself overlooked and ran away from in his infatuation. Cato had been chosen Retreat of the Pompeians

[1] This is an error. Pompey was defeated by Sertorius in Spain; see the preceding book § 110: ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνίκα Πομπήϊον.

[2] The sentence is both confused and pleonastic. ζῆλος is almost certainly Pompey's rivalry with Caesar, which caused them to be regularly contrasted.

CAP. XII ἐν Λιβύῃ Κάτωνα σφῶν στρατηγεῖν αἱρουμένων, ὁ Κάτων οὐχ ὑπέστη παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων, οἳ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐπρέσβευον αὐτοῦ μόνην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν στρατηγίδα. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ στρατὸς κἀνταῦθα πολὺς ἠθροίζετο καὶ ἐγυμνάζετο. καὶ δύο αἴδε μάλιστα ἀξιόλογοι παρασκευαί, περὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνεκροτοῦντο.

XIII

CAP. XIII 88. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρσάλῳ διέτριψε θύων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναλαμβάνων· ἔνθα καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει συμμαχήσαντάς οἱ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις αἰτήσασι συγγνώμην ἐπεδίδου καὶ ἐπεῖπε· "ποσάκις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ἡ δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισώσει;" τῇ τρίτῃ δ' ἐξήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω κατὰ πύστιν τῆς Πομπηίου φυγῆς καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπορίᾳ τριήρων σκάφεσιν ἐπεραιοῦτο μικροῖς. Κάσσιος δὲ σὺν τῷ μέρει τῶν τριήρων ἐπιφαίνεται μεσοποροῦντι, πρὸς Φαρνάκην ἐπειγόμενος. καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν πολλαῖς τριήρεσι κατὰ σκαφῶν μικρῶν, ὑπὸ δέους τῆς Καίσαρος εὐτυχίας περιπύστου δὴ καὶ ἐπιφόβου τότε οὔσης ἐξεπλάγη καὶ νομίσας οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπίτηδες ἐπιπλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγεν ἐς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τριήρων ἐς σκάφη, καὶ συγγνώμην ᾔτει καὶ τὰς τριήρεις παρεδίδου. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Καίσαρος εὐπραγίας· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε αἰτίαν ἑτέραν ὁρῶ οὐδὲ ἔργον ἕτερον ἡγοῦμαι

commander of the forces in Africa, but he declined the appointment since there were consulars present who outranked him, he having held only the praetorship in Rome. So Lucius Scipio was made the commander and he collected and drilled a large army there. Thus two armies of considerable magnitude were brought together against Caesar, one in Africa and the other in Spain. CHAP. XII

XIII

88. Caesar remained two days at Pharsalus after the victory, offering sacrifice and giving his army a respite from fighting. Then he set free his Thessalian allies and granted pardon to the suppliant Athenians, and said to them, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?" On the third day he marched eastward, having learned that Pompey had fled thither, and for want of triremes he essayed to cross the Hellespont in skiffs. Here Cassius came upon him in midstream, with a part of his fleet, as he was hastening to Pharnaces. Although he might have mastered these small boats with his numerous triremes he was panic-stricken by Caesar's astounding success, which was then heralded with consternation everywhere, and he thought that Caesar had sailed purposely against him. So he extended his hands in entreaty from his trireme toward the skiff, begged for pardon, and surrendered his fleet. So great was the power of Caesar's prestige. I can see no other reason myself, nor can I think of any other instance where CHAP. XIII Caesar pursues Pompey

CAP. XIII

τύχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ Κάσσιον τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριήρων ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκεύῳ Καίσαρι συντυχόντα μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποστῆναι. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχρῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδοὺς ὕστερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέκανεν· ᾧ καὶ αὐτῷ δῆλόν ἐστι τὸν ἕτερον τῷ Κασσίῳ φόβον ὑπὸ τύχης ἐγγενέσθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπαιρούσης.

89. Διασωθεὶς δ' οὕτω παραδόξως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιωθεὶς Ἴωσι μὲν καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν μεγάλην χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι (καὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτὰ ἑνὶ ὀνόματι Ἀσίαν τὴν κάτω), συνεγίγνωσκε πρεσβευομένοις ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλοῦσι, πυθόμενος δὲ Πομπήιον ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου φέρεσθαι διέπλευσεν ἐς Ῥόδον. καὶ οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέρη προσιόντα περιμείνας ἐς τὰς Κασσίου καὶ Ῥοδίων τριήρεις ἐνέβη σὺν τοῖς παροῦσιν· οὐδενί τε ἐκφήνας, ὅπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιήσεται, περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀνήγετο, ἐπαγγείλας τοῖς λοιποῖς κυβερνήταις πρὸς τὸν λαμπτῆρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεὼς καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον εὐθύνειν· τῷ δ' αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτῃ, πολὺ τῆς γῆς ἀποσχών, προσέταξεν ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν φέρεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρισὶν ἡμέραις πελάγιος ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἦν· ἐσδέχονται δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπι-

[1] This is a dubious tale. Caesar tells us (iii. 101) that Cassius was in Sicily with a fleet when the news of Pharsalus arrived; that when the first news of the battle came the Pompeians considered it a fiction invented by Caesar's friends, but that when they were convinced that it was true, Cassius departed with his fleet. Then Caesar describes his

fortune was more propitious in a trying emergency than when Cassius, a most valiant man, with seventy triremes, fell in with Caesar when he was unprepared, but did not venture to come to blows with him. And yet he who thus, through fear alone, disgracefully surrendered to Caesar when he was crossing the straits, afterward murdered him in Rome when he was at the height of his power; by which fact it is evident that the panic which then seized Cassius was due to the fortune by which Caesar was uplifted.[1]

He passes through Asia-Minor and sails for Egypt

89. Being thus unexpectedly saved, Caesar passed the Hellespont and granted pardon to the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the other peoples who inhabit the great peninsula called by the common name of Lower Asia, and who sent ambassadors to him to ask it. Learning that Pompey was making for Egypt he sailed for Rhodes. He did not wait even there for his army, which was coming forward by detachments, but embarked with those he had on the triremes of Cassius and the Rhodians. Letting nobody know whither he intended to go he set sail toward evening, telling the other pilots to steer by the torch of his own ship by night and by his signal in the daytime; his own pilot, after they had proceeded a long way from the land, he ordered to steer for Alexandria. After a three days' sail he arrived there, and was received by the king's

own movements, saying that he considered it necessary to drop everything else and pursue Pompey, and that he pushed on every day as far as his cavalry could go, having ordered one legion to follow by shorter marches. He must have passed the Hellespont before Cassius sailed from Sicily. Suetonius (*Jul.* 63) says that it was Lucius Cassius whom Caesar met in the Hellespont.

CAP. XIII τροπεύοντες, ἔτι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὄντος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀπραγμοσύνην τινὰ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνόντων ὑπεκρίνετο φιλοφρόνως τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιιὼν τοῦ κάλλους ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἑστὼς ἠκροᾶτο· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χάρις τε καὶ δόξα ἀγαθὴ ὡς ἀπράγμονι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐφύετο.

90. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ κατέπλευσε, Ποθεινὸν μὲν καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶν ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ τῆς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον παρανομίας, Θεόδοτον δὲ διαδράντα Κάσσιος ὕστερον ἐκρέμασεν, εὑρὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ. θορυβούντων δ' ἐπὶ τῷδε τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰούσης, ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ ποικίλοι περὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸ αἰγιαλοῖς, ἔνθα καὶ φεύγων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐξήλατο καὶ ἐς πολὺ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ διενήξατο· καὶ τὴν χλαμύδα αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς περὶ τρόπαιον ἐκρέμασαν. τελευταῖον δ' ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῷ γίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀγών, ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκράτει. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρίφθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἐννέα, μέχρι Κλεοπάτραν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος, περιέπλει μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ τἆλλα ἡδόμενος αὐτῇ. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἕκαστα ὅπως ἐγένετο, ἀκριβέστερον ἡ περὶ Αἰγύπτου συγγραφὴ διέξεισι· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καί τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο· ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων

guardians, the king himself being still at Casium. CHAP. XIII
At first, on account of the smallness of his forces, he pretended to take his ease, receiving visitors in a friendly way, traversing the city, admiring its beauty, and listening to the lectures of the philosophers while he stood among the crowd. Thus he gained the good-will and esteem of the Alexandrians as one who had no designs against them.

90. When his soldiers arrived by sea he punished Pothinus and Achillas with death for their crime against Pompey. (Theodotus escaped and was afterward crucified by Cassius, who found him wandering in Asia.) The Alexandrians thereupon rose in tumult, and the king's army marched against Caesar and various battles took place around the palace and on the neighbouring shores. In one of these Caesar escaped by leaping into the sea and swimming a long distance in deep water. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy. He fought the last battle against the king on the banks of the Nile, in which he won a decisive victory. He consumed nine months in this strife, at the end of which he established Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt in place of her brother. He ascended the Nile with 400 ships, exploring the country in company with Cleopatra and generally enjoying himself with her. The details, however, of these events are related more particularly in my Egyptian history. Caesar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating

The Alexandrian war

B.C. 47

CAP. XIII αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανόν, ἐξολλύντα τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐς **τὰς** τοῦ πολέμου χρείας κατηρείφθη.

91. Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐργασάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διὰ Συρίας ἐπὶ Φαρνάκην ἠπείγετο. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν εἴργαστο πολλὰ καὶ περιεσπάκει τινὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρία καὶ Δομιτίῳ Καίσαρος στρατηγῷ συνενεχθεὶς ἐς μάχην ἐνενικήκει πάνυ λαμπρῶς, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἐπαρθεὶς Ἀμισὸν πόλιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ῥωμαΐζουσαν ἐξηνδραπόδιστο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τομίας ἐπεποίητο πάντας· προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐταράσσετο καὶ μετεγίγνωσκε καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων γενομένῳ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, στέφανόν τε χρύσειον αὐτῷ φέροντας καὶ ἐς γάμον ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἐγγυῶντας Καίσαρι τὴν Φαρνάκους θυγατέρα. ὁ δ' αἰσθόμενος ὧν φέρουσι, προῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐβάδιζε λεσχηνεύων τοῖς πρέσβεσι, μέχρι προσπελάσας τῷ χάρακι τοῦ Φαρνάκους καὶ τοσόνδε εἰπών· "οὐ γὰρ αὐτίκα δώσει δίκην ὁ πατροκτόνος;" ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης βοῆς τρέπεταί τε τὸν Φαρνάκην καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, σὺν χιλίοις που μάλιστα ὧν ἱππεῦσιν τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῷ συνδραμοῦσιν· ὅτε καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· "ὦ μακάριε Πομπήιε, τοιούτοις ἄρα κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τοῦδε πατέρα πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι μέγας τε ἐνομίσθης καὶ μέγας ἐπεκλήθης." ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην περὶ τῆσδε τῆς μάχης ἐπέστελλεν· "ἐγὼ δὲ ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα."

92. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης μὲν ἀγαπῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βοσπόρου, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ παρὰ

the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war. CHAP. XIII

91. After Caesar had performed these exploits in Alexandria he hastened by way of Syria against Pharnaces. The latter had already accomplished many of his aims, had seized some of the Roman countries, had fought a battle with Caesar's lieutenant, Domitius, and won a very brilliant victory over him. Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisus in Pontus, which adhered to the Roman interest, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all their boys eunuchs. On the approach of Caesar he became alarmed and repented of his deeds, and when Caesar was within 200 stades he sent ambassadors to him to treat for peace. They bore a golden crown and foolishly offered him the daughter of Pharnaces in marriage. When Caesar learned what they were bringing he moved forward with his army, walking in advance and chatting with the ambassadors until he arrived at the camp of Pharnaces, when he merely said, "Why should I not take instant vengeance on this parricide?" Then he sprang upon his horse and at the first shout put Pharnaces to flight and killed a large number of the enemy, although he had with him only about 1000 of his own cavalry who had accompanied him in the advance. Here it is said that he exclaimed, "O fortunate Pompey, who wast considered and named the Great for warring against such men as these in the time of Mithridates, the father of this man." Of this battle he wrote to Rome the words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." War against Pharnaces

92. After this, Pharnaces was glad to escape to the kingdom which Pompey had assigned to him on

CAP. XIII

Πομπηίου, συνέφυγεν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, οὐ σχολὴν ἄγων περὶ μικρὰ τρίβεσθαι τοσῶνδε πολέμων αὐτὸν περιμενόντων, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετῆλθε καὶ παροδεύων αὐτὴν ἐχρημάτιζε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοχλουμέναις ὑπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων τοὺς φόρους, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν συγγραφὴν δεδήλωται. πυθόμενος δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσιν εἶναι καὶ Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἵππαρχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν στρατιᾷ φυλάσσειν, πάντα μεθεὶς ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο. ὡς δ' ἦλθεν, ἡ μὲν στάσις ἡ πολιτικὴ κατεπαύετο, ἑτέρα δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνίστατο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὡς οὔτε τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργῳ λαβόντες οὔτε ἐννόμως ἔτι βραδύνοντες ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ· ἀφεθῆναί τε πάντες ἐπὶ τὰ αὑτῶν ἠξίουν. ὁ δ' ἐπηγγέλλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀόριστά τινα ἐν Φαρσάλῳ, καὶ ἕτερα ἀόριστα, ὅταν ὁ ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμος ἐκτελεσθῇ· τότε δ' ἔπεμπεν ἄλλας ὁρίζων ἑκάστῳ χιλίας δραχμάς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα διδόναι πάντα ἐκέλευον· καὶ περὶ τῶνδε Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον πεμφθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ διέφυγε. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ τέλος μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτῶν, οἳ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου παρεφύλασσον, περιέστησε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐξόδοις, δείσας περὶ ἁρπαγῆς· αὐτὸς δέ, πάντων δεδιότων καὶ παραινούντων

the Bosporus. As Caesar had no time to waste on small matters while such great wars were still unfinished elsewhere, he returned to the province of Asia and while passing through it transacted public business in the cities, which were oppressed by the farmers of the revenue, as I have shown in my Asiatic history.[1] Learning that a sedition had broken out in Rome and that Antony, his master of horse, had occupied the forum with soldiers, he laid aside everything else and hastened to the city. When he arrived there the civil sedition had been quieted, but another one sprang up against himself in the army because the promises made to them after the battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law. They demanded that they should all be dismissed to their homes. Caesar had made them certain indefinite promises at Pharsalus, and others equally indefinite after the war in Africa should be finished. Now he sent them a definite promise of 1000 drachmas more to each man. They answered him that they did not want any more promises but prompt payment in full, and Salustius Crispus,[2] who had been sent to them on this business, had a narrow escape, for he would have been killed if he had not fled. When Caesar learned of this he stationed the legion with which Antony had been guarding the city around his own house and the city gates, as he apprehended attempts at plunder. Then, notwithstanding all his friends were alarmed and cautioned him against the

CHAP. XIII

Another mutiny in Caesar's army

[1] Our author does not mention any Asiatic history in his preface. Photius in his enumeration of the works of Appian extant in his time speaks of the "tenth book, Grecian and Ionian." Schweighäuser thinks that this is here referred to.

[2] The historian.

CAP. XIII αὐτῷ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ φυλάξασθαι, μάλα θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἔτι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον ἐπῆλθεν οὐ προμηνύσας καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὤφθη.

93. Οἱ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τε ἄνοπλοι συνέτρεχον καί, ὡς ἔθος, ἄφνω φανέντα σφίσιν ἠσπάζοντο αὐτοκράτορα. κελεύσαντος δ' ὅ τι θέλοιεν εἰπεῖν, περὶ μὲν τῶν δωρεῶν ἐς ὄψιν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὡς δὲ μετριώτερον, ἀφεθῆναι τῆς στρατείας ἀνεβόησαν, ἐλπίσαντες στρατοῦ δεόμενον ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πολέμους αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἁπάντων δόξαν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἀφίημι." καταπλαγέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης γενομένης ἐπεῖπε· "καὶ δώσω γε ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἅπαντα, ὅταν θριαμβεύσω μεθ' ἑτέρων." ἀδοκήτου δ' αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ τοῦδε καὶ φιλανθρώπου φανέντος, αἰδὼς αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμὸς μετὰ ζήλου, εἰ δόξουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῖσδε πολεμίοις, θριαμβεύσουσι δ' ἀνθ' αὐτῶν ἕτεροι καὶ σφεῖς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων ἔσεσθαι νομιζομένων, ἐχθροί τε ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἔσονται καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. δείσαντες οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠσύχαζον ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐλπίζοντες ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μεταγνώσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ χρείαν. ὁ δ' ἀνθησύχαζε καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων ἐπιφθέγξασθαί τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλο καὶ μὴ βραχεῖ καὶ αὐστηρῷ

fury of the soldiers, he went boldly among them while they were still riotous in the Campus Martius, without sending word beforehand, and showed himself on the platform. CHAP. XIII

93. The soldiers ran together tumultuously without arms, and, as was their custom, saluted their commander who had suddenly appeared among them. When he bade them tell what they wanted they were so surprised that they did not even venture to speak openly of the donative in his presence, but they adopted the more moderate course of demanding their discharge from service, hoping that, since he needed soldiers for the unfinished wars, he would speak about the donative himself. But, contrary to the expectation of all, he replied without hesitation, "I discharge you." Then, to their still greater astonishment, and while the silence was most profound, he added, "And I shall give you all that I have promised when I triumph with other soldiers." At this expression, as unexpected as it was kind, shame immediately took possession of all, and the consideration, mingled with jealousy, that while they would be thought to be abandoning their commander in the midst of so many enemies, others would join in the triumph instead of themselves, and they would lose the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great, and become hateful to Caesar himself as well as to the opposite party. Moved by these fears they remained still more silent and embarrassed, hoping that Caesar would yield and change his mind on account of his immediate necessity. But he remained silent also, until his friends urged him to say something more to them and not leave his old comrades of so many campaigns with a

Caesar disbands them at their request

CAP. XIII λόγῳ πολλὰ συνεστρατευμένους ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀρχόμενος λέγειν πολίτας ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν προσεῖπεν· ὅπερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀφειμένων τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἰδιωτευόντων.

94. Οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἔτι ἀνέκραγον μετανοεῖν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι. ἀποστρεφομένου τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀπιόντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει πλέονι βοῶντες ἐνέκειντο παραμεῖναί τε αὐτὸν καὶ κολάζειν σφῶν τοὺς ἁμαρτόντας. ὁ δ' ἔτι μέν τι διέτριψεν, οὔτε ἀπιὼν οὔτε ἐπανιών, ὑποκρινόμενος ἀπορεῖν· ἐπανελθὼν δ' ὅμως ἔφη κολάσειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἄχθεσθαι δ', ὅτι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τέλος, ὃ προετίμησεν αἰεί, τοιαῦτα θορυβεῖ. "καὶ τόδε," ἔφη, "μόνον ἀφίημι τῆς στρατείας· δώσω δὲ καὶ τῷδε ὅμως τὰ ὑπεσχημένα ἅπαντα, ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ Λιβύης. δώσω δὲ καὶ γῆν ἅπασιν ἐκτελεσθέντων τῶν πολέμων, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας, ἀφαιρούμενος ἑτέρων ἣν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθεῖσι τοὺς λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐς αἰεὶ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου γῆν ἐπινέμων καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ τὰ δέοντα προσωνούμενος." κρότου δὲ καὶ εὐφημίας παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, τὸ δέκατον ὑπερῆλγει τέλος, ἐς μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδιαλλάκτου φανέντος· καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ἠξίουν διακληρῶσαί τε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπερεθίζειν ἔτι δεόμενος ἀκριβῶς μετανοοῦντας, συνηλλάσσετο ἅπασι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἐξῄει.

short and austere word. Then he began to speak, addressing them first as "citizens," not "fellow-soldiers," which implied that they were already discharged from the army and were private individuals. CHAP. XIII

94. They could endure it no longer, but cried out that they repented of what they had done, and besought him to keep them in his service. But Caesar turned away and was leaving the platform when they shouted with greater eagerness and urged him to stay and punish the guilty among them. He delayed a while longer, not going away and not turning back, but pretending to be undecided. At length he came back and said that he would not punish any of them, but that he was grieved that even the tenth legion, to which he had always given the first place of honour, should join in such a riot. "And this legion alone," he continued, "I will discharge from the service. Nevertheless, when I return from Africa I will give them all that I have promised. And when the wars are ended I will give lands to all, not as Sulla did by taking it from the present holders and uniting present and past owners in a colony, and so making them everlasting enemies to each other, but I will give the public land, and my own, and will purchase as well the necessary implements." There was clapping of hands and joyful acclaim on all sides, but the tenth legion was plunged in grief because to them alone Caesar appeared inexorable. They begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. But Caesar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed straightway for the war in Africa. He takes them back at their entreaty

XIV

CAP. XIV

95. Διαβαλὼν δ' ἐκ Ῥηγίου τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἐς Λιλύβαιον ἦλθε. καὶ πυθόμενος Κάτωνα μὲν τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ πολέμου ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῶν τινι μέρει φρουρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκῃ μετὰ τῶν τριακοσίων, οὓς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ προβούλους ἐπεποίηντο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σύγκλητον ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' αὐτοκράτορα Λεύκιον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν Ἀδρυμητῷ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἰχόμενον ἐς Ἰόβαν καταλαβὼν παρέτασσεν ἐς μάχην παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ συνοισόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρὶς αὐτοκράτορος οὖσιν. ἀντεπῄεσαν δ' αὐτῷ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Πετρήιος, οἱ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ὑποστράτηγοι, καὶ ἐκράτουν τῶν Καίσαρος παρὰ πολὺ καὶ τραπέντας ἐδίωκον σοβαρῶς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Λαβιηνὸν μὲν ὁ ἵππος ἐς τὴν γαστέρα πληγεὶς ἀπεσείσατο καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ παρασπισταὶ συνήρπαζον, ὁ δὲ Πετρήιος, ὡς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πεῖραν καὶ νικήσων, ὅτε βούλεται, διέλυε τὸ ἔργον ἐπειπὼν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν· "μὴ ἀφελώμεθα τὴν νίκην τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἡμῶν Σκιπίωνα." καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο μέρος τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης ἔργον ἐφαίνετο κρατησάντων ἄν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν πολεμίων ἄφνω τὴν μάχην ὑπὸ τῶν νικώντων διαλυθῆναι· αὐτὸς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγχρίμπτων ἅπασιν ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοὺς καί τινα τῶν τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα, τοὺς ἀετούς, φερόντων

XIV

95. Caesar crossed the strait from Rhegium to Messana and went to Lilybaeum. Here, learning that Cato was guarding the enemy's magazines with a fleet and a part of the land forces at Utica, and that he had with him the 300 men who had for a long time constituted their council of war and were called the Senate, and that the commander, L. Scipio, and the flower of the army were at Adrumetum, he sailed against the latter. He arrived at a time when Scipio had gone away to meet Juba, and he drew up his forces for battle near Scipio's very camp in order to come to an engagement with the enemy at a time when their commander was absent. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, attacked him, defeated him badly, and pursued him in a haughty and disdainful manner until Labienus' horse was wounded in the belly and threw him, and his attendants carried him off, and Petreius, thinking that he had made a thorough test of the army and that he could conquer whenever he liked, drew off his forces, saying to those around him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory." In the rest of the battle[1] it appeared to be a matter of Caesar's luck that the victorious enemy abandoned the field when they might have won; but it is said that in the flight Caesar dashed up to his whole line[2] and turned it back and seizing one of those who

CHAP. XIV

Caesar sails for Africa

B.C. 46

[1] *μέρος* is probably inserted by error of a copyist, but even its removal does not wholly smooth the sentence.

[2] *ἐγχρίμπτων ἅπασιν.* How could he dash up to all of them at once? Mendelssohn suggests *ἀποδρᾶσιν*, i.e. he dashed up to the runaways.

CAP. XIV τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ περισπάσας μετενεγκεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Πετρήιος ἀνέζευξε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀσπασίως ὑπεχώρει.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Λιβύῃ Καίσαρι μάχης τέλος ἦν· 96. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον, αὐτοῦ τε Σκιπίωνος ὀκτὼ τέλεσι πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων δύο μυριάσιν, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ Λίβυες ἦσαν, πελτασταῖς τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασιν ἐς τριάκοντα προσδοκωμένου παρέσεσθαι σὺν Ἰόβᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷδε ἄγοντι πεζοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφὶ τρισμυρίους καὶ ἱππέας Νομάδας ἐς δισμυρίους καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἑξήκοντα ἑτέρους, ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδείμαινε καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐθορυβοῦντο κατά τε πεῖραν ὧν ἤδη πεπόνθεσαν καὶ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἐπιόντων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα τῶν Νομάδων ἱππέων. ὅ τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων πόλεμος ἀήθης σφίσιν ὢν ἐξέπλησσε. Βόκχου δ' ἑτέρου Μαυρουσίων δυνάστου Κίρταν, ἣ βασίλειον ἦν Ἰόβα, καταλαβόντος, ὁ μὲν Ἰόβας, ἐξαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦδε, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα μάλιστα ἀνεζεύγνυ μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου στρατοῦ, τριάκοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνους ὑπολιπὼν ἐλέφαντας τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνεθάρρησεν, ὡς τὸ πέμπτον τέλος αἰτῆσαν ἀντιταχθῆναι τοῖς ἐλέφασι κρατῆσαι πάνυ καρτερῶς· καὶ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τῷδε τῷ τέλει ἐλέφαντες ἐς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπίκεινται.

97. Μακρᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπόνου κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς μάχης καὶ πολυτρόπου γενομένης, περὶ ἑσπέραν μόλις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς ἑξῄρει τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, οὐδὲν ἀνιεὶς οὐδ' ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς νίκης, μέχρι τὸ σύμπαν ἐξεργάσασθαι.

carried the principal standards (the eagles) dragged him to the front. Finally, Petreius retired and Caesar was glad to do the same. CHAP. XIV

Such was the result of Caesar's first battle in Africa. 96. Not long afterward it was reported that Scipio himself was advancing with eight legions of foot, 20,000 horse (of which most were Africans), and a large number of light-armed troops, and thirty elephants; together with King Juba, who had some 30,000 foot-soldiers in addition, raised for this war, and 20,000 Numidian cavalry, besides a large number of spearmen and sixty elephants. Caesar's army began to be alarmed and a tumult broke out among them on account of the disaster they had already experienced and of the reputation of the forces advancing against them, and especially of the numbers and bravery of the Numidian cavalry. War with elephants, to which they were unaccustomed, also frightened them. But Bocchus, another Mauritanian prince, seized Cirta, which was the capital of Juba's kingdom, and when this news reached Juba he started for home at once with his army, leaving thirty of his elephants only with Scipio. Thereupon Caesar's men plucked up courage to such a degree that the fifth legion begged to be drawn up opposite the elephants, and it overcame them valiantly. From that day to the present this legion has borne the figure of an elephant on its standards. The forces arrayed against him

97. The battle was long, severe, and doubtful in all parts of the field until toward evening, when victory declared itself on the side of Caesar, who went straight on and captured Scipio's camp and did not desist, even in the night, from reaping the fruits of his victory until he had made a clean sweep. Battle of Thapsus

CAP. XIV οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, διέφευγον· καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτός, ἅμα Ἀφρανίῳ πάντα μεθείς, ἔφευγεν ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἀφράκτων.

Ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ στρατός, ἐς ὀκτὼ μυριάδας μάλιστα συνελθὼν ἔκ τε πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας μάχης ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ θάρσει γενόμενος, δευτέρᾳ τῇδε συμβολῇ συνετρίβετο ἀθρόως. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κλέος ἐς ἄμαχον εὐτυχίαν ἐδοξάζετο, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἡσσωμένων ἐς ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ μεριζόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήματα τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ προστιθέντων· ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος ἀβουλίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν, οὔτε διατριψάντων αὐτόν, ἕως ἀπορήσειεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ, οὔτε τὴν πρώτην νίκην ἐς τέλος προαγαγόντων, συντριφθεὶς οὕτως ὀξέως διαλυθῆναι.

98. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς Ἰτύκην τρίτῃ μάλιστα ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην ἰόντος ἐγίγνετο φυγὴ πάντων. καὶ οὐδένα κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναῦς ἐδίδου τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐσταθῶς ὑπέμενε καὶ τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις ὑπισχνουμένοις πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου δεήσεσθαι ἐπιμειδιῶν ἀπεκρίνατο οὐ δεήσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλακτῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶς. σημηνάμενος δὲ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἅπαντας καὶ συγγραφὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τοῖς Ἰτυκαίων ἄρχουσιν ἐπιδοὺς περὶ ἑσπέραν ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ δεῖπνον ἦν καθεζόμενός τε ἐγεύετο, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἐξ οὗ Πομπήιος ἀνήρητο· οὐδέν τε τῶν συνήθων

The enemy scattered in small bodies wherever they could. Scipio himself, abandoning everything to Afranius, fled by sea with twelve open ships. CHAP. XIV

Thus was this army also, composed of nearly 80,000 men who had been under long training and were inspired with hope and courage by the previous battle, completely annihilated in the second engagement. And now Caesar's fame began to be celebrated as of a man of invincible fortune, and those who were vanquished by him attributed nothing to his merit, but ascribed everything, including their own blunders, to "Caesar's fortune." For in fact it seemed that it was through the bad generalship of the commanders who, as in Thessaly, neglected their opportunity to wear out Caesar by delay until his supplies were exhausted, in this foreign land, and in like manner failed to reap the fruits of their first victory, that this war was also foreshortened and thus sharply brought to a finish.

98. When these facts became known at Utica some three days later, and as Caesar was marching right against that place, a general flight began. Cato did not detain anybody. He gave ships to all the nobility who asked for them, but himself adhered firmly to his post. When the inhabitants of Utica promised to intercede for him before doing so for themselves, he answered with a smile that he did not need any intercessors with Caesar, and that Caesar knew it very well. Then he placed his seal on all the public property and gave the accounts of each kind to the magistrates of Utica. Toward evening he bathed and dined. He ate in a sitting posture,[1] as had been his custom since Pompey's Cato at Utica

[1] Instead of reclining.

CAP. XIV

ἐναλλάσσων οὐδ' ἐλάσσω προσφερόμενος ἢ πλείω, συνελεσχήνευε τοῖς παροῦσι περὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευκότων καὶ ἠρώτα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ κατὰ πρύμνην ἔσοιτο αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος, εἰ φθάσουσι πόρρω γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐς ἕω Καίσαρα ἐπελθεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς ὕπνον ἀπιὼν ἐνήλλαξέ τι τῶν συνήθων, πλὴν ὅτι υἱὸν ἠσπάσατο φιλοφρονέστερον. τὸ δὲ ξιφίδιον τῇ κλίνῃ τὸ σύνηθες οὐχ εὑρὼν παρακείμενον ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς πολεμίοις· τίνι γὰρ ἔφη χρήσεσθαι προσιόντων, ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπίωσι; τῶν δὲ αὐτὸν παρακαλούντων μηδὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν βουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀναπαύεσθαι χωρὶς ξιφιδίου, ἀξιοπιστότερον ἔτι εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μοι θέλοντι καὶ δι' ἐσθῆτος ἐμαυτὸν ἀποπνῖξαι καὶ ἐς τὰ τείχη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπαράξαι καὶ ἐς τράχηλον κυβιστῆσαι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατασχόντα ἐκτρῖψαι;" πολλά τε ὅμοια εἰπὼν παρήγαγεν αὐτοὺς παραθεῖναι τὸ ξιφίδιον. ὡς δὲ ἐτέθη, Πλάτωνος αἰτήσας τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς συγγραφὴν ἀνεγίνωσκε.

99. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τέλος εἶχε τῷ Πλάτωνι ὁ λόγος, ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὑπολαβὼν ἔτρωσεν αὑτὸν ὑπὸ τὰ στέρνα· προπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχνων καὶ στόνου τινὸς ἐξακουσθέντος ἐσέδραμον οἱ περὶ θύρας· καὶ οἱ ἰατροὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἔτι σῶα ὄντα ἐνέθηκαν ἔνδον καὶ τὰς πληγὰς ἐπιρράψαντες ἐπέδησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν αὖθις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ κατεμέμφετο μὲν ἑαυτῷ πληγῆς ἀσθενοῦς, χάριν δ' ὡμολόγει τοῖς περισώσασι καὶ καταδαρθεῖν ἔφη δεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ ξίφος

death. He changed his habits in no respect. He partook of the dinner, neither more nor less than usual. He conversed with the others present concerning those who had sailed away and inquired whether the wind was favourable and whether they would make sufficient distance before Caesar should arrive the next morning. Nor did he alter any of his habits when he retired to rest, except that he embraced his son rather more affectionately than usual. As he did not find his dirk in its accustomed place by his couch, he exclaimed that he had been betrayed by his servants to the enemy. "What weapon" he asked, "shall I use if I am attacked in the night?" When they besought him to do no violence to himself but to go to sleep without his dirk, he replied still more plausibly, "Could I not strangle myself with my clothing if I wished to, or knock my brains out against the wall, or throw myself headlong to the ground, or destroy myself by holding my breath?" Much more he said to the same purport until he persuaded them to bring back his dirk. When it had been put in its place he called for Plato's treatise on the soul and began to read. CHAP. XIV

99. When Plato's dialogue had come to an end and when he thought that those who were stationed at the doors were asleep, he stabbed himself under the breast. His intestines protruded and the attendants heard a groan and rushed in. Physicians replaced his intestines, which were still uninjured, in his body, and after sewing up the wound tied a bandage around it. When Cato came to himself he dissembled again. Although he blamed himself for the insufficiency of the wound, he expressed thanks He commits suicide

CAP. XIV ἔχοντες ᾤχοντο καὶ τὰς θύρας ὡς ἠρεμοῦντι ἐπέκλεισαν· ὁ δ' ὕπνου δόξαν αὐτοῖς παρασχὼν τὰ δεσμὰ ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ σιγῆς ἀπερρήγνυ καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς τοῦ τραύματος ἀνέπτυσσεν, οἷα θηρίον τό τε τραῦμα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα εὐρύνων ὄνυξι καὶ δακτύλοις ἐρευνῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαρρίπτων, μέχρι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτη μὲν ἀμφὶ πεντήκοντα γεγονώς, ὁμολογούμενος δὲ τήν τε γνώμην, ἐς ὅ τι κρίνειε, πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμονώτατος φῦναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ πρέπον ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσι μᾶλλον ἢ μεγαλοψύχοις λογισμοῖς ὁρίσαι. Μαρκίᾳ γέ τοι τῇ Φιλίππου συνὼν ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῇ μάλιστα καὶ παῖδας ἔχων ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔδωκεν ὅμως αὐτὴν Ὁρτησίῳ τῶν φίλων τινί, παίδων τε ἐπιθυμοῦντι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦ γυναικὸς οὐ τυγχάνοντι, μέχρι κἀκείνῳ κυήσασαν ἐς τὸν οἶκον αὖθις ὡς χρήσας ἀνεδέξατο. τοιόσδε μὲν δὴ Κάτων ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰτυκαῖοι λαμπρῶς ἔθαπτον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔφη μέν οἱ φθονῆσαι Κάτωνα καλῆς ἐπιδείξεως, Κικέρωνος δὲ ποιήσαντος ἐγκώμιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαντος Κάτων, ἀντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἀντικάτων.

100. Ἰόβας δὲ καὶ Πετρήιος τῶν γιγνομένων πυνθανόμενοι καὶ οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν οὔτε φυγὴν οὔτε σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ξίφεσι διεχρήσαντο ἀλλήλους· καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἰόβα

to those who had saved him and said that he only needed sleep. The attendants then retired, taking the dirk with them, and closed the door, thinking that he had become quiet. Cato after feigning sleep, tore off the bandage with his hands without making any noise, opened the suture of the wound, enlarged it with his nails like a wild beast, plunged his fingers into his stomach, and tore out his entrails until he died, being then about fifty years of age. He was considered the most steadfast of all men in upholding any opinion that he had once espoused and in adhering to justice, rectitude, and morality, not as a matter of custom merely, but rather from a high-souled philosophy. He had married Marcia, the daughter of Philippus, as a girl; was extremely fond of her, and she had borne him children. Nevertheless, he gave her to Hortensius, one of his friends, —who desired to have children but was married to a childless wife,—until she bore a child to him also, when Cato took her back to his own house as though he had merely lent her. Such a man was Cato, and the Uticans gave him a magnificent funeral. Caesar said that Cato had grudged him the opportunity for a deed of honour,[1] but when Cicero pronounced an encomium on him which he styled *the Cato*, Caesar wrote an answer to it which he called *the Anti-Cato*. CHAP. XIV

100. Juba and Petreius, in view of the circumstances, perceiving no chance of flight or safety, slew each other with swords at a banquet. Caesar made Juba's kingdom tributary to the Romans and Juba and Petreius kill one another

[1] That is, an opportunity to pardon him. According to Plutarch (*Cato* c. 72) Caesar said: "O Cato, I envy thee thy death because thou did'st envy me my safety."

CAP. XIV Καῖσαρ ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησεν, αὐτῇ Σαλούστιον Κρίσπον ἐγκαταστήσας. Ἰτυκαίοις δὲ καὶ τῷ Κάτωνος υἱῷ συνεγίνωσκε· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου μετὰ δύο παίδων αὐτῆς ἐν Ἰτύκῃ καταλαβὼν ἐξέπεμπε σώους τῷ νέῳ Πομπηίῳ. τῶν δὲ τριακοσίων ὅσους εὗρε διέφθειρεν. Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐντυχὼν ἐφέρετο γενναίως, μέχρι καταλαμβανόμενος αὑτόν τε διεχρήσατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεθῆκεν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.

XV

CAP. XV 101. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Καίσαρος πολέμῳ τέλος ἐγίγνετο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελθὼν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐθριάμβευε τέσσαρας ὁμοῦ θριάμβους, ἐπί τε Γαλάταις, ὧν δὴ πολλὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἔθνη προσέλαβε καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύνατο, καὶ Ποντικὸν ἐπὶ Φαρνάκει καὶ Λιβυκὸν ἐπὶ Λιβύων τοῖς συμμαχήσασι τῷ Σκιπίωνι· ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὢν ἔτι παρήγετο. παρήγαγε δέ τινα καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίας θρίαμβον Αἰγύπτιον, μεταξὺ τοῦ Γαλατῶν καὶ Φαρνάκους. τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φυλαξάμενος ἄρα, ὡς ἐμφύλια οὐκ ἐοικότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θριάμβῳ, παρήνεγκεν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τὰ

appointed Salustius Crispus its governor. He pardoned the Uticans and the son of Cato. He captured the daughter of Pompey together with her two children in Utica and sent them safe to the younger Pompeius. Of the 300 he put to death all that he found.[1] Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief was overtaken by a storm, and met a hostile fleet and bore himself bravely until he was overpowered, when he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea. CHAP. XIV

XV

101. This was the end of Caesar's war in Africa, and when he returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had added many great nations to the Roman sway and subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the Gallic and the Pontic triumphs he introduced a kind of Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile. Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these mis- CHAP. XV Caesar's four triumphs B.C. 46

[1] The 300 are those mentioned in § 95. Suetonius (*Jul.* 75) says that only three of Caesar's enemies lost their lives, except in battle, viz.: Afranius, Faustus Sulla, and young Lucius Caesar, and that it was thought that even these were put to death without Caesar's consent.

CAP. XV παθήματα ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαῖς, χωρίς γε Πομπηίου· τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐφυλάξατο δεῖξαι, σφόδρα ἔτι πρὸς πάντων ἐπιποθούμενον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καίπερ δεδιώς, ἔστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἴδοι Λεύκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσόμενον ἐς τὰ στέρνα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθιέμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἢ Πετρήιον ἐπὶ διαίτῃ διαχρώμενον ἑαυτόν, ἢ Κάτωνα ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ διασπώμενον ὡς θηρίον· Ἀχιλλᾷ δ' ἐφήσθησαν καὶ Ποθεινῷ καὶ τὴν Φαρνάκους φυγὴν ἐγέλασαν.

102. Χρήματα δ' ἐν τοῖς θριάμβοις φασὶ παρενεχθῆναι μυριάδας ἓξ καὶ ἥμισυ ταλάντων καὶ στεφάνους δύο καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ δισχιλίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, ἕλκοντας ἐς δισμυρίας καὶ δεκατέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας λίτρας. ἀφ' ὧν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ θριάμβῳ διένειμε, τὰ ὑπεσχημένα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλων, στρατιώτῃ μὲν ἀνὰ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς, λοχαγῷ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχῃ καὶ ἱππάρχῃ τὸ ἔτι διπλάσιον καὶ τοῖς δημόταις ἑκάστῳ μνᾶν Ἀττικήν. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θέας ποικίλας ἵππων τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ πεζομαχίας ἀνδρῶν χιλίων πρὸς ἑτέρους χιλίους καὶ ἱππομαχίαν διακοσίων πρὸς ἴσους καὶ ἀναμὶξ ἄλλων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππέων ἀγῶνα ἐλεφάντων τε μάχην εἴκοσι πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐρετῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπιβεβηκότων ἐς μάχην χιλίων ἑκατέρωθεν. ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεών, ὥσπερ εὔξατο

fortunes were represented in the processions and the men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, whom alone he did not venture to exhibit, since he was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achillas and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces. CHAP. XV

102. It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 [silver] talents[1] was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Caesar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and prefect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected the temple to Venus, his ances-

[1] No reasonable modern estimate can be given of these sums (which are suspiciously large) owing to our ignorance of the purchasing power of money at that period; but the silver talent is generally reckoned about £235 and the Attic mina £4; the drachma was a franc.

CAP. XV μέλλων ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μαχεῖσθαι· καὶ τέμενος τῷ νεῷ περιέθηκεν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔταξεν ἀγορὰν εἶναι, οὐ τῶν ὠνίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πράξεσι συνιόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, καθὰ καὶ Πέρσαις ἦν τις ἀγορὰ ζητοῦσιν ἢ μανθάνουσι τὰ δίκαια. Κλεοπάτρας τε εἰκόνα καλὴν τῇ θεῷ παρεστήσατο, ἣ καὶ νῦν συνέστηκεν αὐτῇ. τὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου πλῆθος ἀναγραψάμενος ἐς ἥμισυ λέγεται τῶν πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων εὑρεῖν· ἐς τοσοῦτο καθεῖλεν ἡ τῶνδε φιλονικία τὴν πόλιν.

103. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤδη τέταρτον ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ τὸν νέον Πομπήιον ἐστράτευεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸς ἦν ἔτι πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· τῶν τε γὰρ ἀρίστων ὅσοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἐκεῖ συνέδραμον, καὶ στρατὸς ὁ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Λιβύης τε καὶ Φαρσάλου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι συνῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἰβήρων τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων, ἔθνους ἀλκίμου καὶ χαίροντος ἀεὶ μάχαις. πολὺς δὲ καὶ δούλων ὅμιλος ἐστρατεύετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος εἶχον ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ γνώμην ἕτοιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα σφαλεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν μάχην, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐλθόντι τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχετο, καίτοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῷ παραινούντων ἐκ πείρας ὧν ἀμφί τε Φάρσαλον καὶ Λιβύην ἐπεπόνθεσαν, ἐκτρίβειν τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ περιφέρειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἧκε μὲν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις, βαρυτάτῳ στρατῷ μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐπελθών· δέος δ'

tress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one half of the number existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city. CHAP. XV

103. Caesar, now in his fourth consulship, marched against the younger Pompeius in Spain. This was all that was left of the civil war, but it was not to be despised, for such of the nobility as had escaped from Africa had assembled here. The army was composed of soldiers from Pharsalus and Africa itself, who had come hither with their leaders, and of Spaniards and Celtiberians, a strong and warlike race. There was also a great number of emancipated slaves in Pompeius' camp, who had all been under discipline four years and were ready to fight with desperation. Pompeius was misled by this appearance of strength and did not postpone the battle, but engaged Caesar straightway on his arrival, although the older men, who had learned by experience at Pharsalus and Africa, advised him to wear Caesar out by delay and reduce him to want, as he was in a hostile country. Caesar made the journey from Rome in twenty-seven days, though he was moving, with a heavily-laden army, by a very B.C. 46 Caesar marches against the younger Pompeius in Spain

CAP. XV

οἷον οὐ πρότερον ἐνέπιπτεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἀπογνώσεως.

104. Δι' ἃ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐβράδυνεν, ἔστε πού τι αὐτῷ κατασκεπτομένῳ προσπελάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ὠνείδισεν ἐς δειλίαν. καὶ τὸ ὄνειδος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτασσε παρὰ πόλιν Κορδύβην, σύνθημα καὶ τότε δοὺς Ἀφροδίτην· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος Εὐσέβειαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιόντων ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τὸ δέος ἥπτετο καὶ ὄκνος ἐπεγίγνετο τῷ φόβῳ, θεοὺς πάντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἱκέτευε, τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνίσχων, μὴ ἐνὶ πόνῳ τῷδε πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα μιῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθέων παρεκάλει τό τε κράνος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρῶν ἐς πρόσωπον ἐδυσώπει καὶ προύτρεπεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδ' ὅς τι μετέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἁρπάσας τινὸς ἀσπίδα καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν εἰπών· "ἔσται τοῦτο τέλος ἐμοί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ὑμῖν τῶν στρατειῶν," προύδραμε τῆς τάξεως ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς μόνους αὐτῶν ἀποσχεῖν δέκα πόδας καὶ διακόσια αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐπιβληθῆναι καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκκλῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναδέξασθαι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων προθέων ἕκαστος ἵστατο παρ' αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐμπεσὼν μετὰ ὁρμῆς ὅλην ἠγωνίζετο τὴν ἡμέραν, προύχων τε καὶ ἡττώμενος αἰεὶ παρὰ μέρος, μέχρις ἐς ἑσπέραν μόλις ἐνίκησεν, ὅτε καὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλάκις μὲν ἀγωνίσαιτο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς.

105. Φόνου δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ φυγῆς

long route, but fear fell upon his soldiers as never before, in consequence of the reports received of the numbers, the discipline, and the desperate valour of he enemy. CHAP. XV

104. For this reason Caesar himself also was slow in movement, until Pompeius approached him at a certain place where he was reconnoitring and accused him of cowardice. Caesar could not endure this reproach. He drew up his forces for battle near Corduba, and then, too, gave *Venus* for his watch-word. Pompeius, on the other hand, gave *Piety* for his. When battle was joined fear seized upon Caesar's army and hesitation was joined to fear. Caesar, lifting his hands toward heaven, implored all the gods that his many glorious deeds be not stained by this single disaster. He ran up and encouraged his soldiers. He took his helmet off his head and shamed them to their faces and exhorted them. As they abated nothing of their fear he seized a shield from a soldier and said to the officers around him, "This shall be the end of my life and of your military service." Then he sprang forward in advance of his line of battle toward the enemy so far that he was only ten feet distant from them. Some 200 missiles were aimed at him, some of which he evaded while others were caught on his shield. Then each of the tribunes ran toward him and took position by his side, and the whole army rushed forward and fought the entire day, advancing and retreating by turns until, toward evening, Caesar with difficulty won the victory. It was reported that he said that he had often fought for victory, but that this time he had fought even for existence. Battle of Munda

105. After a great slaughter the Pompeians fled

CAP. XV τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Κορδύβην, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ διαφυγόντες οἱ πολέμιοι πάλιν ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσαιντο, ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτειχίσαι τὴν Κορδύβην, οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες τοῖς γεγονόσι τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἐπεφόρουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ δόρασιν αὐτὰ διαπηγνύντες ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τοιοῦδε τείχους ἠυλίσαντο. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἑάλω μὲν ἡ πόλις, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων τοῦ Πομπηίου Σκάπλας μὲν νήσας πυρὰν ἑαυτὸν ἐνέπρησεν, Οὐάρου δὲ καὶ Λαβιηνοῦ καὶ ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκομίσθησαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ Καίσαρι. Πομπήιος δ' αὐτὸς διέφυγε μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης σὺν ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἱππεῦσιν ἐπὶ Καρθαίας, ἔνθα αὐτῷ νεῶν στόλος ἦν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὰ νεώρια λαθὼν ὥς τις ἰδιώτης, φορείῳ κομιζόμενος· ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπογιγνώσκοντας ἑαυτῶν ἔδεισε περὶ ἐκδόσεως καὶ ἔφευγεν αὖθις, ἐπιβαίνων σκάφους. ἐμπλακέντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα καλῳδίῳ, κόπτων τις τὸ καλώδιον ξιφιδίῳ, τὸν ταρσὸν ἔτεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλωδίου τοῦ ποδός· καὶ διαπλεύσας ἔς τι χωρίον ἐθεραπεύετο. ζητούμενος δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἔφευγε διὰ δυσβάτου καὶ ἀκανθώδους ὁδοῦ, τὸ τραῦμα περικεντούμενος, μέχρι κάμνων ὑπό τι δένδρον ἐκαθέζετο καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιπεσόντων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπη. τοῦδε μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεχθεῖσάν οἱ προσέταξέ τινι θάψαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ὅδε παρὰ δόξαν ἐλέλυτο· τοὺς δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντας ἤθροιζεν ὁ τοῦδε τοῦ Πομπηίου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, Πομπήιος μὲν καὶ ὅδε ὤν, Σέξτος δὲ καλούμενος τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων

to Corduba, and Caesar, in order to prevent the fugitives from preparing for another battle, ordered a siege of that place. The soldiers, wearied with toil, piled the bodies and arms of the slain together, fastened them to the earth with spears, and encamped behind this ghastly wall. On the following day the city was taken. Scapula, one of the Pompeian leaders, erected a funeral pile on which he consumed himself. The heads of Varus, Labienus, and other distinguished men were brought to Caesar. Pompeius himself fled from the scene of his defeat with 150 horsemen toward Carteia, where he had a fleet, and entered the dockyard secretly as a private individual borne in a litter. When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety he feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot was caught by a rope, and a man who attempted to cut the rope with his sword cut the sole of his foot instead. So he sailed to a certain place and received medical treatment. Being pursued thither he fled by a rough and thorny road that aggravated his wound, until fagged out he took a seat under a tree. Here his pursuers came upon him and he was cut down while defending himself bravely. His head was brought to Caesar who gave orders for its burial. Thus this war also, contrary to expectation, was brought to an end in one battle. A younger brother of this Pompeius, also named Pompeius but called by his first name, Sextus, collected those who escaped from this fight.

Flight and death of the younger Pompeius

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106. Ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν ἔτι λανθάνων καὶ διαδιδράσκων ἐλήστευεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελών, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης, οἵας οὔ τις πρὸ τοῦ· ὅθεν αὐτῷ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ἀμέτρως ἐς χάριν ἐπενοοῦντο, θυσιῶν τε πέρι καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν πᾶσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις χωρίοις, ἀνὰ φυλὴν ἑκάστην καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασι, καὶ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι. σχήματά τε ἐπεγράφετο ταῖς εἰκόσι ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρυὸς ἦν ἐπ' ἐνίαις ὡς σωτῆρι τῆς πατρίδος, ᾧ πάλαι τοὺς ὑπερασπίσαντας ἐγέραιρον οἱ περισωθέντες. ἀνερρήθη δὲ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ᾑρέθη καὶ ὕπατος ἐς δέκα ἔτη, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματίζειν ἐπὶ θρόνων ἐλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσέων, καὶ θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικῶς ἡμφιεσμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, αἷς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν παρατάξεσιν ἐνίκα, ἱερέας δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ πενταετὲς εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὀμνύναι μηδενὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὁριζομένων ἀντιπράξειν. ἔς τε τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυϊντίλιον μῆνα Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυϊντιλίου μετωνόμασαν εἶναι. καὶ νεὼς ἐψηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπιεικείας, ἀλλήλους δεξιουμένων· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὲν ὡς δεσπότην, εὔχοντο δὲ σφίσιν ἐπιεικῆ γενέσθαι

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Unexampled honours bestowed on Caesar

106. Sextus for the present kept hid and lived by piracy, but Caesar having ended the civil wars hastened to Rome, honoured and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honours were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were divine—sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. He was represented in different characters, and in some cases crowned with oak as the saviour of his country, for by this crown those whose lives had been saved used formerly to reward those to whom they owed their safety. He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should himself sacrifice always in triumphal costume; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately upon their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Caesar's decrees. In honour of his birth the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands. Thus whilst they feared his power they besought his clemency.

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107. Εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ βασιλέα προσειπεῖν ἐπενόουν, μέχρι μαθὼν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ἠπείλησεν ὡς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀράν. σπεῖραι δ' ὅσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἔτι ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, ἀπέστησε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας ἐπεφαίνετο μόνης. ὧδε δ' ἔχοντι καὶ χρηματίζοντι πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν προλελεγμένων τιμῶν ἡ βουλή, τῶν ὑπάτων ἡγουμένων, ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι ἑκάστῳ προσέφερον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδεξιοῦτο μέν, οὐχ ὑπανέστη δὲ προσιοῦσιν οὐδ' ἐπιμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς βασιλικῆς προσηγορίας καὶ τόδε παρέσχε. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τιμὰς χωρὶς τῆς δεκαετοῦς ὑπατείας προσέμενος ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν αὑτόν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τὸν ἵππαρχον ἑαυτοῦ, Λεπίδῳ προστάξας ἱππαρχεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἄρχοντι μὲν Ἰβηρίας, ἡγεμονεύοντι δ' αὐτῆς διὰ φίλων. κατεκάλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἔφευγε· καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διηλλάσσετο καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οἱ πολλοὺς προῆγεν ἀθρόως ἐς ἐτησίους ἀρχὰς ἢ ἐς ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ δῆμος ἤλπιζε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὐτὸν αὑτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, καθάπερ Σύλλας ἐς ἴσον αὐτῷ δυναστεύσας ἐποίησεν.

108. Ἀλλὰ τοῦδε μὲν ἐσφάλησαν, εἰκόνα δ' αὐτοῦ τις τῶν ὑπερεθιζόντων τὸ λογοποίημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐστεφάνωσε δάφναις, ἀναπεπλεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δήμαρχοι Μάρυλλός

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107. There were some who proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, saying that it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the praetorian cohorts that had served as his bodyguard during the wars, and showed himself with the ordinary civil escort only. While he was thus transacting business in front of the rostra, the Senate, preceded by the consuls, each one in his robes of office, brought the decree awarding him the honours aforesaid. He extended his hand to them, but did not rise when they approached nor while they remained there, and this, too, afforded his slanderers a pretext for accusing him of wishing to be greeted as a king. He accepted all the honours conferred upon him except the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus, who was then governor of Spain, but was administering it by his friends, master of horse in place of Antony. Caesar also recalled the exiles, except those who were banished for some very grave offence. He pardoned his enemies and forthwith advanced many of those who had fought against him to the yearly magistracies, or to the command of provinces and armies. Wherefore the people was chiefly induced to hope that he would restore the republic to them as Sulla did after he had attained the same power.

He dismisses his bodyguard

B.C. 44

108. In this they were disappointed, but some person among those who wished to spread the report of his desire to be king placed a crown of laurel on his statue, bound with a white fillet. The tribunes, Marullus and Caesetius, sought out this person and

Rumour of his intention to assume the title of king

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τε καὶ Καισήτιος ἀνευρόντες ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλον, ὑποκρινάμενοί τι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι χαρίζεσθαι, προαπειλήσαντι τοῖς περὶ βασιλείας λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἤνεγκεν εὐσταθῶς, ἑτέρων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ἰόντα ποθὲν βασιλέα προσειπόντων καὶ τοῦ δήμου στενάξαντος, εὐμηχάνως εἶπε τοῖς ἀσπασαμένοις· "οὐκ εἰμὶ Βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ," ὡς δὴ περὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένοις. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ἀρξάμενον ἐξεῦρον καὶ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐκέλευον ἄγειν ἐς δίκην ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον αὑτῶν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν κατηγόρησεν ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μάρυλλον ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντων οἱ μετὰ τέχνης ἐς τυραννίδος διαβολήν, καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν ἀξίους μὲν αὐτοὺς εἶναι θανάτου, μόνης δ' αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ παραλύειν τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν διέβαλεν ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ τὰς ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καθιέντα καὶ τυραννικὸν ὅλως γεγονότα· ἥ τε γὰρ πρόφασις τῆς κολάσεως περὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἦν, ἥ τε τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴ ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος ἦν ἐκ νόμου καὶ ὅρκου παλαιοῦ· τήν τε ὀργὴν ὀξεῖαν ἐποίει τὸ μηδ' ἀναμεῖναι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ὑπόλοιπον.

109. Ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσθανόμενος καὶ μετανοῶν καὶ τόδε πρῶτον ἡγούμενος ἄνευ πολεμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ βαρὺ καὶ δυσχερὲς διαπεπρᾶχθαι, λέγεται τοῖς φίλοις αὑτὸν ἐντείλασθαι φυλάσσειν ὡς δεδωκότα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς λαβὴν ζητοῦσι καθ' αὑτοῦ. πυθομένων δ' ἐκείνων, εἰ συγχωρεῖ πάλιν αὐτὸν σωματοφυλακεῖν τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς σπείρας,

put him in prison, pretending to gratify Caesar also by this, as he had threatened any who should talk about making him king. Caesar put up with their action, and when some others who met him at the city gates as he was returning from some place greeted him as king, and the people groaned, he said with happy readiness to those who had thus saluted him, "I am not King, I am Caesar," as though they had mistaken his name. The attendants of Marullus again found out which man began the shouting and ordered the officers to bring him to trial before his tribunal. Caesar at last put up with it no longer and accused the faction of Marullus before the Senate of artfully conspiring to cast upon him the odium of royalty. He added that they were deserving of death, but that it would be sufficient if they were deprived of their office and expelled from the Senate. Thus he confirmed the suspicion that he desired the title, and that he was privy to the attempts to confer it upon him, and that his tyranny was already complete; for the cause of their punishment was their zeal against the title of king, and, moreover, the office of tribune was sacred and inviolable according to law and the ancient oath. By not even waiting for the expiration of their office he sharpened the public indignation. CHAP XVI

109. When Caesar perceived this he repented, and, reflecting that this was the first severe and arbitrary act that he had done without military authority and in time of peace, it is said that he ordered his friends to protect him, since he had given his enemies the handle they were seeking against him. But when they asked him if he would bring together again his Spanish cohorts as a body-

CAP. XVI "οὐδὲν ἀτυχέστερον," ἔφη, "διηνεκοῦς φυλακῆς· ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ δεδιότος." οὐ μὴν αἵ γε περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πεῖραι κατεπαύοντο οὐδ' ὥς, ἀλλὰ θεώμενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ Λουπερκάλια ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσέου, πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, Ἀντώνιος ὑπατεύων σὺν αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καὶ διαθέων τότε γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ τῆσδε τῆς ἑορτῆς ἱερέες, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα ἀναδραμὼν ἐστεφάνωσε διαδήματι. κρότου δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν παρ' ὀλίγων γενομένου καὶ στόνου παρὰ τῶν πλειόνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέρριψε τὸ διάδημα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὖθις ἐπέθηκε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὖθις ἀπερρίπτει. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διεριζόντων μὲν ἔτι ἡσύχαζε, μετέωρος ὤν, ὅπῃ τελευτήσειε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐπικρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεβόησαν ἥδιστον καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμα εὐφήμουν οὐ προσέμενον.

110. Ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἀπογνούς, εἴτε κάμνων καὶ ἐκκλίνων ἤδη τήνδε τὴν πεῖραν ἢ διαβολήν, εἴτε τισὶν ἐχθροῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀφιστάμενος, εἴτε νόσημα τοῦ σώματος θεραπεύων, ἐπιληψίαν καὶ σπασμὸν αἰφνίδιον ἐμπίπτοντα αὐτῷ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς ἀργίας, ἐπενόει στρατείαν μακρὰν ἔς τε Γέτας καὶ Παρθυαίους, Γέταις μὲν αὐστηρῷ καὶ φιλοπολέμῳ καὶ γείτονι ἔθνει προεπιβουλεύων, Παρθυαίους δὲ τινύμενος τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. στρατιὰν δὴ προύπεμπεν ἤδη τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν, ἑκκαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους. καὶ λόγος ἄλλος ἐφοίτα, Σιβύλλειον εἶναι προαγόρευμα μὴ πρὶν ὑπακούσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις Παρθυαίους, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσειε. καί τινες ἀπὸ τοῦδε

guard, he said, "There is nothing more unlucky than perpetual watching; that is the part of one who is always afraid." Nor were the attempts to claim royal honours for him brought to an end even thus, for while he was in the forum looking at the games of the Lupercal, seated on his golden chair before the rostra, Antony, his colleague in the consulship, who was running naked and anointed, as was the priests' custom at that festival, sprang upon the rostra and put a diadem on his head. At this sight some few clapped their hands, but the greater number groaned, and Caesar threw off the diadem. Antony again put it on him and again Caesar threw it off. While they were thus contending the people remained silent, being in suspense to see how it would end. When they saw that Caesar prevailed they shouted for joy, and at the same time applauded him because he did not accept it.

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Antony crowns him him at the Lupercalia

110. And now Caesar, either renouncing his hope, or being tired out, and wishing by this time to avoid this plot and odium, or deliberately giving up the city to certain of his enemies, or hoping to cure his bodily ailment of epilepsy and convulsions, which came upon him suddenly and especially when he was inactive, conceived the idea of a long campaign against the Getae and the Parthians. The Getae, a hardy, warlike, and neighbouring nation, were to be attacked first. The Parthians were to be punished for their perfidy toward Crassus. He sent across the Adriatic in advance sixteen legions of foot and 10,000 horse. And now another rumour gained currency that the Sibylline books had predicted that the Parthians would never submit to the Romans until the latter should be commanded by a king. For this reason

Caesar plans a campaign against the Parthians

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ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὅτι χρὴ Ῥωμαίων μὲν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἦν, δικτάτορα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καλεῖν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ βασιλείας ὀνόματα, τῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν, ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα, ἄντικρυς ἀνειπεῖν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ καὶ τόδε παρῃτεῖτο καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ὅλως ἐπετάχυνεν, ἐπίφθονος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

111. Ἐξιέναι δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα πρὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας οἱ ἐχθροὶ κατέκανον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, εἴτε διὰ ζῆλον εὐτυχίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπερύγκου πάνυ γενομένης, εἴθ', ὡς ἔφασκον αὐτοί, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐπιθυμίᾳ, εὖ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτόν, μὴ καὶ τάδε τὰ ἔθνη προσλαβὼν ἀναμφιλόγως γένοιτο βασιλεύς. ταύτης δὲ σκοπῶν ἡγοῦμαι τῆς προσθήκης ἀφορμὴν λαβεῖν ἐγχειρήσεως, ἐς ὄνομα μόνον αὐτοῖς διαφερούσης, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ δικτάτορος ὄντος ἀκριβῶς βασιλέως. συνεστήσαντο δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν μάλιστα δύο ἄνδρε, Μᾶρκός τε Βροῦτος, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπίκλην, Βρούτου τοῦ κατὰ Σύλλαν ἀνῃρημένου παῖς αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι προσφυγὼν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀτυχήματος, καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ὁ τὰς τριήρεις κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐγχειρίσας τῷ Καίσαρι, οἵδε μὲν ἄμφω τῆς Πομπηίου μοίρας γεγονότε, τῶν δ' αὐτῷ Καίσαρι φιλτάτων Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος, ἅπαντες αἰεὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως χρηματίζοντες ἄξιοι· οἷς γε καὶ πράξεις ἐνεχείρισε μεγίστας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον ἀπιὼν στρατεύματα ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν

some people ventured to say that Caesar ought to be called dictator and emperor of the Romans, as he was in fact, or whatever other name they might prefer to that of king, but that he ought to be distinctly named king of the nations that were subject to the Romans. Caesar declined this also, and was wholly engaged in hastening his departure from the city in which he was exposed to such envy. CHAP. XVI

111. Four days before his intended departure he was slain by his enemies in the senate-house, either from jealousy of his fortune and power, now grown to enormous proportions, or, as they themselves alleged, from a desire to restore the republic of their fathers; for they feared (and in this they knew their man) that if he should conquer these nations also he would indeed be indisputably king. On mature consideration, I conclude that they did actually find an excuse for the conspiracy in the prospect of this additional title, though the difference it could make to them turned on a mere quibble, since in plain fact "dictator" is exactly the same as "king." Chief among the conspirators were two men, Marcus Brutus, surnamed Caepio (son of the Brutus who was put to death during the Sullan revolution), who had sided with Caesar after the disaster of Pharsalus, and Gaius Cassius, the one who had surrendered his triremes to Caesar in the Hellespont, both having been of Pompey's party. Among the conspirators also was Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Caesar's dearest friends. All of them had been held in honour and trust by Caesar at all times. He had employed them in the greatest affairs. When he went to the war in Africa he gave them the command of armies, putting Decimus Brutus in charge Conspiracy against Caesar

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ἐπέτρεψε, τὴν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεων Δέκμῳ, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Βρούτῳ.

112. Μέλλοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ τότε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγήσειν ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐς ἀλλήλους διήριζον περὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτικῆς στρατηγίας, ἣ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμᾶται, εἴτε τῷ ὄντι φιλοτιμούμενοι περὶ αὐτήν, εἴθ' ὑπόκρισις ἦν τοῦ μὴ πάντα συμπράσσειν ἀλλήλοις νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς διαιτῶν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὰ μὲν δίκαια Κάσσιος ἀποφαίνοι, Βρούτῳ δ' αὐτὸς χαρίζοιτο· τοσῆδε ἐν ἅπασιν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐχρῆτο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, Σερουιλίας τῆς Κάτωνος ἀδελφῆς ἐρασθείσης τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε ὁ Βροῦτος ἐγίγνετο. διὸ καὶ νικῶν ἐν Φαρσάλῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς λέγεται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν εἰπεῖν Βροῦτον, ὅπῃ δύναιντο, περισῴζειν. ἀλλ' εἴτε ἀχάριστος ὢν ὁ Βροῦτος, εἴτε τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἁμαρτήματα ἀγνοῶν ἢ ἀπιστῶν ἢ αἰδούμενος, εἴτε φιλελεύθερος ὢν ἄγαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προτιμῶν, εἴθ' ὅτι ἔκγονος ὢν Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξελάσαντος ἐρεθιζόμενος καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου (πολλὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσι τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου καὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦδε τοῦ Βρούτου τοιάδε ἐπεγράφετο λάθρᾳ· "Βροῦτε δωροδοκεῖς; Βροῦτε νεκρὸς εἶ;" ἢ "ὤφελές γε νῦν περιεῖναι" ἢ "ἀνάξιά σου τὰ ἔκγονα" ἢ "οὐδ' ἔκγονος εἶ σὺ τοῦδε"), ταῦτα καὶ τοιου-

of Transalpine, and Marcus Brutus of Cisalpine, Gaul. CHAP. XVI

112. Brutus and Cassius, who had been designated as praetors at the same time, had a controversy with each other as to which of them should be the city praetor, this being the place of highest honour, either because they were really ambitious of the distinction or as a pretence, so that they might not seem to have a common understanding with each other. Caesar, who was chosen umpire between them, is reported to have said to his friends that justice seemed to be on the side of Cassius, but that he must nevertheless favour Brutus. He exhibited the same affection and preference for this man in all things. It was even thought that Brutus was his son, as Caesar was the lover of his mother, Servilia (Cato's sister) about the time of his birth, for which reason, when he won the victory at Pharsalus, it is said that he gave an immediate order to his officers to save Brutus by all means. Whether Brutus was ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether, because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by the people, (for there were secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to Brutus' own tribunal such writings as, "Brutus, are you bribed?" "Brutus, are you dead?" "Thou should'st be living at this hour!" "Your posterity is unworthy of you," or, "You are not *his* descendant,")—at any rate these and many like

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τότροπα ἄλλα πολλὰ τὸν νεανίαν ἐξέκαυσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἑαυτοῦ προγονικόν.

113. Ἀκμάζοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ περὶ βασιλείας λόγου καὶ συνόδου μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς μετ' ὀλίγον, ὁ Κάσσιος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα τῷ Βρούτῳ "τί ποιήσομεν," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἂν οἱ κύλακες τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμην περὶ βασιλείας προθῶσι;" καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος οὐκ ἔφη παρέσεσθαι τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου· "τί δ', ἂν ἡμᾶς καλῶσιν ὡς στρατηγούς, τί ποιήσομεν, ὦ ἀγαθὲ Βροῦτε"; "ἀμυνῶ τῇ πατρίδι," ἔφη, "μέχρι θανάτου." καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ἀσπασάμενος "τίνα δ'," ἔφη, "οὐ προσλήψῃ τῶν ἀρίστων οὕτω φρονῶν; ἢ σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ χειροτέχναι καὶ κάπηλοι καταγράφειν σου τὸ δικαστήριον ἀσήμως μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄριστοι, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν θέας αἰτοῦντες ἵππων ἢ θηρίων, παρὰ δὲ σοῦ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὡς σὸν προγονικὸν ἔργον;" οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἄρα ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοούμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀλλήλοις προύφερον καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἑκάτερος φίλων ἀπεπειρῶντο καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, οὓς εὐτολμοτάτους ἑκατέρων ᾔδεσαν. καὶ συνήγειραν ἐκ μὲν τῶν σφετέρων ἀδελφὼ δύο, Καικίλιόν τε καὶ Βουκολιανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥούβριον Ῥῆγα καὶ Κόιντον Λιγάριον καὶ Μᾶρκον Σπόριον καὶ Σερουίλιον Γάλβαν καὶ Σέξστιον Νάσωνα καὶ Πόντιον Ἀκύλαν, τούσδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων σφίσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Καίσαρος Δέκμον τε, περὶ οὗ μοι προείρηται, καὶ Γάιον Κάσκαν

incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his ancestor. CHAP. XVI

113. While the talk about the kingship was at its height, and just before there was to be a meeting of the Senate, Cassius met Brutus, and, seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senate-house if Caesar's flatterers propose a decree making him king?" Brutus replied that he would not be there. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as praetors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he replied. Cassius embraced him, saying, "If this is your mind, whom of the nobility will you not rally to your standard? Do you think it is artisans and shopkeepers who have written those clandestine messages on your tribunal, or is it rather the noblest Romans, who, though they ask from the other praetors games, horse-races, and combats of wild beasts, ask from you liberty, a boon worthy of your ancestry?" Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own friends, and of Caesar's also, whom they considered the most courageous of either faction. Of their own friends they inveigled two brothers, Caecilius and Bucolianus, and besides these Rubrius Ruga, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Naso, and Pontius Aquila. These were of their own faction. Of Caesar's friends they secured Decimus Brutus, whom I have already men-

CAP. XVI καὶ Τρεβώνιον καὶ Τίλλιον καὶ Κιμβρον καὶ Μινούκιον καὶ Βάσιλον.

114. Ὡς δὲ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν ἄλις ἔχειν καὶ πλέοσιν ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, συνέθεντο μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἄνευ τε ὅρκων καὶ ἄνευ σφαγίων, καὶ οὐδεὶς μετέθετο οὐδὲ προύδωκε, καιρὸν δ' ἐζήτουν καὶ τόπον· ὁ μὲν δὴ καιρὸς ὑπερήπειγεν ὡς Καίσαρος ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ φυλακῆς αὐτὸν αὐτίκα περιεξούσης στρατιωτικῆς· χωρίον δ' ἐπενόουν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὡς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων, ὃ καὶ περὶ Ῥωμύλον τυραννικὸν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γενόμενον ἐλέγετο συμβῆναι. δόξειν τε τὸ ἔργον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνο καὶ τόδε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ γενόμενον, οὐ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πεπρᾶχθαι ἀκίνδυνόν τε, ὡς κοινόν, ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ· καὶ τὴν τιμὴν σφίσι μενεῖν, οὐκ ἀγνοουμένοις, ὅτι ἦρξαν. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπελέγοντο πάντες ὁμαλῶς· περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρόπου διεφέροντο, οἱ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον συναναιρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα σὺν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φίλον αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις γνωριμώτατον· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι μόνῳ δόξαν οἴσεσθαι τυραννοκτόνων ὡς βασιλέα ἀναιροῦντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ ἐχθρῶν ὡς Πομπηίου στασιῶται.

115. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷδε μάλιστα ἀναπεισθέντες

tioned, also Gaius Casca, Trebonius, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basilus. CHAP XVI

114. When they thought that they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They then sought time and place. Time was pressing because Caesar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and then a body-guard of soldiers would surround him. They chose the Senate as the place, believing that, even though the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed; and it was said that this happened in the case of Romulus when he changed from a king to a tyrant. They thought that this deed, like that one of old, taking place in open Senate, would seem to be not in the way of a private conspiracy, but in behalf of the country, and that, being in the public interest, there would be no danger from Caesar's army. At the same time they thought the honour would remain theirs because the public would not be ignorant that they took the lead. For these reasons they unanimously chose the Senate as the place, but they were not agreed as to the mode. Some thought that Antony ought to be killed also because he was consul with Caesar, and was his most powerful friend, and the one of most repute with the army; but Brutus said that they would win the glory of tyrannicide from the death of Caesar alone, because that would be the killing of a king. If they should kill his friends also, the deed would be imputed to private enmity and to the Pompeian faction.

Brutus prevents the killing of Antony

115. They listened to this reasoning and awaited the

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τὴν προσιοῦσαν αὐτίκα τῆς βουλῆς σύνοδον ἐφύλασσον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦδε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χωρῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐς Λέπιδον τὸν ἵππαρχον, ἐπήγετο Δέκμον Βροῦτον Ἀλβῖνον ἐς τὸν πότον καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι προύθηκε, τίς ἄριστος ἀνθρώπῳ θάνατος· αἱρουμένων δὲ ἕτερα ἑτέρων αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἐπήνει τὸν αἰφνίδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὧδε προυμαντεύετο ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐλεσχήνευε περὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν αὔριον ἐσομένων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πότῳ νυκτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα νωθρὸν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καλπουρνία ἐνύπνιον αἵματι πολλῷ καταρρεόμενον ἰδοῦσα κατεκώλυε μὴ προελθεῖν. θυομένῳ τε πολλάκις ἦν τὰ σημεῖα φοβερά. καὶ πέμπειν ἔμελλεν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσοντα τὴν βουλήν. ἀλλὰ Δέκμος παρὼν ἔπεισε μὴ λαβεῖν ὑπεροψίας διαβολήν, αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπελθόντα διαλῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκομίζετο φορείῳ, θέαι δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ, καὶ βουλευτήριον ἔμελλε τῶν τις περὶ αὐτὸ οἴκων ἔσεσθαι, εἰωθὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς θέαις ὧδε γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἔωθεν κατὰ τὴν στοὰν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῖς δεομένοις σφῶν ὡς στρατηγῶν εὐσταθέστατα ἐχρημάτιζον, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἱερῶν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάνυ ἠποροῦντο. καί τις, αὐτῶν ὧδε ἐχόντων, τῆς Κάσκα χειρὸς λαβόμενος εἶπε· "σὺ μὲν ὄντα με φίλον ἀπέκρυψας, Βροῦτος δ' ἀνήνεγκέ μοι." καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάσκας ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἄφνω τεθορύβητο, ὁ δ' ἐπιμειδιάσας

next meeting of the Senate, and the day before the meeting Caesar went to dine with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to drink wine after dinner, and while the wine went round the conversation Caesar proposed the question, "What is the best kind of death?" Various opinions were given, but Caesar alone expressed preference for a sudden death. In this way he foretold his own end, and conversed about what was to happen on the morrow. After the banquet a certain bodily faintness came over him in the night, and his wife, Calpurnia, had a dream, in which she saw him streaming with blood, for which reason she tried to prevent him from going out in the morning. When he offered sacrifice there were many unfavourable signs. He was about to send Antony to dismiss the Senate when Decimus, who was with him, persuaded him, in order not to incur the charge of disregard for the Senate, to go there and dismiss it himself. Accordingly he was borne thither in a litter. Games were going on in Pompey's theatre, and the Senate was about to assemble in one of the adjoining buildings, as was the custom when the games were taking place. Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as praetors with those seeking their services. When they heard of the bad omens at Caesar's house and that the Senate was to be dismissed, they were greatly disconcerted. While they were in this state of mind a certain person took Casca by the hand and said, "You kept the secret from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me all." Casca was suddenly conscience-stricken and shuddered, but his friend, smiling, continued,

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ἔφη· "πόθεν οὖν ἔσται σοι τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἀγορανομίας;" καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ἀνήνεγκεν. αὐτὸν δὲ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον σύννους τε ὄντας καὶ συλλαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις τῶν τις βουλευτῶν ἐπισπάσας, Ποπίλιος Λαίνας, ἔφη συνεύχεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἔχουσι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ παρήνει ἐπιταχύνειν. οἱ δὲ ἐθορυβήθησαν μέν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως ἐσιώπων.

116. Φερομένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῶν οἰκείων τις αὐτῷ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθὼν ἔθει μηνύσων, ὃ ἔμαθεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Καλπουρνίαν ἦλθε καὶ τοσόνδε μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι χρήζοι Καίσαρος ὑπὲρ ἔργων ἐπειγόντων, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἄρα τὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα πεπυσμένος. ὁ δ' ἐν Κνίδῳ γεγονὼς αὐτῷ ξένος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσδραμὼν εὗρεν ἄρτι ἀναιρούμενον. ὑπὸ δ' ἄλλου καὶ βιβλίον περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπιδοθὲν αὐτῷ προθυμένῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσιόντι, μετὰ χεῖρας εὑρέθη τεθνεῶτος. ἄρτι δ' ἐκβαίνοντι τοῦ φορείου Λαίνας, ὁ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον πρὸ ὀλίγου συνευξάμενος, ἐντυχὼν διελέγετο ἰδίᾳ μετὰ σπουδῆς. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἥ τε ὄψις αὐτίκα τοῦ γιγνομένου κατέπλησσε καὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐντεύξεως, καὶ διένευον ἀλλήλοις διαχρήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸ συλλήψεως· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸν Λαίναν ὁρῶντες οὐ μηνύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ περί του δεομένῳ καὶ λιπαροῦντι ἐοικότα, ἀνέφερον, ὡς δ'

"Where shall you get the money to stand for the aedileship?" Then Casca recovered himself. While Brutus and Cassius were conferring and talking together, Popilius Laena, one of the senators, drew them aside and said that he joined them in his prayers for what they had in mind, and he urged them to make haste. They were confounded, but remained silent from terror. CHAP. XVI

Caesar comes to the Senate

116. While Caesar was actually being borne to the Senate one of his intimates, who had learned of the conspiracy, ran to his house to tell what he knew. When he arrived there and found only Calpurnia he merely said that he wanted to speak to Caesar about urgent business, and then waited for him to come back from the Senate, because he did not know all the particulars of the affair. Meantime Artemidorus, whose hospitality Caesar had enjoyed at Cnidus, ran to the Senate and found him already in the death-throes. A tablet informing him of the conspiracy was put into Caesar's hand by another person while he was sacrificing in front of the senate-house, but he went in immediately and it was found in his hand after his death. Directly after he stepped out of the litter Popilius Laena, who a little before had joined his prayers with the party of Cassius, accosted Caesar and engaged him aside in earnest conversation. The sight of this proceeding and especially the length of the conversation struck terror into the hearts of the conspirators, and they made signs to each other that they would kill themselves rather than be captured. As the conversation was prolonged they saw that Laena did not seem to be revealing anything to Caesar, but rather to be urging some petition. They recovered themselves and when

CAP. XVI ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον εἶδον, ἀνεθάρρησαν. ἔθος δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσιοῦσιν οἰωνίζεσθαι προσιοῦσι. καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἦν τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄνευ καρδίας ἥ, ὡς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις ἔλειπε. καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εἰπόντος θανάτου τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι, γελάσας ἔφη τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γενέσθαι πολεμοῦντι Πομπηίῳ. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι καὶ τότε κινδυνεύσειε λαμπρῶς καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον εἴη τὸ σημεῖον, αὖθις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευε θύεσθαι. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὡς καλλιερουμένου, τὴν βουλὴν βραδύνουσαν αἰδούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς φίλων ἐπειγόμενος ἐσῄει τῶν ἱερῶν καταφρονήσας· χρῆν γὰρ ἃ ἐχρῆν Καίσαρι γενέσθαι.

117. Οἱ δ' Ἀντώνιον μὲν πρὸ θυρῶν ἀποδιατρίβειν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ Τρεβώνιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελίποντο, Καίσαρα δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προκαθίσαντα περιέστησαν οἷα φίλοι σὺν λεληθόσι ξιφιδίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν Τίλλιος μὲν Κίμβερ, ἐντυχὼν ἐς πρόσωπον, ἀδελφῷ φυγάδι κάθοδον ᾔτει· ἀνατιθεμένου δὲ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅλως τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ μὲν Κίμβερ αὐτοῦ τῆς πορφύρας ὡς ἔτι δεόμενος ἐλάβετο καὶ τὸ εἷμα περισπάσας ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἵλκε, βοῶν· "τί βραδύνετε ὦ φίλοι;" Κάσκας δ' ἐφεστὼς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ξίφος ἤρεισε πρῶτος, παρολισθὼν δὲ ἐνέτεμε τὸ στῆθος. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τό τε ἱμάτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κίμβερος ἐπισπάσας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ

they saw him return thanks to Caesar after the conversation they took new courage. It was the custom of the magistrates, when about to enter the Senate, to take the auspices at the entrance. Here again Caesar's first victim was without a heart, or, as some say, the upper part of the entrails was wanting. The soothsayer said that this was a sign of death. Caesar, laughing, said that the same thing had happened to him when he was beginning his campaign against Pompeius in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in very great danger then and that now the omen was more deadly. So Caesar ordered him to sacrifice again. None of the victims were more propitious; but being ashamed to keep the Senate waiting, and being urged by his enemies in the guise of friends, he went on disregarding the omens. For it was fated that Caesar should meet his fate.

Bad omens at the entrance

117. The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others, with concealed daggers, stood around Caesar like friends as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Caesar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging his petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck, exclaiming, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then first Casca, who was standing over Caesar's head, drove his dagger at his throat, but swerved and wounded him in the breast. Caesar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled

Caesar assassinated

CAP. XVI Κάσκα λαβόμενος καὶ καταδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς τὸν Κάσκαν εἵλκυσε σὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ. οὕτω δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πλευρὸν ἕτερος, ὡς ἐπὶ συστροφῇ τεταμένον, διελαύνει ξιφιδίῳ· καὶ Κάσσιος ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔπληξε καὶ Βροῦτος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε καὶ Βουκολιανὸς ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπὶ μέν τι σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοῇ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βρούτου πληγήν, ... εἴτε ἀπογινώσκοντα ἤδη, τὸ ἱμάτιον περικαλύψασθαι καὶ πεσεῖν εὐσχημόνως παρὰ ἀνδριάντι Πομπηίου· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐνύβριζον αὐτῷ πεσόντι, μέχρι τριῶν ἐπὶ εἴκοσι πληγῶν· πολλοί τε διωθιζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ἀλλήλους ἔπληξαν.

XVII

CAP. XVII 118. Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῖς φονεῦσι τοσοῦδε ἄγους ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἄνδρα ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον, φυγή τε ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον αὐτίκα καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἕτεροι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀστῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ προβεβουλευμένος, ἀλλ' οἷος ἐκ θορύβου πολιτικοῦ καὶ ἀγνωσίας τῶν ἐπιλαβόντων, οἵ τε γὰρ μονομάχοι, ὡπλισμένοι ἔωθεν ὡς ἐπὶ δή τινα θέας ἐπίδειξιν, ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διέθεον ἐς τὰ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου παραφράγματα,

Casca with great violence. While he was in this position another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side, which was stretched tense by his strained position.[1] Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus in the back. With rage and outcries Caesar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but, after receiving the wound from Brutus[2] he at last despaired and, veiling himself with his robe, composed himself for death and fell at the foot of Pompey's statue. They continued their attack after he had fallen until he had received twenty-three wounds. Several of them while thrusting with their swords wounded each other. CHAP. XVI

XVII

118. When the murderers had perpetrated their gloomy crime, in a sacred place, on one whose person was sacred and inviolable, there was an immediate flight throughout the curia and throughout the whole city. Some senators were wounded in the tumult and others killed. Many other citizens and strangers were murdered also, not designedly, but as such things happen in public commotions, by the mistakes of those into whose hands they fell. Gladiators, who had been armed early in the morning for that day's spectacles, ran out of the theatre to the screens[3] of CHAP. XVII Panic in the city

[1] Literally, "by reason of twisting."
[2] There is a gap in the text.
[3] Some sort of barrier at the entrance (*cancelli*).

CAP. XVII καὶ τὸ θέατρον ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως σὺν φόβῳ καὶ δρόμῳ διελύετο, τά τε ὤνια ἡρπάζετο· καὶ τὰς θύρας ἅπαντες ἀπέκλειον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς ἄμυναν ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀντώνιός τε τὴν οἰκίαν ὠχύρου, τεκμαιρόμενος συνεπιβουλεύεσθαι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ Λέπιδος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ὢν ἐπύθετο τοῦ γεγονότος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νῆσον διαδραμών, ἔνθα ἦν αὐτῷ τέλος στρατιωτῶν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον αὐτοὺς μετεβίβαζεν ὡς ἑτοιμοτέρους ἔξων ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου· Ἀντωνίῳ γὰρ ἐξίστατο, φίλῳ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντι μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπάτῳ. καὶ αὐτοῖς σκεπτομένοις ὁρμὴ μὲν ἦν ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι τοιάδε παθόντι, τὴν δὲ βουλὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἐσομένην ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἔτι περιεσκόπουν. ἀμφὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατιωτικὸν μὲν οὐκ ἦν, οὐ γὰρ δορυφόροις ἠρέσκετο, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑπηρεσία μόνη καὶ αἱ πλέονες ἀρχαὶ καὶ πολὺς ὅμιλος ἄλλος ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ πολὺς θεράπων καὶ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρεπεπόμφεισαν, ὧν ἀθρόως διαφυγόντων τρεῖς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν, οἳ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ φορεῖον ἐνθέμενοι διεκόμισαν οἴκαδε ἀνωμάλως, οἷα τρεῖς, τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου γῆς καὶ θαλάττης προστάτην.

119. Οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς ἐβούλοντο μέν τι εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑδενὸς δὲ παραμείναντος τὰ ἱμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς ὥσπερ ἀσπίδας περιπλεξάμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἔχοντες ἐβοηδρόμουν βασιλέα καὶ τύραννον ἀνελεῖν. καὶ πῖλόν

the senate-house. The theatre itself was emptied in haste and panic terror, and the markets were plundered. All citizens closed their doors and prepared for defence on their roofs. Antony fortified his house, apprehending that the conspiracy was against him as well as Caesar. Lepidus, the master of the horse, being in the forum at the time, learned what had been done and ran to the island in the river where he had a legion of soldiers, which he transferred to the Field of Mars in order to be in greater readiness to execute Antony's orders; for he yielded to Antony as a closer friend of Caesar and also as consul. While pondering over the matter they were strongly moved to avenge the death of Caesar, but they feared lest the Senate should espouse the side of the murderers and so they concluded to await events. There had been no military guard around Caesar, for he did not like guards; but the usual attendants of the magistracy, most of the officers, and a large crowd of citizens and strangers, of slaves and freedmen, had accompanied him from his house to the Senate. These had fled *en masse*, all except three slaves, who placed the body in the litter and, unsteadily enough, as three bearers would, bore homeward him who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea. CHAP. XVII

119. The murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields, and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a cap[1] on the end of a spear as

[1] The cap (*pileus*) was given to enfranchised slaves and ransomed captives as a sign of liberty.

CAP. XVII τις ἐπὶ δόρατος ἔφερε, σύμβολον ἐλευθερώσεως ἐπί τε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν παρεκάλουν καὶ Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι καὶ τῶν τότε σφίσιν ὁμωμοσμένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πάλαι βασιλεῦσιν ἀνεμίμνησκον. συνέθεον δὲ αὐτοῖς τινες χρησάμενοι ξιφίδια, οἳ τοῦ ἔργου μὴ μετασχόντες προσεποιοῦντο τὴν δόξαν, Λέντλος τε ὁ Σπινθὴρ καὶ Φαώνιος καὶ Ἀκουῖνος καὶ Δολοβέλλας καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Πατίσκος· οἳ τῆς μὲν δόξης οὐ μετέσχον, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τοῖς ἁμαρτοῦσι συνέτυχον. τοῦ δήμου δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ προσθέοντος ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τῇ μὲν βουλῇ, καὶ εἰ αὐτίκα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ θορύβου διέφυγε, θαρροῦντες ὅμως, συγγενέσι τε σφῶν καὶ φίλοις οὖσι βαρυνομένοις τε τὴν τυραννίδα ὁμοίως, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους τῷ Καίσαρι πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε παρόντας, τοὺς μὲν ἄρτι τῆς στρατείας ἀφειμένους καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διατεταγμένους, τοὺς δὲ προαπῳκισμένους μέν, ἐς δὲ παραπομπὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξιόντος ἀφιγμένους. Λέπιδόν τε ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα, μὴ ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ χρώμενος ἐργάσαιτό τι δεινὸν αὐτούς.

120. Οὕτω δ' ἔχοντες τὸ Καπιτώλιον σὺν τοῖς μονομάχοις ἀνέθορον. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἔδοξεν ἐπὶ τὰ πλήθη μισθώματα περιπέμπειν· ἤλπιζον γάρ, ἀρξαμένων τινῶν ἐπαινεῖν τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπιλήψεσθαι λογισμῷ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πολιτείας. ἔτι γὰρ ᾤοντο τὸν δῆμον εἶναι Ῥωμαῖον ἀκριβῶς, οἷον ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου τὴν τότε

a symbol of freedom, and exhorted the people to restore the government of their fathers and recall the memory of the elder Brutus and of those who took the oath together against the ancient kings. With them ran some with drawn swords who had not participated in the deed, but wanted to share the glory, among whom were Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus, and Patiscus. These did not share the glory, but they suffered punishment with the guilty. As the people did not flock to them they were disconcerted and alarmed. Although the Senate had at first fled through ignorance and alarm, they had confidence in it nevertheless as consisting of their own relatives and friends, and oppressed equally with themselves by the tyranny; but they were suspicious of the plebeians and of Caesar's soldiers, many of whom were then present in the city, some lately dismissed from the service, to whom lands had been allotted; others who had been already settled, but had come in to serve as an escort for Caesar on his departure from the city. The assassins had fears of Lepidus, too, and of the army under him in the city, and also of Antony in his character as consul, lest he should consult the people alone, instead of the Senate, and bring some fearful punishment upon them.

CHAP. XVII

120. In this frame of mind they hastened up to the Capitol with their gladiators. There they took counsel and decided to bribe the populace, hoping that if some would begin to praise the deed others would join in from love of liberty and longing for the republic. They thought that the genuinely Roman people were still as they had learned that they were when the elder Brutus expelled the kings. They did

The murderers take possession of the Capitol

CAP. XVII βασιλείαν καθαιροῦντος ἐπυνθάνοντο γενέσθαι· καὶ οὐ συνίεσαν δύο τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία προσδοκῶντες, φιλελευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ μισθωτοὺς σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμως τοὺς παρόντας. ὧν θάτερον εὐχερέστερον ἦν, διεφθαρμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας. παμμιγές τε γάρ ἐστιν ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ ξενίας, καὶ ὁ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῖς ἰσοπολίτης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ δουλεύων ἔτι τὸ σχῆμα τοῖς δεσπόταις ὅμοιος· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἡ ἄλλη στολὴ τοῖς θεράπουσίν ἐστιν ἐπίκοινος. τό τε σιτηρέσιον τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμῃ τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λεὼν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται. τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀποστρατευομένων, οὐ διαλυόμενον ἐς τὰς πατρίδας ἔτι ὡς πάλαι καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα δέει τοῦ μὴ δικαίους πολέμους ἑνίους πεπολεμηκέναι, κοινῇ δὲ ἐς κληρουχίας ἀδίκους ἀλλοτρίας τε γῆς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων οἰκιῶν ἐξιόν, ἄθρουν τότε ἐστάθμευεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ὑφ' ἑνὶ σημείῳ καὶ ὑφ' ἑνὶ ἄρχοντι τῆς ἀποικίας, τὰ μὲν ὄντα σφίσιν ὡς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἤδη διαπεπρακότες, εὔωνοι δ' ἐς ὅ τι μισθοῦντο.

121. Ὅθεν οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκ τοσῶνδε καὶ τοιῶνδε ἀνδρῶν πλῆθός τι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐθὺς ἀγήγερτο· οἳ καίπερ ὄντες ἔμμισθοι τὰ μὲν γενόμενα ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, δεδιότες τὴν Καίσαρος δόξαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῶν ἑτέρων ἐσόμενον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεβόων καὶ θαμινὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρεκάλουν, τέχνασμα τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῶν ἀνδροφόνων σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι

not perceive that they were counting on two incompatible things, namely, that people could be lovers of liberty and bribe-takers at the same time. The latter class were much easier to find of the two, because the government had been corrupt for a long time. For the plebeians are now much mixed with foreign blood, freedmen have equal rights of citizenship with them, and slaves are dressed in the same fashion as their masters. Except in the case of the senatorial rank the same costume is common to slaves and to free citizens. Moreover the distribution of corn to the poor, which takes place in Rome only, draws thither the lazy, the beggars, the vagrants of all Italy. The multitude, too, of discharged soldiers who were no longer dispersed one by one to their native places as formerly, through fear lest some of them might have engaged in unjustifiable wars, but were sent in groups to unjust allotments of lands and confiscated houses, was at this time encamped in temples and sacred enclosures under one standard, and one person appointed to lead them to their colony, and as they had already sold their own belongings preparatory to their departure they were in readiness to be bought for any purpose.

CHAP. XVII

Corruption of Roman society

Conspirators distribute bribes

121. From so many men of this kind a considerable crowd was drawn speedily and without difficulty to the party of Cassius in the forum. These, although bought, did not dare to praise the murder, because they feared Caesar's reputation and doubted what course the rest of the people might take. So they shouted for peace as being for the public advantage, and with one accord recommended this policy to the magistrates, intending by this device to secure the safety of the murderers; for there could be no peace

CAP. XVII

τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι πρῶτος ἐπιφαίνεται Κίννας στρατηγός, οἰκεῖος ὢν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπελθὼν ἐς μέσους τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, ὡς παρὰ τυράννου δεδομένης ὑπερορῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τύραννον ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἀνελόντας τυραννοκτόνους, καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐσέμνυνεν ὡς ὁμοιότατον μάλιστα τῷ προγονικῷ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς εὐεργέτας καλεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ γεραίρειν. καὶ Κίννας μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὐχ ὁρῶντες ἐπιμιγνύμενον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐδέ τι πλέον ἢ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης μόνης αὖθις παρεκάλουν.

122. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἀνὴρ καὶ περιώνυμος, ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ ἔτους ᾑρημένος, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξορμήσειε τῆς πόλεως, τὴν μὲν ὕπατον ἐσθῆτα ἠμφιέσατο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς περιεστήσατο, τὸν δὲ ταῦτά οἱ παρασχόντα δεύτερος ὅδε ἐλοιδόρει καὶ συνεγνωκέναι τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένοις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ μόνης ἄκων τῆς χειρὸς ἀπολειφθῆναι (εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν ἡμέραν θέσθαι τῇ πόλει γενέθλιον), τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἀνεθάρρυνον ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὑπάτου σφίσι συγγνωμόνων ὄντων καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἥδοντο μὲν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἄνδρα νέον καὶ γνώριμον καὶ ὕπατον ἕξειν ἐς ἐναντίωσιν Ἀντωνίου, κατήεσαν δὲ αὐτῶν μόνοι Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ἠμαγμένος τὴν χεῖρα· συγκατήνεγκαν γὰρ δὴ τὰς

without amnesty to them. While they were thus engaged the praetor Cinna, a relative of Caesar by marriage, made his appearance, advanced unexpectedly into the middle of the forum, laid aside his praetorian robe, as if disdaining the gift of a tyrant, and called Caesar a tyrant and his murderers tyrannicides. He extolled their deed as exactly like that of their ancestors, and ordered that the men themselves should be called from the Capitol as benefactors and rewarded with public honours. So spake Cinna, but when the hirelings saw that the unbought portion of the crowd did not agree with them they did not call for the men in the Capitol, nor did they do anything else but continually demand peace. CHAP. XVII

122. But after Dolabella, a young man of noble family who had been chosen by Caesar as consul for the remainder of his own year when he was about to leave the city, and who had put on the consular garb and taken the other insignia of the office, came forward next and railed against the man who had advanced him to this dignity and pretended that he was privy to the conspiracy against him, and that his hand alone was unwillingly absent—some say that he even proposed a decree that this day should be consecrated as the birthday of the republic—then indeed the hirelings took new courage, seeing that they had both a praetor and a consul on their side, and demanded that Cassius and his friends be summoned from the Capitol. They were delighted with Dolabella and thought that now they had a young optimate, who was also consul, to oppose against Antony. Only Cassius and Marcus Brutus came down, the latter with his hand still bleeding from the wound he had received when he and Cassius

Brutus and Cassius come down from the Capitol

CAP. XVII πληγὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ μέσον, οὐδὲν ταπεινὸν οὐδέτερος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις ἀλλήλους ἐπῄνουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμακάριζον καὶ Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐμαρτύρουν, ὅτι τοὺς μονομάχους σφίσιν ἐν καιρῷ παράσχοι. τόν τε δῆμον ἐξώτρυνον ὅμοια τοῖς προγόνοις ἐργάσασθαι τοῖς καθελοῦσι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐκ ἐκ βίας ἄρχοντας ὥσπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ' ᾑρημένους ὑπὸ νόμοις· Σέξστον τε Πομπήιον, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τοῦ Καίσαρι περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπολεμηκότος, καλεῖν ἠξίουν, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους Καισήτιον καὶ Μάρυλλον, οἳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεθέντες ἠλῶντο.

123. Τοιάδε μὲν εἶπον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ ἐπανῆλθον αὖθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν πω τοῖς παροῦσι. τῶν δ' οἰκείων σφίσι καὶ συγγενῶν τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντων ᾑρέθησαν οἱ πρεσβεύσοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐς Λέπιδόν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον ὁμονοίας πέρι καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ φειδοῦς τῶν ἐσομένων τῇ πατρίδι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ συμφρονοῖεν. καὶ ἐδέοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ πεπραγμένον (οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν ἐν φίλοις Καίσαρος), γενόμενον δ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἀξιοῦντες ἐλέῳ τε τῶν δεδρακότων αὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ μῖσος, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ

were dealing blows at Caesar. When they reached the forum neither of them said anything which betokened humility. On the contrary, they praised each other, as though the deed were something confessedly honourable, congratulated the city, and bore special testimony to the merits of Decimus Brutus because he had furnished them gladiators at a critical moment. They exhorted the people to be like their ancestors, who had expelled the kings, although the latter were exercising the government not by violence like Caesar, but had been chosen according to law. They advised the recall of Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, the defender of the republic against Caesar), who was still warring against Caesar's lieutenants in Spain. They also recommended that the tribunes, Caesetius and Marullus, who had been deposed by Caesar, should be recalled from exile. CHAP. XVII

123. After they had thus spoken Cassius and Brutus returned directly to the Capitol, because they had not yet entire confidence in the present posture of affairs. As their friends and relatives were then first enabled to come to them in the temple, they chose from among them messengers to treat on their behalf with Lepidus and Antony for conciliation and the preservation of liberty, and for warding off the evils that would befall the country if they should not come to an agreement. This the messengers besought, not, however, extolling the deed that had been done, for they did not dare to do this in the presence of Caesar's friends, but asking that it be tolerated now that it was done, out of pity for the perpetrators, (who had been actuated, not by hatred towards Caesar, but by love of country), and out of compassion Proposals to Antony for corn promise

CAP. XVII οἴκτῳ τῆς πόλεως κεκενωμένης στάσεσιν ἤδη συνεχέσιν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἡ μέλλουσα στάσις διολέσει. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅσιον, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἔχθρα πρὸς ἐνίους, ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις κινδύνοις ἐξερίζειν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τὰ ἴδια καταθέσθαι ἤ, εἴ τις ἀνηκέστως ἔχει, τὰ ἴδια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀναθέσθαι.

124. Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος ἐβούλοντο μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, ὥς μοι προείρηται, εἴτε φιλίας ἕνεκα εἴτε τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀρχῆς ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ νομίζοντες εὐμαρέστερα σφίσιν ἅπαντα ἔσεσθαι τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἐκποδὼν γενομένων· τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην βουλὴν ἐπιρρέπουσαν ἐς ἐκείνους, Δέκμον τε μάλιστα, τῆς ὁμόρου Κελτικῆς ῥηγεύσαντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἄρχειν, στρατὸν πολὺν ἐχούσης. ἐδόκει δὴ καραδοκεῖν ἔτι τὰ γενησόμενα καὶ τεχνάζειν εἰ δύναιντο περισπάσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Δέκμου, ἄθυμον ἤδη τοῖς ἀτρύτοις πόνοις γεγενημένην. οὕτω δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς εἰπόντας ἠμείψατο· "κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν ἰδίαν οὐδὲν ἐργασόμεθα· ἕνεκα δὲ τοῦ μύσους καὶ ὧν Καίσαρι πάντες ὠμόσαμεν, φύλακες αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος ἢ τιμωροὶ παθόντι τι ἔσεσθαι, εὔορκον ἦν τὸ ἄγος ἐξελαύνειν καὶ μετ' ὀλιγωτέρων καθαρῶν βιοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πάντας ἐνόχους ὄντας ταῖς ἀραῖς. ἀλλὰ δι' ὑμᾶς οἷς οὕτω δοκεῖ, σκεψόμεθα μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ

for the city exhausted by long-continued civil strife, which a new sedition might deprive of the good men still remaining. "If enmity is entertained against certain persons," they said, "it will be an act of impiety to gratify it in a time of public danger. It is far preferable to merge private animosity in the public welfare, or, if anybody were irreconcilable, at least to postpone his private grievances for the present." CHAP. XVII

124. Antony and Lepidus wished to avenge Caesar, as I have already said, either on the score of friendship, or of the oaths they had sworn, or because they were aiming at the supreme power themselves and thought that their course would be easier if so many men of such rank were put out of the way at once. But they feared the friends and relatives of these men and the leaning of the rest of the Senate toward them, and especially they feared Decimus Brutus, who had been chosen by Caesar governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army. So they decided to watch a future opportunity and to try if possible to draw over to themselves the army of Decimus, which was already disheartened by its protracted labours. Having come to this decision, Antony replied to the messengers, "We shall do nothing from private enmity, yet in consequence of the crime and of the oaths we have all sworn to Caesar, that we would either protect his person or avenge his death, a solemn regard for our oath requires us to drive out the guilty and to live with a smaller number of innocent men rather than that all should be liable to the divine curse. Yet for our own part, although this seems to us the proper course, we will consider the matter with you in the Senate and we Antony's answer

CAP. XVII καὶ νομιοῦμεν εὐαγὲς ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι ἂν κοινῇ δοκιμάσητε."

125. Ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο. οἱ δὲ χάριν τε ἤδεσαν καὶ ἀπεχώρουν ἐν ἐλπίδι βεβαίῳ τὰ πάντα θέμενοι· τὴν γὰρ βουλὴν σφίσι συμπράξειν ἐς πάντα ἐπεποίθεσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευσε νυκτοφυλακεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν μέσῳ προκαθημένας ὥσπερ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ἦσαν πυραὶ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔθεον ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐς τὰς τῶν βουλευτῶν οἰκίας οἱ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων οἰκεῖοι, παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας· ἀντιπαρέθεον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς φυλάξει τὰς κληρουχίας τάς τε ἤδη δεδομένας καὶ τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ὁ καθαρώτατος λεὼς ἀνεθάρρει, τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν δεδρακότων πυθόμενοι· καὶ ἐς μνήμην τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπεφέροντο καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις διῃροῦντο. τῆς δ' αὐτῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετεκομίζετο, εἴτε τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὰ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας ἐς ἀκινδυνοτέραν τὴν Ἀντωνίου μεταφερούσης, εἴτε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII 126. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων διάγραμμα νυκτὸς ἀνεγινώσκετο Ἀντωνίου τὴν βουλὴν συγκαλοῦντος ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, ἀγχοτάτω

will consider as propitious for the city whatever you may approve in common." CHAP. XVII

125. Thus did Antony make a safe answer. The messengers returned their thanks and went away full of hope, for they had entire confidence that the Senate would co-operate with them. Antony ordered the magistrates to have the city watched by night, stationing guards at intervals as in the daytime, and there were fires throughout the city. By their aid the friends of the murderers were enabled to traverse the city the whole night, going to the houses of the senators and beseeching them in behalf of these men and of the republic. On the other hand, the leaders of the colonised soldiers ran about uttering threats in case they should fail to hold the lands set apart, either already assigned or promised to them. And now the more honest citizens began to recover courage when they learned how small was the number of the conspirators, and when they remembered Caesar's merits they became much divided in opinion. That same night Caesar's money and his official papers were transferred to Antony's house, either because Calpurnia thought that they would be safer there or because Antony ordered it.

XVIII

126. While these things were taking place Antony, by means of a notice sent round by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple CHAP. XVIII

CAP. XVIII μάλιστα ὃν τῆς οἰκίας Ἀντωνίου· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐθάρρει κατελθεῖν, ὑποκείμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τῶν μονομάχων ὄντων ἐκείνοις συνεργῶν, οὔτε στρατιὰν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διαταράξαι· Λέπιδος δὲ ὅμως εἰσήγαγε. πλησιαζούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἵ τε ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ συνέθεον ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Κίννας ὁ στρατηγός, αὖθις ἐπικείμενος τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἣν ἐχθὲς ὡς τυράννου δόντος ἐξερρίφει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτόν τινες τῶν ἀδεκάστων καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Καίσαρι, δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καίπερ οἰκεῖος ὢν αὐτοῦ, βλασφήμως ἐδημηγόρησε, λίθοις ἔβαλλον καὶ ἐδίωκον· καὶ ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ συμφυγόντα, ξύλα συμφέροντες, ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ Λέπιδος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπελθὼν ἐκώλυσε.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἔργον παρρησίας ἦρξεν ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸ κατέδεισαν οἵ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς αὐτοί· 127. ἐν δὲ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ βραχὺ μὲν ἦν τὸ καθαρεῦον σπουδῆς βιαίου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν, οἱ δὲ πλέονες σὺν παρασκευῇ ποικίλῃ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις συνήργουν. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοπίστως ἠξίουν καὶ παρεῖναι σφίσι καὶ συνεδρεύειν, ἐξ ὑπευθύνων ἐς κριτὰς μεταφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐκώλυεν, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐλευσομένους· οὐδὲ ἦλθον. εἶτα ἐπὶ διαπείρᾳ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μάλα θρασέως τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπῄνουν ἄντικρυς καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκάλουν τυραννοκτόνους καὶ γεραίρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν γέρα περιῄρουν, ὡς οὐδὲ

CHAP. XVIII

Antony summons the Senate

of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because he did not dare to go to the senate-house situated just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the city by bringing in the army. Lepidus, however, did that. As daylight was approaching the senators assembled at the temple of Tellus, including the praetor Cinna, clothed again in the robe of office which he had cast off the previous day as the gift of a tyrant. Some of the unbribed people and some of Caesar's veterans, when they saw him were indignant that he, although a relative of Caesar, should have been the first to slander him in a public speech, threw stones at him, pursued him, and when he had taken refuge in a house brought fagots and were about to set it on fire when Lepidus came up with his soldiers and stopped them.

Debate on the murder of Caesar

This was the first decided expression of opinion in favour of Caesar. The hirelings, and the murderers themselves, were alarmed by it. 127. In the Senate, however, only a small number were free from sympathy with the act of violence and indignant at the murder, while most of them sought to aid the murderers in various ways. They proposed first to invite them to be present under a pledge of safety and sit in council with them, thus changing them from criminals to judges. Antony did not oppose this because he knew they would not come; and they did not come. Then, in order to test the feeling of the Senate, some senators extolled the deed openly and without disguise, called the men tyrannicides, and proposed that they should be rewarded. Others were opposed to giving rewards, saying that the men did not want them and had not done the

CAP. XVIII

ἐκείνων δεομένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὰ πραξάντων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐδικαίουν ὡς εὐεργέτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ὑπανήρουν καὶ φείδεσθαι μόνον αὐτῶν ἠξίουν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τάδε ἐτέχναζον καὶ περιεώρων, ὅ τι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐνδεξαμένη μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ κατ' ὀλίγον εὐεπιχείρητος αὐτοῖς ἔσοιτο· οἱ δὲ καθαρώτεροι τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὡς ἄγος ἀπεστρέφοντο, αἰδοῖ δὲ μεγάλων οἴκων περισῴζειν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐκώλυον, ἠγανάκτουν δέ, εἰ καὶ τιμήσουσιν ὡς εὐεργέτας. οἱ δὲ ἀντέλεγον μὴ χρῆναι περισῴζοντας φθονεῖν τῶν περισσῶν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν. ὡς δέ τις εἶπε τὴν τούτων τιμὴν ὕβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, οὐκ εἴων ἔτι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τῶν περιόντων προτιθέναι. ἑτέρου δὲ ἐγκρατῶς εἰπόντος, ὅτι χρὴ δύο τῶνδε πάντως τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ Καίσαρα τύραννον προαποφαίνειν ἢ τούτους ἐξ ἐλέου περισῴζειν, τούτου μόνου δεξάμενοι τὸ λεχθὲν οἱ ἕτεροι ἤτουν σφίσι ψῆφον ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ ὅρκῳ, καὶ εἰ καθαρῶς ἐθέλουσι κρῖναι, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεάσαι τὰ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐψηφισμένα ἄρχοντι ἤδη, ὧν οὐδὲν ἑκόντας οὐδὲ πρὶν ἢ δεῖσαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνῃρημένου τε Πομπηίου καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ μυρίων ἄλλων, ψηφίσασθαι.

128. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐφορῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ

deed for the sake of reward, but claiming that they should merely be thanked as public benefactors. Still others secretly tried to get rid of the vote of thanks and thought that it would be sufficient to grant them impunity. CHAP. XVIII

Such were the devices to which they resorted, trying to discover which of these courses the Senate would be inclined to accept first, hoping that after a little that body would be more easily led on by them to the other measures. The honester portion revolted at the murder as impious, but out of respect for the distinguished families of the murderers would not oppose the granting of impunity, yet they were indignant at the proposal to honour them as public benefactors. Others argued that if impunity were granted it would not be fitting to refuse the most ample means of safety. When one speaker said that honouring them would be dishonouring Caesar, it was answered that it was not permissible to prefer the interests of the dead to those of the living. Another vigorously put it in the form of a dilemma: they must either decree Caesar a tyrant or protect the murderers as an act of clemency. Caesar's enemies seized upon this last proposition only, and asked that an opportunity be given them of expressing themselves by vote concerning the character of Caesar, under oath, stipulating that, if they voluntarily should give their unbiassed judgment, no one should invoke the gods against them for having previously voted Caesar's decrees under compulsion—never willingly, and never until they were in fear for their own lives, after the death of Pompey and of numberless others besides Pompey.

128. When Antony, who had been looking on

CAP. XVIII ἐφεδρεύων, ἐπειδὴ λόγων ὕλην οὐκ ἄπορον οὐδὲ ἀναμφίλογον εἶδεν ἐσφερομένην, ἔγνω τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτῶν οἰκείῳ φόβῳ καὶ φροντίδι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαχέαι. εἰδὼς οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτῶν πολὺ πλῆθος ἔς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει καὶ ἐς ἱερωσύνας καὶ ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἠρημένους (ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ χρόνιον στρατείαν ἐξιὼν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἤρητο), σιωπὴν ὡς ὕπατος ἐπικηρύξας ἔφη· "τοῖς αἰτοῦσι περὶ Καίσαρος ψῆφον ἀνάγκη τάδε προειδέναι, ὅτι ἄρχοντος μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱρετοῦ προστάτου γενομένου τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δεδογμένα πάντα κύρια μενεῖ, δόξαντος δ' ἐπὶ βίᾳ τυραννῆσαι τό τε σῶμα ἄταφον τῆς πατρίδος ὑπερορίζεται καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα ἀκυροῦται. ἔστι δέ, ὡς ὅρῳ περιλαβεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀφικνούμενα γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ὑπακούσεται· καὶ δείξω μετ' ὀλίγον. ὃ δέ ἐστι μόνον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ὅτι καὶ περὶ μόνων ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν προθήσω πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἂν ἐν τῷ εὐμαρεῖ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν δυσχερεστέρων προλάβοιτε. ἡμεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ἤρξαμεν ὑπὸ τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἄρχομεν αἱρετοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου γενόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄρχειν κεχειροτονήμεθα· ἐς γὰρ πενταετες, ὡς ἴστε, καὶ τὰ ἀστικὰ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτήσια τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας διετάξατο. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ὑμεῖς ἑκόντες ἀποθήσεσθε (ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς τοῦδε μάλιστα κύριοι), τόδε πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρῖναι· καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐποίσω."

129. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς οὐ περ

and waiting his turn, saw that a large volume of incontestable argument was being brought forward, he resolved to make chaos of their logic by exciting personal fear and anxiety for themselves. Knowing that a great number of these very senators had been designated by Caesar for city magistracies, priestly offices, and the command of provinces and armies (for, as he was going on a long expedition, he had appointed them for five years), Antony proclaimed silence as consul and said: "Those who are asking for a vote on the character of Caesar must first know that if he was a magistrate and if he was an elected ruler of the State all his acts and decrees will remain in full force; but if it is decided that he usurped the government by violence, his body should be cast out unburied and all his acts annulled. These acts, to speak briefly, embrace the whole earth and sea, and most of them will stand whether we like them or not, as I shall presently show. Those things which alone belong to us to consider, because they concern us alone, I will suggest to you first, so that you may gain a conception of the more difficult questions from a consideration of the easier ones. Almost all of us have held office under Caesar; or do so still, having been chosen thereto by him; or will do so soon, having been designated in advance by him; for, as you know, he had disposed of the city offices, the yearly magistracies, and the command of provinces and armies for five years. If you are willing to resign these offices (for this is entirely in your power), I will put that question to you first and then I will take up the remaining ones."

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Antony's cunning proposal

129. Having lighted this kind of firebrand among

CAP. XVIII Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δαλὸν ἐξάψας ἡσύχαζεν· οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων ἀθρόοι μετὰ βοῆς, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἄλλαις οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἃ ἔλαβον. τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας τι νεώτερον ἢ ἄλλη πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἐναντίωσις ὑποῦσα ἀνηρέθιζε. καὶ τῶνδε αὐτὸς ὁ ὕπατος ἐξῆρχε Δολοβέλλας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ἐφαίνετο κατ' ἔννομον χειροτονίαν ὑπατεῦσαι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐνιαυτῶν ὄντι. ὀξεῖα δὴ τοῦ χθὲς ὑποκριναμένου μετασχεῖν τῶν γεγονότων ἐγίγνετο μεταβολή, λοιδορουμένου τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἰ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τιμᾶν ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας σφῶν ἀτιμώσουσιν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας. οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε τὸν Δολοβέλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπήλπιζον χάριν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἐς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀρχὰς ἀποφανεῖν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ ἀρχόντων ἀλλαγήν, ἀλλὰ μόνης ἔσεσθαι χειροτονίας ἐπὶ τὸ νομιμώτερον ἐκ τοῦ μοναρχικοῦ· ὃ καὶ κόσμον αὐτοῖς οἴσειν ἔν τε μοναρχίᾳ καὶ δημοκρατίᾳ τὰ ὅμοια προτιμωμένοις. καὶ τούτων ἔτι λεγομένων ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐπὶ ἐνέδρᾳ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἀπετίθεντο, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὰς ἀντιληψόμενοι νομιμώτερον. τοῖς δὲ ἥ τε ἐνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οὐδὲ κυρίους ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς χειροτονίας ἐσομένους ᾔδεσαν.

130. Ὧδε δὲ ἔτι ἐχόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προῆλθον· καὶ γάρ τινες αὐτοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνδραμόντες ἐκάλουν.

them, not in reference to Caesar, but to themselves, Antony relapsed into silence. They rose immediately *en masse*, and with loud clamour protested against new elections or submitting their claims to the people. They preferred to keep a firm hold on what they possessed. Some were opposed to new elections because they were not of lawful age, or from some other unavowed reason, and among these was the consul Dolabella himself, who could not legally stand for an election to that office as he was only twenty-five years old. Although he had pretended yesterday that he had a share in the conspiracy, a sudden change came over him, and now he reviled the majority for seeking to confer honour on murderers and dishonouring their own magistrates under the pretext of securing the safety of the former. Some encouraged Dolabella himself and the other magistrates to believe that they would obtain for them the same positions from the people's gratitude without any change of officers, but simply by the more legal method of election in place of monarchical appointment, and that it would be an additional honour to them to hold the same places under the monarchy and the republic. While these speakers were still talking some of the praetors, in order to ensnare the opposing faction, laid aside their robes of office as if they were about to exchange them for a more legal title to their places, in common with the others; but the others did not fall into the trap. They knew that these men could not control the future election.

It is rejected

130. While affairs were proceeding thus, Antony and Lepidus went out of the Senate, having been called for by a crowd that had been assembling for

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ὡς δὲ ὤφθησαν ἐκ μετεώρου καὶ σιγὴ κεκραγότων μόλις ἐγίγνετο, εἷς μέν τις ἐβόησεν, εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἰδίαν εἴτε παρεσκευασμένος· "φυλάσσεσθε παθεῖν ὅμοια." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῷ παραλύσας τι τοῦ χιτωνίσκου θώρακα ἐντὸς ἐπεδείκνυεν, ὑπερεθίζων ἄρα τοὺς ὁρῶντας ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν σῴζεσθαι χωρὶς ὅπλων οὐδὲ ὑπάτοις. ἐπιβοώντων δ' ἑτέρων τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεξιέναι καὶ τῶν πλεόνων περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης παρακαλούντων, τοῖς μὲν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔφη· "περὶ τούτου σκοποῦμεν, ὡς ἔσται τε καὶ γενομένη διαμενεῖ· δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἤδη τὸ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῆς, ὅτι μηδὲ Καίσαρα ὤνησαν ὅρκοι τοσοίδε καὶ ἀραί." ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπεξιέναι παρακαλοῦντας ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπῄνει μὲν ὡς εὐορκότερα καὶ εὐσεβέστερα αἱρουμένους καί "αὐτὸς ἄν," ἔφη, "συνετασσόμην ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πρῶτος ἐβόων, εἰ μὴ ὕπατος ἦν, ᾧ τοῦ λεγομένου συμφέρειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δικαίου μέλει· ὧδε γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ ἔνδον παραινοῦσιν. οὕτω δέ που καὶ Καῖσαρ αὐτός, οὓς εἶλε πολέμῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, διὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως περισώσας ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπέθανε."

131. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παρὰ μέρος τεχνάζοντος οἱ ἀμύνειν τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἀξιοῦντες Λέπιδον ἠξίουν ἀμύνειν. Λεπίδου δέ τι μέλλοντος λέγειν, οἱ πόρρω συνεστῶτες κατελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἠξίουν, ἵνα ὁμαλῶς ἅπαντες ἐπακούσειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ᾔει, νομίζων ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα παρελθὼν ἔστενε καὶ ἔκλαιεν ἐν περιόπτῳ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ἀνενεγκὼν δέ

some time. When they were perceived in an elevated place, and the shouters had been with difficulty silenced, one of the mob, either of his own volition or because he was prompted, called out, "Have a care lest you suffer a like fate." Antony loosened his tunic and showed him a coat-of-mail inside, thus exciting the beholders, as though it were impossible even for consuls to be safe without arms. Some cried out that the deed must be avenged, but a greater number demanded peace. To those who called for peace Antony said, "That is what we are striving for, that it may come and be permanent, but it is hard to get security for it when so many oaths and solemnities were of no avail in the case of Caesar." Then, turning to those who demanded vengeance, he praised them as more observant of the obligations of oaths and religion, and added, "I myself would join you and would be the first to call for vengeance if I were not the consul, who must care for what is said to be for the common good rather than for what is just. So these people who are inside tell us. So Caesar himself perhaps thought when, for the good of the country, he spared those citizens whom he captured in war, and was slain by them."

131. When Antony had in this way worked upon both parties by turns, those who wanted to have vengeance on the murderers asked Lepidus to execute it. As Lepidus was about to speak those who were standing at a distance asked him to come down to the forum where all could hear him equally well. So he went directly there, thinking that the crowd was now changing its mind, and when he had taken his place on the rostra he groaned and wept in plain sight for some time. Then recovering himself, he

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ποτε εἶπεν· "ἐνταῦθα χθὲς μετὰ Καίσαρος ἱστάμην, ἔνθα νῦν ἀναγκάζομαι ζητεῖν περὶ Καίσαρος ἀνῃρημένου, τί βούλεσθε." ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πολλῶν· "ἀμύνειν σε τῷ Καίσαρι," ἀντανεβόησαν οἱ μισθωτοί. "τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει." ὁ δὲ τούτοις μὲν ἔφη· "βουλόμεθα. ἀλλὰ ποίαν λέγετε εἰρήνην; ἢ ποίοις ὅρκοις ἀσφαλὴς ἔσται; τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πατρίους πάντας ὠμόσαμεν Καίσαρι καὶ κατεπατήσαμεν, οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἄριστοι εἶναι λεγόμενοι." πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀμύνειν ἀξιοῦντας ἐπιστραφείς "ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἡμῶν," ἔφη, "μεθέστηκεν, ἱερὸς τῷ ὄντι καὶ τίμιος ἀνήρ, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τοὺς ὑπολοίπους αἰδούμεθα βλάψαι. καὶ τάδε," ἔφη, "σκοποῦσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόβουλοι, καὶ δοκεῖ τοῖς πλέοσιν." ἀνακραγόντων δὲ αὖθις· "ἐπέξιθι μόνος," "βούλομαι," εἶπε, "καὶ εὔορκόν ἐστί μοι καὶ μόνῳ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς βούλεσθαι δεῖ μόνους οὐδὲ μόνους ἀντιτιθέναι."

132. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῦτον τεχνάζοντα οἱ μισθωτοὶ φιλότιμον εἰδότες ἐπῄνουν καὶ ᾐροῦντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἱερωσύνην. τοῦ δὲ ἥψατο μὲν ἡ ἡδονή, "μέμνησθε," δὲ ἔφη, "μοι τοῦδε καὶ ὕστερον, ἂν ἄξιος εἶναι δοκῶ." μᾶλλον οὖν ἔτι παρρησίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν μισθωτῶν ἐνισταμένων, "ἀσεβὲς μέν," ἔφη, "καὶ παράνομον, ἐργάσομαι δὲ ὅμως, ὃ βούλεσθε." καὶ εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀνέτρεχεν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ὁ Δολοβέλλας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνίστατο

A speech of Lepidus

said, "Yesterday I stood with Caesar here, where now I am compelled to ask what you wish me to do about Caesar's murder." Many cried out, "Avenge Caesar." The hirelings shouted on the other side, "Peace for the republic." To the latter he replied, "Agreed, but what kind of a peace do you mean? By what sort of oaths shall it be confirmed? We all swore the national oaths to Caesar and we have trampled on them—we who are considered the most distinguished of the oath-takers." Then, turning to those who called for vengeance, he said, "Caesar, that truly sacred and revered man, has gone from us, but we hesitate to deprive the republic of those who still remain. Our senators," he added, "are considering these matters, and this is the opinion of the majority." They shouted again, "Avenge him yourself." "I should like to," he replied, "and my oath permits me to do it even alone, but it is not fitting that you and I alone should wish it, or alone refuse it."

132. While Lepidus was employing such devices the hirelings, who knew that he was ambitious, praised him and offered him Caesar's place as pontifex maximus. He was delighted. "Mention this to me later," he said, "if you consider me worthy of it," whereupon the hirelings, encouraged by their offer of the priesthood, insisted still more strongly on peace. "Although it is contrary to religion and law," he said, "I will do what you wish." So saying he returned to the Senate, where Dolabella had consumed all the intervening time in unseemly talk about his own office. Antony, who

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ἀσχημόνως. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναμένων ἅμα τὰ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γιγνόμενα, σὺν γέλωτι αὐτὸν ἐφεώρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦστην διαφόρω. ὡς δὲ ἅλις ἔσχε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι γεγένητο θερμότερον, τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας ἔγνω περισῴζειν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ὡς ἐν βαρυτάτῃ χάριτι περισῴζων, τὰ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα κυροῦν συμβόλῳ καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα συντελεῖν.

133. Σιωπήν τε κατακηρύξας αὖθις ἔλεγεν· "ἐγὼ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτόντων πολιτῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες ὁμότιμοι, σκεπτομένοις ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐπεφθεγγόμην· περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀντ' ἐκείνων ψῆφον αἰτοῦσιν ἓν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔργων προύθηκα μέχρι νῦν, καὶ τοσούτους ἡμῖν τὸ ἓν ἀγῶνας ἤγειρεν, οὐκ ἀλόγως· εἰ γὰρ ἀποθησόμεθα τὰς ἀρχάς, ὁμολογήσομεν ἄνδρες τοσοίδε καὶ τοιοίδε ἀναξίως αὐτῶν τετυχηκέναι. ὅσα δ' οὖν μηδὲ ἐπακούσεται ῥᾳδίως, ἐπισκέψασθε νῦν αὐτὰ καὶ συναριθμεῖτε κατά τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας καὶ δυνάστας. πάντα γὰρ δὴ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐπὶ δύσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἡμῖν ἐχειρώσατο δυνάμει καὶ κράτει, συνεστήσατο, νόμοις καὶ χάρισι καὶ φιλανθρωπίαις βεβαιωσάμενος· ὧν τίνας ὑποστήσεσθαι δοκεῖτε ἀφαιρουμένους, ἃ ἔλαβον, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἐμπλῆσαι πολέμων ἐθέλετε, οἳ τῇ πατρίδι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτῃ μάλιστα οὕσῃ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς περισῴζειν ἀξιοῦτε;

"Καὶ τὰ μὲν πορρωτέρω τοῖς τε δεινοῖς ἔτι καὶ τοῖς φόβοις ἀφεστηκότα ἐάσω· ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἀγχοῦ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ σύνοικα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτήν, τοὺς τὰ νικητήρια λαβόντας καὶ κατὰ

was waiting to see what the people would do, looked at Dolabella with derision, for the two were at variance with each other. After enjoying the spectacle sufficiently and perceiving that the people had not done anything rashly, he decided, under compulsion, to extend protection to the murderers (concealing the necessity, however, and pretending to act in this way as a matter of the greatest favour), and at the same time to have Caesar's acts ratified and his plans carried into effect by common agreement. CHAP. XVIII

133. Accordingly he commanded silence again and spoke as follows: "While you, my compeers, have been considering the case of the offending citizens, I have not joined in the debate. When you called for a vote on Caesar instead of on them, I had brought forward, until this moment, only one of Caesar's acts. This one threw you into these many present controversies, and not without reason, for if we resign our offices we shall confess that we (so many and of such high rank as we are) came by them undeservedly. Consider the matters that cannot be easily controlled by us. Reckon them up by cities and provinces, by kings and princes. Almost all of these, from the rising to the setting sun, Caesar either subdued for us by force and arms, or organised by his laws, or confirmed in their allegiance by his favours and kindness. Which of these powers do you think will consent to be deprived of what they have received, unless you mean to fill the world with new wars—you who propose to spare these wretches for the sake of your exhausted country? Antony addresses the Senate

"But, omitting the more distant dangers and apprehensions, we have others not only near at hand, but even of our own household throughout Italy itself—men who, after receiving the rewards of victory, are

CAP. XVIII πλῆθος; ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὡς ἐστρατεύοντο, ὑπὸ τῇ αὐτῇ συντάξει συνῳκισμένους ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ὧν ἔτι πολλαὶ μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τί νομίζετε πράξειν ἀφαιρουμένους, ὧν εἰλήφασιν ἢ προσδοκῶσι λήψεσθαι πόλεών τε καὶ χωρίων; καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ παρελθοῦσα νὺξ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔδειξε.

134. "Δεομένοις γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων ἀντιπαρέθεον ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ ἀπειλῆς· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος συρόμενον καὶ αἰκιζόμενον καὶ ἄταφον ῥιπτούμενον (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῖς τυράννοις ἐπιτέτακται) περιόψεσθαι νομίζετε τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὐτῷ; καὶ τὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν νομιεῖν, ἃ εἰλήφασιν, ἕξειν βέβαια τοῦ δόντος ὑβριζομένου; τί δὲ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν ἐργάσεσθαι; τί δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας; πόσον δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι φθόνον παρά τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν, ἐννυβρίζουσιν ἐς τὸν ὑμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μέχρις ὠκεανοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγνωστον προαγαγόντα; καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰτίᾳ καὶ καταγνώσει μᾶλλον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοσήνδε ἡμῶν ἀνωμαλίαν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν ὕπατον ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἱερὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ, βουλῆς ἀγηγερμένης, ὑπὸ ὄψεσι θεῶν κατακανόντας τιμᾶν ἀξιώσομεν, ἀτιμοῦν δὲ τὸν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δι' ἀρετὴν τίμιον; τούτων μὲν οὖν ὡς οὔτε ὁσίων οὔτε ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντων προλέγω πάμπαν ἀπέχεσθαι· γνώμην δὲ ἐσφέρω τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα καὶ βεβουλευμένα τῷ Καίσαρι πάντα κυροῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἁμαρτόντας ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ (οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον οὐδὲ δίκαιον, οὐδὲ σύμφωνον ἔτι τῷ κυροῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα), περισῴζειν δὲ ἐξ ἐλέου μόνον, εἰ ἐθέλοιτε, διὰ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν

here in great numbers with arms in their hands just as when on service, men assigned to colonies in their old organisation by Caesar (many thousands of whom are still in the city), and what think you they will do if they are deprived of what they have received, or expect to receive, in town and country? The past night showed you a sample. CHAP. XVIII

134. "They were coursing the streets with threats against you who were supplicating in behalf of the murderers; and do you think that Caesar's fellow-soldiers will overlook his body being dragged through the streets, dishonoured, and cast out unburied? For our laws prescribe such treatment for tyrants. Will they consider the rewards they have received for their victories in Gaul and Britain secure, when he who gave them is treated with contumely? What will the Roman people themselves do? What the Italians? What ill-will of gods and men will attend you if you put ignominy upon one who advanced your dominion to shores of the ocean hitherto unknown? Will not such inconsistency on our part be rather held in reprobation and condemnation if we vote to confer honour on those who have slain a consul in the senate-house, an inviolable man in an inviolable place, in full senate, under the eyes of the gods, and if we dishonour one whom even our enemies honour for his bravery? I warn you to abstain from these proceedings as sacrilegious and beyond our power. I move that all the acts and intentions of Caesar be ratified and that the authors of the crime be by no means applauded (for that would be neither pious, nor just, nor consistent with the ratification of Caesar's acts), but be spared, if you please, as an act of clemency only, for the sake of their families and

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καὶ φίλους, εἰ δὴ καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ οἵδε λαμβάνειν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὁμολογοῖεν ἐν χάριτος μέρει."

135. Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου σὺν ἀνατάσει τε καὶ ὁρμῇ βαρυτέρᾳ, γίγνεται δόγμα, ἡσυχαζόντων ἤδη καὶ ἀγαπώντων ἁπάντων, φόνου μὲν οὐκ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, κύρια δὲ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ἐγνωσμένα, "ἐπεὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει." ἐβιάσαντο γὰρ τόδε ἐς ἀσφάλειαν οἱ τῶν περισῳζομένων οἰκεῖοι προστεθῆναι μάλιστα, ὡς οὐ δικαίως φυλασσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ χρείαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνέδωκεν. ἐψηφισμένων δὲ τούτων, ὅσοι τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἠξίουν ἴδιον περὶ σφῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ δόγμα ἕτερον γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτῶν τὰς κληρουχίας. καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπιδεικνὺς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν φόβον. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτερον αὖ περὶ τῶν ἐξιόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας ὅμοιον· Λεύκιον δὲ Πείσωνα, ὅτῳ τὰς διαθήκας ὁ Καῖσαρ παρετίθετο, τοῦτον ἤδη τὸν τρόπον τῆς βουλῆς διαλελυμένης τινὲς περιστάντες παρεκάλουν μήτε τὰς διαθήκας προφέρειν μήτε θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα φανερῶς, μή τι νεώτερον ἕτερον ἐκ τούτων γένοιτο. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον ἠπείλουν ἐσαγγέλλειν, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον οὐσίαν τηλικαύτην ἀφαιροῖτο γιγνομένην κοινήν, αὖθις ἄρα ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὴν τυραννίδα.

friends, if the latter will accept it in this sense in behalf of the murderers and acknowledge it in the light of a favour." CHAP. XVIII

Decrees of the Senate

135. When Antony had said these things with intense feeling and impetuosity, all the others remaining silent and agreeing, a decree was passed: that there should be no prosecution for the murder of Caesar, but all his acts and decrees should be confirmed, "because this policy is advantageous to the commonwealth." The friends of the murderers insisted that those last words should be added for their security, implying that Caesar's acts were confirmed as a measure of utility and not of justice; and in this matter Antony yielded to them. When this decree had been voted the leaders of the colonists who were present asked for another act special to themselves, in addition to the general one, in order to secure them in possession of their colonies. Antony did not oppose this, but rather intimidated the Senate into passing it. So this was adopted, and another like it concerning the colonists who had been already sent out. The Senate was thereupon dismissed, and a number of senators collected around Lucius Piso, whom Caesar had made the custodian of his will, and urged him not to make the will public, and not to give the body a public funeral, lest some new disturbance should arise therefrom. As he would not yield they threatened him with a public prosecution for defrauding the people of such an amount of wealth which ought to go into the public treasury; thus giving new signs that they were suspicious of a tyranny.

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136. Ἐκβοήσας οὖν ὁ Πείσων ὅτι μέγιστον καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔτι παροῦσάν οἱ τὴν βουλὴν ἀξιώσας συναγαγεῖν, εἶπεν· "οἱ τύραννον λέγοντες ἕνα ἀνῃρηκέναι τοσοίδε ἡμῶν ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἤδη τυραννοῦσιν· οἳ θάπτειν με κωλύουσι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὰς διαθήκας ἀπειλοῦσι προφέροντι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δημεύουσιν αὖθις ὡς τυράννου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα κεκύρωται· ἃ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ κατέλιπεν, ἀκυροῦσιν, οὐ Βροῦτος ἔτι οὐδὲ Κάσσιος, ἀλλ' οἱ κἀκείνους ἐς τόνδε τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐκριπίσαντες. τῆς μὲν οὖν ταφῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε κύριοι, τῶν δὲ διαθηκῶν ἐγώ· καὶ οὔποτε ἃ ἐπιστεύθην προδώσω, πρὶν κἀμέ τις ἐπανέλῃ." θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως γενομένης παρὰ πάντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τι καὶ ἐλπιζόντων ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, τάς τε διαθήκας ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔδοξε προφέρειν καὶ θάπτειν τὸν ἄνδρα δημοσίᾳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἡ βουλὴ διελύθη.

137. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος περιέπεμπον καὶ παρεκάλουν πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. συνδραμόντων δὲ ὀξέως πολλῶν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔλεγεν· "ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὦ πολῖται, οἱ χθὲς κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐντυχόντες, οὔτε ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγόντες (οὐ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν) οὔτε ὡς ἐπὶ κρημνόν, οἷ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπομεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ

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Piso calls for the reading of Caesar's will

136. Then Piso called out with a loud voice and demanded that the consuls should reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said: "These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are already so many tyrants over us in place of one. They forbid me to bury the Pontifex Maximus and they threaten me when I produce his will. Moreover, they intend to confiscate his property as that of a tyrant. They have ratified Caesar's acts as regards themselves, but they annul those which relate to himself. It is no longer Brutus or Cassius who do this, but those who instigated them to the murder. Of his burial you are the masters. Of his will I am, and never will I betray what has been entrusted to me unless somebody kills me also." This speech excited clamour and indignation on all sides, and especially among those who hoped that they should obtain something from the will. It was finally decreed that the will should be read in public and that Caesar should have a public funeral. Thereupon the Senate adjourned.

Brutus addresses the people

137. When Brutus and Cassius learned what had been done they sent messengers to the plebeians, whom they invited to come up to them at the Capitol. Presently a large number came together and Brutus addressed them as follows: "Here, citizens, we meet you, we who yesterday met together with you in the forum. We have come hither, not as taking refuge in a sanctuary (for we have done nothing wrong), nor in a citadel (for as regards our own affairs we entrust ourselves to

CAP. XIX Κίννα πάθος, ὀξύτερόν τε καὶ ἀλογώτερον αὐτῷ γενόμενον, οὕτως ἠνάγκασεν. ἠσθόμην δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόντων ἡμᾶς ἐς ἐπιορκίαν καὶ ἐς αἰτίαν ἀπορίας εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοῦς. ἃ δὴ περὶ τούτων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἐν ὑμῖν ἐροῦμεν, ὦ πολῖται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τἆλλα δημοκρατουμένων πράξομεν. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἤλασε σὺν ὅπλοις πολεμίοις καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ δημοκρατικώτατος ὑμῶν ἔπαθεν, οἷα ἔπαθεν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἄλλο πολιτῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐλαυνόμενοι διωλώλεσαν, εἰκότως αὐτῷ δεδιότι καὶ βέβαιον ἔχοντι τὴν τυραννίδα ἀμνηστίαν αἰτοῦντι ἔδομεν καὶ ὠμόσαμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ὀμνύναι προσέταττεν οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα μόνον οἴσειν ἐγκρατῶς, ἀλλὰ δουλεύσειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑκόντας, τί ἂν ἔπραξαν οἱ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὄντας γε Ῥωμαίους οἶμαι πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἂν ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύειν ἑκόντας ἐπὶ ὅρκῳ.

138. "Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν ἔτι εἰς δουλείαν εἰργάζετο ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐπιωρκήσαμεν· εἰ δὲ οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄστει οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας οὔτε στρατείας ἢ ἱερωσύνας ἢ κληρουχίας ἢ τιμὰς ἄλλας ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν οὐδὲ προεβούλευεν ἡ βουλὴ περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου, ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἅπασιν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος καὶ οὐδὲ κόρος αὐτῷ τοῦ κακοῦ τις ἐγίγνετο, οἷος ἐγένετο Σύλλα, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθελὼν ἀπέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν πολιτείαν, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ ἄλλην στρατείαν χρόνιον

you), but the sudden and unexpected attack made upon Cinna compelled us to do so. I know that our enemies accuse us of perjury and say that we render a lasting peace difficult. What we have to reply to these accusations we will say in your presence, citizens, with whom in this as in all other respects enjoying democratic government, we shall act. After Gaius Caesar advanced from Gaul with hostile arms against his country, and Pompey, the strongest supporters of democracy among you, suffered as he did, and after him a great number of other good citizens, who had been driven into Africa and Spain, had perished, Caesar was naturally apprehensive, although his power was firmly entrenched, and we granted him amnesty at his request and confirmed it by oath. If he had required us to swear not only to condone the past, but to be willing slaves for the future, what would our present enemies have done? For my part I think that, being Romans, they would have chosen to die many times rather than take an oath of voluntary servitude. CHAP. XIX

138. "If Caesar was doing no more against your liberty then are we perjured. But if he restored to you neither the magistracies of the city nor those of the provinces, neither the command of armies, the priestly offices, the leadership of colonies, nor any other posts of honour; if he neither consulted the Senate about anything nor asked the authority of the people, but if Caesar's command was all in all; if he was not even ever satiated with our misfortunes as Sulla was (for Sulla, when he had destroyed his enemies, restored to you the government of the commonwealth, but Caesar, as he was going away for another long military expedition, anticipated by his

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ἀπιὼν ἐς πενταετὲς ὑμῶν τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια προελάμβανε, ποία ταῦτα ἦν ἐλευθερία, ἧς οὐδ' ἐλπὶς ὑπεφαίνετο ἔτι; τί δὲ οἱ τοῦ δήμου προστάται Καισήτιος καὶ Μάρυλλος; οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἄρχοντες ἀρχὴν ἐξηλαύνοντο σὺν ὕβρει; καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος ὁ τῶν προγόνων καὶ ὁ ὅρκος οὐδ' ἐπάγεσθαι δίκην ἔτι οὗσι δημάρχοις ἐπιτρέπουσιν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτοὺς ἐξήλασεν, οὐδὲ δίκην ἐπαγαγών.

"Πότεροι οὖν ἐς τοὺς ἀσύλους ἡμάρτανον; ἢ Καῖσαρ μὲν ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος, ὅτῳ ταῦτα οὐχ ἑκόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης οὐδὲ πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σὺν ὅπλοις καὶ τοσούσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἀγαθοὺς πολίτας κατακαινεῖν, ἐθέμεθα· τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ χωρὶς ἀνάγκης ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἐπηράσαντο ἐς ἀεὶ ἔσεσθαι; ποῦ δὲ οἱ φόροι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ λογισμοὶ συνεφέροντο; τίς δ' ἡμῶν ἀκόντων ἤνοιγε τὰ ταμιεῖα; τίς τῶν ἀψαύστων καὶ ἐπαράτων ἐκίνει χρημάτων καὶ ἑτέρῳ δημάρχῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἠπείλει;

"139. Ἀλλὰ τίς, φασίν, ἔτι ὅρκος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν εἰρήνης ἂν γένοιτο; εἰ μὲν οὐ τυραννήσει τις, οὐδὲ ὅρκων δεῖ οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐδέησεν οὐδέποτε· εἰ δ' ἐπιθυμήσει τις ἄλλος τυραννίδος, οὐδὲν πιστόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τύραννον οὐδ' εὔορκον. καὶ τάδε προλέγομεν ἔτι ὄντες ὑπὸ τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ προεροῦμεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεί· καὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ τιμῇ παρὰ Καίσαρι τὴν

appointments your elections for five years), what sort of freedom was this in which not a ray of hope could be any longer discerned? What shall I say of the defenders of the people, Caesetius and Marullus? Were not the holders of a sacred and inviolable office ignominiously banished? Although the law and the oath prescribed by our ancestors forbid calling the tribunes to account during their term of office, Caesar banished them even without a trial. CHAP. XIX

"Have *we* then, or has *he,* done violence to inviolable persons? Or shall Caesar indeed be sacred and inviolable, upon whom we conferred that distinction not of our own free will, but by compulsion, and not until he had invaded his country with arms and killed a great number of our noblest and best citizens, whereas our fathers in a democracy and without compulsion took an oath that the office of tribune should be sacred and inviolable, and declare with maledictions that it should remain so for ever? What has become of the public tribute during his supremacy? What of the accounts? Who opened the public treasury without our consent? Who laid hands upon part of the consecrated money? Who threatened with death another tribune who opposed him?

139. "'But what kind of oath after this will be a guarantee of peace?' they ask. If there is no tyrant there will be no need of oaths. Our fathers never needed any. If anybody else seeks to establish tyranny, no faith, no oath, will ever bind Romans to the tyrant. This we say, while still in danger; this we will continue to say for ever for our country's sake. We, who held places of honour securely in the suite of Caesar, had a higher regard for our

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140. Ἐπισημηναμένων δὲ πολλῶν "εὖ γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐποιήσατε συνελθόντες. χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς, τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένους τε καὶ περιποιουμένους ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ ἴσα τὴν ἐκπέμπουσαν ἀντιγεραίρειν. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Βρεττανοὺς τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ ἀριστεύοντας ἔδει τιμῶν καὶ ἀριστείων τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς τοῖς ὅρκοις προλαβὼν ἐπήγαγε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν μάλ' ἀβουλοῦντας, ἐπήγαγε δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἐς Λιβύην οἰκνοῦντας ὁμοίως. εἰ μὴν δὲ μόνα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπέπρακτο, ᾔδεῖσθε ἂν ἴσως ἐπὶ τοιούτοις αἰτεῖν ἀριστεῖα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἢ χρόνος ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη λήθη τὰ ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς ὑμῶν ἔργα σβέσει, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑμῖν ἐστι τὰ ἀριστεῖα· ἃ καὶ τοῖς πάλαι στρατευομένοις ὁ δῆμος ἐδίδου, οἰκείων μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἀναμαρτήτων οὔ ποτε γῆν ἀφαιρούμενος οὐδ' ἑτέροις ἐπινέμων τὰ ἀλλότρια οὐδ' ἡγούμενος δεῖν ἀμείβεσθαι δι' ἀδικημάτων.

"Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅτε κρατήσαιεν, οὐδὲ τούτων ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀφῃροῦντο, ἀλλὰ ἐμερίζοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέρος ᾤκιζον τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους, φύλακας εἶναι τῶν πεπολεμηκότων· καὶ οὐκ ἀρκούσης ἐνίοτε τῆς δορικτήτου γῆς καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν

country than for our offices. They slander us about the colonies and so excite you against us. If there are any present who have been settled in colonies, or are about to be settled, you will gratify me by making yourselves known." CHAP. XIX

140. A large number did so, whereupon Brutus continued, "It is a good thing, my men, that you have done to come here with the others. You ought, since you receive due honours and bounties from your country, to give equal honour in return to her who sends you forth. The Roman people gave you to Caesar to fight against the Gauls and Britons, and your valiant deeds call for recognition and recompense. But Caesar, taking advantage of your military oath, led you against your country much against your desire. He led you against our best citizens in Africa, in like manner against your will. If this were all that you had done you would perhaps be ashamed to ask reward for such exploits, but since neither envy, nor time, nor the forgetfulness of men can extinguish the glory of your deeds in Gaul and Britain, you have the rewards due to them, such as the people gave to those who served in the army of old, yet not by taking land from unoffending fellow-citizens, nor by dividing other people's property with newcomers, nor by considering it proper to requite services by means of acts of injustice.

"When our ancestors overcame their enemies they did not take from them all their land. They shared it with them and colonized a portion of it with Roman soldiers, who were to serve as guards over the vanquished. If the conquered territory was not sufficient for the colonies, they added some of the public domain or bought other land with the public

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ἐπένεμον ἢ ἐωνοῦντο ἑτέραν. οὕτω μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνῴκιζεν ἁλύπως ἅπασι· Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ, οἱ σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐμβαλόντες, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πατρίδι φρουρῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δεόμενοι, οὔτε διέλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, οὔτε γῆν ὑμῖν ἐωνοῦντο ἢ τὴν τῶν δεδημευμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπένεμον, οὔτε τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις ἐς παρηγορίαν ἐδίδοσαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ταμιείων ἔχοντες, πολλὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεδημευμένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτοῦσαν οὐδὲ ἀδικοῦσαν πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ λῃστηρίου νόμῳ τήν τε γῆν ἀφῃροῦντο καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τάφους καὶ ἱερά, ὧν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πολεμίους ἀφῃρούμεθα, ἀλλὰ δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν.

141. "Οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὁμοεθνῶν διένεμον, τῶν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάντων καὶ προπεμψάντων καὶ εὐξαμένων πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων νικητηρίων. καὶ συνῴκιζον ὑμᾶς ἐς ταὐτὰ ἀθρόους ὑπὸ σημείοις καὶ συντάξει στρατιωτικῇ, μήτε εἰρηνεύειν δυναμένους μήτε ἀδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἐξελαθέντων· ὁ γὰρ ἁλώμενος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀφῃρημένος ἕμελλεν ὑμῖν περιπολῶν ἐφεδρεύειν καιροφυλακῶν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν, ὅπερ οἱ τύραννοι μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο, οὐ γῆν ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν, ἣν δὴ καὶ ἑτέρωθεν εἶχον παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐχθροὺς ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔχοντες ἀεὶ βέβαιοι φύλακες ἦτε τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ταὐτα ὑμῖν συναδικούσης· εὔνοια γὰρ ἐς τυράννους γίγνεται

money. In this way the people established you in colonies without harm to anybody. But Sulla and Caesar, who invaded their country like a foreign land, and needed guards and garrisons against their own country, did not dismiss you to your homes, nor buy land for you, nor divide among you the property of citizens which they confiscated, nor did they make compensation for the relief of those who were despoiled, although those who despoiled them had plenty of money from the treasury and plenty from confiscated estates. By the law of war,—nay, by the practice of robbery,—they took from Italians who had committed no offence, who had done no wrong, their land and houses, tombs and temples, which we were not accustomed to take away even from foreign enemies, but merely to impose on them a tenth of their produce by way of tax. CHAP. XIX

141. "They divided among you the property of your own people, the very men who sent you with Caesar to the Gallic war, and who offered up their prayers at your festival of victory. They colonized you in that way collectively, under your standards and in your military organization, so that you could neither enjoy peace nor be free from fear of those whom you displaced. The man who was driven out and deprived of his goods was sure to be watching his opportunity to step into your shoes. This was the very thing that the tyrants sought to accomplish,—not to provide you with land, which they could have obtained for you elsewhere; but that you, because always beset by lurking enemies, might be the firm bulwark of a government that was committing wrongs in common with you. A common interest between tyrants and their satellites grows out of

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δορυφόρων ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν καὶ συνδεδιέναι. καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ θεοί, συνοικισμὸν ἐκάλουν, ᾧ θρῆνος ὁμοφύλων ἀνδρῶν ἐπῆν καὶ ἀνάστασις οὐδὲν ἀδικούντων.

"'Αλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐξεπίτηδες ἐχθροὺς ἐποίουν τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σφετέρου συμφέροντος· ἡμεῖς δέ, οὓς οἱ νῦν τῆς πατρίδος προστάται φασὶν ἐλέῳ περισῴζειν, τήν τε γῆν ὑμῖν τήνδε αὐτὴν ἐσαεὶ βεβαιοῦμεν καὶ βεβαιώσομεν καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν θεὸν τῶνδε ποιούμεθα. καὶ ἔχετε καὶ ἕξετε, ἃ εἰλήφατε· καὶ οὐ μή τις ὑμᾶς ἀφέληται ταῦτα, οὐ Βροῦτος, οὐ Κάσσιος, οὐχ οἵδε πάντες, οἳ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας προεκινδυνεύσαμεν. ὃ δ' ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπίμεμπτον, ἰασόμεθα ἡμεῖς, διαλλακτήριον ὑμῖν ἅμα ἐς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἐσόμενον καὶ ἥδιστον ἤδη πυθομένοις. οἷς τὴν τιμὴν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἀφορμῆς ἀποδώσομεν, ἵνα μὴ βέβαιον ἔχητε μόνον ὑμεῖς τὴν κληρουχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄφθονον."

142. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βρούτου λέγοντος ἀκροώμενοί τε ἔτι πάντες καὶ διαλυόμενοι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπῄνουν ὡς δικαιότατα, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀκαταπλήκτους δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδήμους ἐν θαύματι ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐς εὔνοιαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετετίθεντο καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ἔμελλον. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν ὕπατοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνεκάλουν, καὶ ἀνεγινώσκετο αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα, καὶ Κικέρων πολὺ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγκώμιον ἐπέλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ἡδόμενοι κατεκάλουν ἐκ τοῦ

common crimes and common fears. And this, ye gods, they called colonization, which was crowned by the lamentations of a kindred people and the expulsion of innocent men from their homes. CHAP. XIX

"They purposely made you enemies to your countrymen for their own advantage. We, the defenders of the republic, to whom our opponents say they grant safety out of pity, confirm this very same land to you and will confirm it for ever; and to this promise we call to witness the god of this temple. You have and shall keep what you have received. No man assuredly shall take it from you, neither Brutus, nor Cassius, nor any of us who have incurred danger for your freedom. The one thing which is faulty in this business we will remedy, and that remedy will at once reconcile you with your fellow-countrymen and prove most agreeable to them as soon as they hear of it. We shall at once pay them out of the public money the price of this land of which they have been deprived; so that not only shall your colony be secure, but it shall not even be exposed to hatred."

142. While Brutus was still speaking in this sort, and as the assembly dissolved, his discourse was approved by all as being entirely just. He and his associates were admired as men of intrepidity, and as peculiarly the friends of the people. The latter were once more favourably inclined toward them, and promised to co-operate with them on the following day. At daybreak the consuls called the people to an assembly and communicated to them the decisions of the Senate, and Cicero pronounced a long encomium on the decree of amnesty. The people were delighted with it and invited Cassius and his friends to His speech applauded

CAP. XIX ἱεροῦ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον. καὶ οἵδε ἀναπέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοσῷδε ὅμηρα ἐκέλευον, καὶ ἀνεπέμποντο οἱ παῖδες Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου. ὀφθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον κρότος ἦν καὶ βοή, καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων εἰπεῖν τι βουλομένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι δεξιώσασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλαγῆναι πρότερον ἐκέλευον. καὶ γίγνεται μὲν οὕτω, καὶ διεσείετο μάλιστα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡ γνώμη ὑπὸ δέους ἢ φθόνου, ὡς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς ὑπεροισόντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

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CAP. XX 143. Διαθῆκαι δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὤφθησαν φερόμεναι, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευον ἀναγινώσκειν. θετὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ Καίσαρι παῖς ἐγίγνετο ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς θυγατριδοῦς Ὀκτάουιος, τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἦσαν ἐνδιαίτημα οἱ κῆποι δεδομένοι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τῶν ὄντων ἔτι ἐν ἄστει πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα Ἀττικαὶ δραχμαί. καὶ ὑπεσαλεύετο αὖθις ἐς ὀργὴν ὁ δῆμος, τυράννου μὲν κατηγορίας προπεπυσμένοι, διαθήκας δὲ φιλοπόλιδος ἀνδρὸς ὁρῶντες. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μάλιστα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ Βροῦτος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις κληρονόμοις ἐγέγραπτο παῖς· ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις παραγράφειν τοῖς κληρονόμοις ἑτέρους, εἰ μὴ κληρονομοῖεν οἱ πρότεροι. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεταράσσοντο καὶ δεινὸν καὶ ἀθέμιστον ἡγοῦντο καὶ Δέκμον ἐπιβουλεῦσαι Καίσαρι, παῖδα

come down from the Capitol. The latter asked that hostages be sent to them in the meantime, and, accordingly, the sons of Antony and Lepidus were sent. When Brutus and his associates made their appearance they were received with shouts and applause, and when the consuls desired to say something the people would not allow them to do so, but demanded that they should first shake hands with these men and make peace with them, and this was done. The minds of the consuls were much disturbed by fear or envy, for they thought that the conspirators might get the upper hand of them in other political matters. CHAP. XIX

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143. Caesar's will was now produced and the people ordered that it be read at once. In it Octavian, the grandson of his sister, was adopted by Caesar. His gardens were given to the people as a place of recreation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave seventy-five Attic drachmas. The people were again somewhat stirred to anger when they saw the will of this lover of his country, whom they had before heard accused of tyranny. Most of all did it seem pitiful to them that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, should have been named by him for adoption in the second degree; for it was customary for the Romans to name alternate heirs in case of the failure of the first. Whereupon there was still greater disturbance among the people, who considered it shocking and sacrilegious that Decimus should have conspired against Caesar when he had CHAP. XX

Reading of Caesar's will

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αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πείσωνος τὸ σῶμα φέροντος ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλῆθός τε ἄπειρον ἐς φρουρὰν συνέδραμον σὺν ὅπλοις, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ πομπῆς δαψιλοῦς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα προυτέθη, οἰμωγή τε καὶ θρῆνος ἦν αὖθις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐπατάγουν οἱ ὡπλισμένοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε ἔχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ ῥηρημένος εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οἷα ὕπατος ὑπάτου καὶ φίλος φίλου καὶ συγγενὴς συγγενοῦς (ἦν γὰρ δὴ Καίσαρι κατὰ μητέρα συγγενής) ἐτέχναζεν αὖθις καὶ ἔλεγεν ὧδε.

144. "Οὐκ ἄξιον, ὦ πολῖται, τοσοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον παρ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον, ἑνὸς ὄντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅλης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. ὅσα δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἀγάμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, ἥ τε βουλὴ καὶ μετὰ αὐτῆς ὁ δῆμος, ἔτι περιόντι ἐψηφίσασθε, ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐκ Ἀντωνίου τάδε φωνὴν εἶναι τιθέμενος ἀναγνώσομαι." καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ σοβαρῷ καὶ σκυθρωπῷ, τῇ φωνῇ δ' ἐνσημαινόμενος ἕκαστα καὶ ἐφιστάμενος, οἷς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξετίθεσαν, ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἢ πατέρα πατρίδος ἢ εὐεργέτην ἢ προστάτην οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ὀνομάζοντες. ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστρέφων ἐν παραβολῇ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον ἐπεδείκνυ. ἐπεφθέγγετο δέ πού τι καὶ βραχὺ ἑκάστῳ, μεμιγμένον οἰκτῳ καὶ ἀγανακτήσει, ἔνθα μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα εἴποι 'πατέρα πατρίδος,' ἐπιλέγων· "τοῦτο ἐπιεικείας ἐστὶ μαρτυρία," ἔνθα

been adopted as his son. When Piso brought Caesar's body into the forum a countless multitude ran together with arms to guard it, and with acclamations and magnificent pageantry placed it on the rostra. Wailing and lamentation were renewed for a long time, the armed men clashed their shields, and gradually they began to repent themselves of the amnesty. Antony, seeing how things were going, did not abandon his purpose, but, having been chosen to deliver the funeral oration, as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative (for he was related to Caesar on his mother's side), resumed his artful design, and spoke as follows:— CHAP. XX

144. "It is not fitting, citizens, that the funeral oration of so great a man should be pronounced by me alone, but rather by his whole country. The decrees which all of us, in equal admiration of his merit, voted to him while he was alive—the Senate and the people acting together—I will read, so that I may voice your sentiments rather than my own." Then he began to read with a severe and gloomy countenance, pronouncing each sentence distinctly and dwelling especially on those decrees which declared Caesar to be superhuman, sacred, and, inviolable, and which named him the father, or the benefactor, or the peerless protector of his country. With each decree Antony turned his face and his hand toward Caesar's corpse, illustrating his discourse by his action, and at each appellation he added some brief remark full of grief and indignation; as, for example, where the decree spoke of Caesar as 'the father of his country' he added "this was a testimonial of his clemency"; and again, where he was made 'sacred and inviolable' and 'everybody else Antony's funeral oration

CAP. XX δ' ἦν 'ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος' καὶ 'ἀπαθὴς καὶ ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτερος προσφύγοι,' "οὐχ ἕτερος," ἔφη, "τῷδε προσφεύγων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ὁ ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνῄρηται, οὐ βιασάμενος οἷα τύραννος λαβεῖν τάσδε τὰς τιμάς, ἃς οὐδὲ ᾔτησεν. ἀνελευθερώτατοι δὲ ἄρα ἡμεῖς, οἳ τοιάδε τοῖς ἀναξίοις οὐδὲ αἰτοῦσι δίδομεν. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ὑπεραπολογεῖσθε ὡς οὐκ ἀνελευθέρων, ὦ πιστοὶ πολῖται, τοιαύτῃ καὶ νῦν πρὸς τεθνεῶτα χρώμενοι τιμῇ."

145. Καὶ αὖθις ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος σῶμα παντὶ σθένει πάντας ἤ, εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύσειεν, ἐξώλεις εἶναι τοὺς οὐκ ἀμύναντας αὐτῷ. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιτείνας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνασχών, "ἐγὼ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ζεῦ πάτριε καὶ θεοί, ἕτοιμος ἀμύνειν ὡς ὤμοσα καὶ ἠρασάμην· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις δοκεῖ συνοίσειν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα, συνενεγκεῖν εὔχομαι." θορύβου δ' ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα προφανῶς ἐς αὐτὴν εἰρημένῳ γενομένου, ἐπικατα-ψήχων αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ παλινῳδῶν ἔφη· "ἔοικεν, ὦ πολῖται, τὰ γεγενημένα ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐδενός, ἀλλά του δαιμόνων ἔργα εἶναι. καὶ χρὴ τὸ παρὸν σκοπεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ γεγενημένον, ὡς ἐν ἀκμῇ μεγάλων ἐστὶ κινδύνων ἡμῖν τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ τὰ ὄντα μὴ ἐς τὰς προτέρας στάσεις ὑπαχθῶμεν καὶ ἐκτριφθῇ πᾶν, ὅ τι λοιπόν ἐστιν εὐγενὲς τῇ πόλει. προπέμπωμεν οὖν τὸν ἱερὸν τόνδε ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας, τὸν νενομισμένον ὕμνον αὐτῷ καὶ θρῆνον ἐπᾴδοντες."

was to be held unharmed who should find refuge with him'—"Nobody," said Antony, "who found refuge with him was harmed, but he, whom you declared sacred and inviolable, was killed, although he did not extort these honours from you as a tyrant, and did not even ask for them. Most lacking the spirit of free men are we if we give such honours to the unworthy who do not ask for them. But you, faithful citizens, vindicate us from this charge of lacking the spirit of free men by paying such honours as you now pay to the dead." CHAP. XX

145. Antony resumed his reading and recited the oaths by which all were pledged to guard Caesar and Caesar's body with all their strength, and all were devoted to perdition who should not avenge him against any conspiracy. Here, lifting up his voice and extending his hand toward the Capitol, he exclaimed, "Jupiter, guardian of this city, and ye other gods, I stand ready to avenge him as I have sworn and vowed, but since those who are of equal rank with me have considered the decree of amnesty beneficial, I pray that it may prove so." A commotion arose among the senators in consequence of this exclamation, which seemed to have special reference to them. So Antony soothed them again and recanted, saying, "It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that this deed is not the work of human beings, but of some evil spirit. It becomes us to consider the present rather than the past, since the greatest danger approaches, if it is not already here, lest we be drawn into our former civil commotions and lose whatever remains of noble birth in the city. Let us then conduct this sacred one to the abode of the blest, chanting over him our accustomed hymn and lamentation."

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146. Τοιάδε εἰπὼν τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἷά τις ἔνθους ἀνεσύρατο, καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐς τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εὔκολον, τὸ λέχος ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς περιέστη κατακύπτων τε ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνίσχων, πρῶτα μὲν ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον ὕμνει καὶ ἐς πίστιν θεοῦ γενέσεως τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινεν, ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σὺν δρόμῳ φωνῆς πολέμους αὐτοῦ καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ ἔθνη, ὅσα προσποιήσειε τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὅσα πέμψειεν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιβοῶν· "μόνος ὅδε ἀήττητος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ συνελθόντων. σὺ δ'," ἔφη, "καὶ μόνος ἐκ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν ὑβρισμένῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐπήμυνας, ἄγρια ἔθνη τὰ μόνα ἐς Ῥώμην ἐμβαλόντα καὶ μόνα ἐμπρήσαντα αὐτὴν ἐς γόνυ βαλών." πολλά τε ἄλλα ἐπιθειάσας τὴν φωνὴν ἐς τὸ θρηνῶδες ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου μετεποίει καὶ ὡς φίλον ἄδικα παθόντα ὠδύρετο καὶ ἔκλαιε καὶ ἠρᾶτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐθέλειν ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς Καίσαρος.

Εὐφορώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸ πάθος ἐκφερόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ πεφυρμένην αἵματι αὐτοκράτορος. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος οἷα χορὸς αὐτῷ πενθιμώτατα συνωδύρετο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους αὖθις ὀργῆς ἐνεπίμπλατο. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἕτεροι θρῆνοι μετὰ ᾠδῆς κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος ὑπὸ χορῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ᾄδοντο καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὖθις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος κατέλεγον καί που τῶν θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ

146. Having spoken thus, he gathered up his garments like one inspired, girded himself so that he might have the free use of his hands, took his position in front of the bier as in a play, bending down to it and rising again, and first hymned him as a celestial deity, raising his hands to heaven in order to testify to Caesar's divine birth. At the same time with rapid speech he recited his wars, his battles, his victories, the nations he had brought under his country's sway, and the spoils he had sent home, extolling each exploit as miraculous, and all the time exclaiming, "Thou alone hast come forth unvanquished from all the battles thou hast fought. Thou alone hast avenged thy country of the outrage put upon it 300 years ago, bringing to their knees those savage tribes, the only ones that ever broke into and burned the city of Rome." Many other things Antony said in a kind of divine frenzy, and then lowered his voice from its high pitch to a sorrowful tone, and mourned and wept as for a friend who had suffered unjustly, and solemnly vowed that he was willing to give his own life in exchange for Caesar's. CHAP. XX

Carried away by an easy transition to extreme passion he uncovered the body of Caesar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator's blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus in a play, mourned with him in the most sorrowful manner, and from sorrow became filled again with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited. Somewhere from the midst of these lamentations Caesar

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ἐδόκει λέγειν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσειε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῶν σφαγέων αὐτῶν ἐπέλεγεν ὥσπερ ἐν θαύματι· "ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τούσδε περισῶσαι τοὺς κτενοῦντάς με," οὐκ ἔφερεν ἔτι ὁ δῆμος, ἐν παραλόγῳ ποιούμενος τὸ πάντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς σφαγέας χωρὶς μόνου Δέκμου, αἰχμαλώτους ἐκ τῆς Πομπηίου στάσεως γενομένους, ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων προαχθέντας ἐπιβουλεῦσαι, Δέκμον δὲ καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ θετὸν ἀξιωθῆναι γενέσθαι.

147. Ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἤδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγὺς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὕπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἑωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντῃ, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσιν ὤφθησαν ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ὄψιν ὁ δῆμος οἰκτίστην σφίσι φανεῖσαν οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν ἀνώμωξάν τε καὶ διαζωσάμενοι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔνθα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνῄρητο, κατέφλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἐκφυγόντας πρὸ πολλοῦ περιθέοντες ἐζήτουν, οὕτω δὴ μανιωδῶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τε καὶ λύπης, ὥστε τὸν δημαρχοῦντα Κίνναν ἐξ ὁμωνυμίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κίννα, τοῦ δημηγορήσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τε περὶ τῆς ὁμωνυμίας οὐδ' ἀκοῦσαι, διέσπασαν θηριωδῶς, καὶ οὐδὲν

himself was supposed to speak, recounting by name his enemies on whom he had conferred benefits, and of the murderers themselves exclaiming, as it were in amazement, "Oh that I should have spared these men to slay me!"[1] The people could endure it no longer. It seemed to them monstrous that all the murderers who, with the single exception of Decimus Brutus, had been made prisoners while belonging to the faction of Pompey, and who, instead of being punished, had been advanced by Caesar to the magistracies of Rome and to the command of provinces and armies, should have conspired against him; and that Decimus should have been deemed by him worthy of adoption as his son. CHAP. XX The populace roused to fury

117. While they were in this temper and were already near to violence, somebody raised above the bier an image of Caesar himself made of wax. The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twenty-three wounds in all parts of the body and on the face, that had been dealt to him so brutally. The people could no longer bear the pitiful sight presented to them. They groaned, and, girding up their loins, they burned the senate-chamber where Caesar was slain, and ran hither and thither searching for the murderers, who had fled some time previously. They were so mad with rage and grief that meeting the tribune Cinna, on account of his similarity of name to the praetor Cinna who had made a speech against Caesar, not waiting to hear any explanation about the similarity of name, they tore him in pieces The murderers flee from the city

[1] A quotation from the Latin poet Pacuvius. Suetonius gives the original;

"Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent."

CAP. XX αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐς ταφὴν εὑρέθη. πῦρ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οἰκίας ἔφερον, καὶ καρτερῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τε ἀμυνομένων καὶ τῶν γειτόνων δεομένων τοῦ μὲν πυρὸς ἀπέσχοντο, ὅπλα δ' ἠπείλησαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οἴσειν.

148. Καὶ οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς ἐξέφυγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαλαθόντες, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπανελθὼν ἔφερον αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς εὐαγὲς θάψαι τε ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ μετὰ θεῶν θέσθαι. κωλυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν αὖθις ἔθεσαν, ἔνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἔστι βασίλειον, καὶ ξύλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάθρα, ὅσα πολλὰ ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο συνενεγκόντες, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν δαψιλεστάτην οὖσαν ἐπιβαλόντες, στεφάνους τε ἔνιοι παρ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀριστεῖα πολλὰ ἐπιθέντες, ἐξῆψαν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πανδημεὶ τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον, ἔνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτέθη, νῦν δ' ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, θείων τιμῶν ἀξιουμένου· ὁ γάρ τοι θετὸς αὐτῷ παῖς Ὀκτάουιος, τό τε ὄνομα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μεταβαλὼν καὶ κατ' ἴχνος ἐκείνου τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσιών, τήν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν ἔτι νῦν, ἐρριζωμένην ὑπ' ἐκείνου, μειζόνως ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τὸν πατέρα τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἠξίωσεν· ὧν δὴ καὶ νῦν, ἐξ ἐκείνου πρώτου, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἑκάστοτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τήνδε ἄρχοντα, ἢν μὴ τύχῃ τυραννικὸς ὢν ἢ ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀποθανόντα ἀξιοῦσιν, οὐ πρότερον οὐδὲ περιόντας αὐτοὺς ἔφερον καλεῖν βασιλέας.

like wild beasts so that no part of him was ever found for burial. They carried fire to the houses of the other murderers, but the domestics valiantly fought them off and the neighbours besought them to desist. So the people abstained from the use of fire, but they threatened to come back with arms on the following day. CHAP. XX

148. The murderers fled from the city secretly. The people returned to Caesar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods. Being prevented from doing so by the priests, they placed it again in the forum where stands the ancient palace of the kings of Rome. There they collected together pieces of wood and benches, of which there were many in the forum, and anything else they could find of that sort, for a funeral pile, throwing on it the adornments of the procession, some of which were very costly. Some of them cast their own crowns upon it and many military gifts. Then they set fire to it, and the entire people remained by the funeral pile throughout the night. There an altar was first erected, but now there stands the temple of Caesar himself, as he was deemed worthy of divine honours; for Octavian, his son by adoption, who took the name of Caesar, and, following in his footsteps in political matters, greatly strengthened the government which was founded by Caesar, and remains to this day, decreed divine honours to his father. From this example the Romans now pay like honours to each emperor at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings even while alive.

XXI

CAP. XXI

149. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν ἡμέραις αἷς καλοῦσιν εἰδοῖς Μαρτίαις, Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μάλιστα μέσου, ἥν τινα ἡμέραν αὐτὸν ὁ μάντις οὐ περιοίσειν προύλεγεν· ὁ δ' ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν ἔφη περὶ τὴν ἕω· "πάρεισιν αἱ εἰδοί." καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν καταπλαγεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἀλλὰ οὐ παρεληλύθασιν," ὁ δὲ καὶ τοιῶνδε προαγορεύσεων αὐτῷ σὺν τοσῷδε τοῦ μάντεως θάρσει γενομένων καὶ σημείων ὧν προεῖπον ἑτέρων ὑπεριδὼν προῆλθε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔτος ἄγων ἕκτον ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, ἀνὴρ ἐπιτυχέστατος ἐς πάντα καὶ δαιμόνιος καὶ μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ εἰκότως ἐξομοιούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἄμφω γὰρ ἐγενέσθην φιλοτιμοτάτω τε πάντων καὶ πολεμικωτάτω καὶ τὰ δόξαντα ἐπελθεῖν ταχυτάτω πρός τε κινδύνους παραβολωτάτω καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀφειδεστάτω καὶ οὐ στρατηγίᾳ πεποιθότε μᾶλλον ἢ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ. ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄνυδρόν τε πολλὴν ἐς Ἄμμωνος ὧδευεν ὥρᾳ καύματος, καὶ τὸν Παμφύλιον κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνακοπείσης διέτρεχε δαιμονίως, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαίμονος κατέχοντος, ἔστε παρέλθοι, καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὁδεύοντι ὕοντος. ἁπλώτου τε θαλάσσης ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀπεπείρασε, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρῶτος ἀνέβη καὶ ἐς πολεμίων τεῖχος ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ τρισκαίδεκα τραύματα ὑπέστη. καὶ ἀήττητος αἰεὶ γενόμενος ἐνὶ σχεδὸν ἢ δύο ἔργοις

XXI

Comparison of Caesar with Alexander

149. So died Gaius Caesar on the Ides of March, which correspond nearly with the middle of the Greek month Anthesterion, which day the soothsayer predicted that he should not survive. Caesar jokingly said to him early in the morning, "Well, the Ides have come," and the latter, nothing daunted, answered, "But not gone." Despising such prophecies, uttered with so much confidence by the soothsayer, and other prodigies that I have previously mentioned, Caesar went on his way and met his death, being fifty-six years of age,[1] a man most fortunate in all things, superhuman, of grand designs, and fit to be compared with Alexander. Both were men of the greatest ambition, both were most skilled in the art of war, most rapid in executing their decisions, most reckless of danger, least sparing of themselves, and relying as much on audacity and luck as on military skill. Alexander made a long journey through the desert in the hot season to visit the oracle of Ammon and crossed the Gulf of Pamphylia beating back a head sea most fortunately, for his good fortune restrained the waves for him until he had passed over, and sent him rain on his journey by land. On his way to India he ventured upon an unknown sea. Once he was the first to ascend the scaling ladders and leaped over the wall among his enemies alone, and in this condition received thirteen wounds. Yet he was never defeated, and he finished almost every war in one or two battles. He conquered

[1] Mommsen maintains, contrary to the testimony of Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian, that Caesar was fifty-eight instead of fifty-six years old at the time of his death.

CAP. XXI ἕκαστον πόλεμον ἐξήνυσε, τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἐλὼν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρωσάμενος, δυσαρκτότατον ἔθνος καὶ φιλελεύθερον καὶ οὐδενὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλὴν Φιλίππῳ κατ' εὐπρέπειαν ἐς ἡγεμονίαν πολέμου δόξασαν ὑπακούειν ἐπ' ὀλίγον· τὴν δὲ Ἀσίαν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ὅλην ἐπέδραμε. καὶ ὡς λόγῳ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχην καὶ δύναμιν εἰπεῖν, ὅσην εἶδε γῆν, ἐκτήσατο καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐνθυμούμενός τε καὶ διανοούμενος ἀπέθανε.

150. Καίσαρι δὲ ἥ τε Ἰόνιος θάλασσα εἶξε, χειμῶνος μέσου πλωτὴ καὶ εὔδιος γενομένη, καὶ τὸν ἑσπέριον ὠκεανὸν ἐπὶ Βρεττανοὺς διέπλευσεν οὔπω γενόμενον ἐν πείρᾳ, κρημνοῖς τε τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ἐποκέλλοντας ἐκέλευε τὰς ναῦς περιαγνύναι. καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον κλύδωνα μόνος ἐν σκάφει σμικρῷ νυκτὸς ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευε προχέαι τὰ ἱστία καὶ θαρρεῖν τῇ Καίσαρος τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἐς τε πολεμίους προεπήδησε μόνος ἐκ πάντων δεδιότων πολλάκις, καὶ τριακοντάκις αὐτὸς ἐν Κελτοῖς μόνοις παρετάξατο, μέχρι τετρακόσια αὐτῶν ἐχειρώσατο ἔθνη, οὕτω δή τι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπίφοβα, ὡς νόμῳ τῷ περὶ ἀστρατείας ἱερέων καὶ γερόντων ἐγγραφῆναι 'πλὴν εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι'· τότε δὲ καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἱερέας στρατεύεσθαι. περί τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολεμῶν καὶ ἀποληφθεὶς ἐπὶ γεφύρας μόνος καὶ κακοπαθῶν τὴν πορφύραν ἀπέρριψε καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξήλατο καὶ ζητούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῷ μυχῷ διενήχετο λανθάνων ἐπὶ πολύ, μόνην ἐκ διαστήματος ἀνίσχων τὴν ἀναπνοήν, μέχρι φιλίᾳ νηὶ

many foreign nations in Europe and made himself master of Greece, a people hard to control, fond of freedom, who boasted that they had never obeyed anybody before him, except Philip for a little while under the guise of his leadership in war; and he also overran almost the whole of Asia. To sum up Alexander's fortune and power in a word, he acquired as much of the earth as he had seen, and died while he was considering and devising means to capture the rest.

150. So too the Adriatic Sea yielded to Caesar, becoming navigable and quiet in mid-winter. He also crossed the western ocean to Britain, which had never been attempted before, and he ordered his pilots to break their ships in pieces by running them on the rocks of the British coast. He was exposed to the violence of another tempest when alone in a small boat by night, and he ordered the pilot to spread his sails and to keep in mind Caesar's fortune rather than the waves of the sea. He often dashed against the enemy single-handed when all others were afraid. He fought thirty pitched battles in Gaul alone, where he conquered forty nations so formidable to the Romans previously that in the law which exempted priests and old men from military enrolment a formal exception was made 'in case of a Gallic inroad'; for then both priests and old men were required to serve. Once in the course of the Alexandrian war, when he was left alone on a bridge in extreme peril, he threw off his purple garment, leaped into the sea, and, being sought by the enemy, swam under water a long distance, coming to the surface only at intervals to take breath, until he

CAP. XXI προσπελάσας ὥρεξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔδειξε καὶ περιεσώθη.

Ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐμφύλια τάδε ἢ διὰ δέος, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ἢ ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμίᾳ συμπεσών, στρατηγοῖς τοῖς καθ' αὑτὸν ἀρίστοις συνηνέχθη καὶ στρατοῖς πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις, οὐ βαρβάρων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμαζόντων μάλιστα εὐπραξίαις καὶ τύχαις· καὶ ἁπάντων ἐκράτησε, διὰ μιᾶς καὶ ὅδε πείρας ἑκάστων ἢ διὰ δύο, οὐ μὴν ἀηττήτου καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἡττῶντο λαμπρῶς, ὅθ' ἡ μεγάλη σφᾶς συμφορὰ κατέλαβε Κόττα καὶ Τιτυρίου στρατηγούντων, καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πετρήιος αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀφράνιος συνέκλεισαν οἷα πολιορκουμένους, ἔν τε Δυρραχίῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ λαμπρῶς ἔφευγον καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον κατεπλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ ἐς παντὸς πολέμου τέλος ἀήττητος· τήν τε Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύν, γῆς ἤδη καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκ δύσεων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην κρατοῦσαν, ἐχειρώσατο βίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πολὺ βεβαιότερον καὶ πολὺ ἐγκρατέστερον Σύλλα βασιλέα τε αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἀκόντων, εἰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐκ ἐδέχετο. καὶ πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ ὅδε διανοούμενος ἀνῃρέθη.

151. Συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὁμοίως πρόθυμα μὲν ἐς ἄμφω καὶ μετὰ εὐνοίας γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς μάχας θηριώδεσιν ἐοικότα, δυσπειθῆ δὲ πολλάκις ἑκατέρῳ καὶ πολυστασίαστα διὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἀποθανόντας γε μὴν ὁμοίως ὠδύραντο καὶ ἐπεπόθησαν καὶ θείων τιμῶν ἠξίωσαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐφυεῖς

came near a friendly ship, when he stretched out his hands and made himself known, and was saved.

In these civil wars, in which he engaged either through apprehension, as he says, or ambition, he was brought in conflict with the first generals of the age and with many large armies, not now of barbarians, but of Romans in the highest state of efficiency and good fortune, and, like Alexander, he overcame them all by one or two engagements with each. His forces, however, were not, like Alexander's, always victorious, for they were defeated by the Gauls most disastrously under the command of his lieutenants, Cotta and Titurius; and in Spain Petreius and Afranius shut them up like an army besieged. At Dyrrachium and in Africa they were put to flight, and in Spain they were terrified by the younger Pompeius. But Caesar himself was always undaunted and was victorious at the end of every war. He grasped, partly by force, partly by goodwill, the Roman power which ruled the earth and sea from the setting sun to the river Euphrates, and held it much more firmly and strongly than Sulla had done, and he showed himself to be a king in spite of opposition, even though he did not accept the title. And, like Alexander, he expired while planning new wars.

151. Their armies were equally zealous and devoted to both, and in battles they fought with the greatest ferocity, but were often disobedient and mutinous on account of the severity of their tasks. Yet they equally mourned and longed for their commanders when they were dead, and paid them divine honours. Both were well-formed and handsome in

CAP. XXI

ἄμφω καὶ καλοί. καὶ τὸ γένος ἐκ Διὸς ἤστην ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Αἰακίδης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀγχίσου τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. φιλονικότεροι δὲ τοῖς ἐξερίζουσιν ὄντες ταχύτατοι πρὸς διαλύσεις ἦσαν καὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συγγνώμῃ καὶ εὐεργέται καὶ οὐδὲν ἧ κρατῆσαι μόνον ἐνθυμούμενοι.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον συγκεκρίσθω, καίπερ οὐκ ἐξ ἴσης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμήσαντος αὐτῶν ἑκατέρου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐκ βασιλείας ἠσκημένης ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ, τοῦ δ' ἐξ ἰδιωτείας, εὐγενοῦς μὲν καὶ περιφανοῦς, χρημάτων δὲ πάνυ ἐνδεοῦς.

152. Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ σημείων τῶν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἑκάτερος ὑπερόπτης καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τὴν τελευτὴν προειποῦσιν οὐκ ἐχαλέπηναν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτὰ ὅμοιά τε πολλάκις καὶ ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν συνηνέχθη· ἐγένετο γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ δὶς ἅλοβα, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κίνδυνον σφαλερὸν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις, ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τῆς κλίμακος συντριβείσης ἀποληφθέντι τε ἄνω, καὶ ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαλομένῳ καὶ πληγέντι τὰ στέρνα χαλεπῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν τράχηλον ὑπέρω βαρυτάτῳ, καὶ πίπτοντι ἤδη καὶ περισωθέντι μόλις ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναρρηξάντων τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ περιφόβου τε ὄντος ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τῷ νέῳ καὶ οἰκνοῦντος ἐς μάχην ἰέναι, προδραμόντι πάντων ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον καὶ διακόσια ἀναδεξαμένῳ δόρατα ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα, μέχρι

person, and both were descended from Jupiter, Alexander through Aeacus and Hercules, Caesar through Anchises and Venus. Both were as prompt to fight their adversaries as they were ready to make peace and grant pardon to the vanquished, and after pardon to confer benefits; for they desired only to conquer. CHAP. XXI

Thus far let the parallel hold good, although they did not both start toward empire from the same footing; Alexander from the monarchy founded by Philip, Caesar from a private station, being indeed well born and illustrious but wholly without wealth.

152. Both of them despised the prodigies relating to themselves, but they did not deal harshly with the soothsayers who predicted their death; for more than once the very same prodigies confronted both, pointing to the same end. Twice in the case of each the victims were without a lobe to the liver, and the first time it indicated a dangerous risk. It happened to Alexander when he was among the Oxydracae and while he was leading his Macedonians in scaling the enemy's wall. The ladder broke, leaving him alone on the top. Taking counsel of his courage, he leaped inside the town against his enemies, and was struck severely in the breast and on the neck by a very heavy club, so that he fell down, and was rescued with difficulty by the Macedonians, who broke down the gates in their alarm for him. It happened to Caesar in Spain while his army was in great fear of the younger Pompeius, and hesitated to join battle. Caesar dashed in advance of all into the space between the armies, and received 200 darts on his shield until

CAP. XXI καὶ τόνδε ὁ στρατὸς ἐπιδραμὼν ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς καὶ φόβου περιέσωσεν. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αὐτόν. Πειθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὁ μάντις Ἀπολλοδώρῳ δεδοικότι Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα θυόμενος εἶπε μὴ δεδιέναι, ἐκποδὼν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτίκα ἔσεσθαι· καὶ τελευτήσαντος εὐθὺς Ἡφαιστίωνος ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἔδεισε, μή τις ἐπιβουλὴ γένοιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεμειδίασε καὶ Πειθαγόραν αὐτὸν ἤρετο, ὅ τι λέγοι τὸ σημεῖον· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι τὰ ὕστατα λέγει, αὖθις ἐπεμειδίασε καὶ ἐπήνεσεν ὅμως Ἀπολλόδωρόν τε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τὸν μάντιν τῆς παρρησίας.

153. Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον βουλευτήριον ἐσιόντι, καθά μοι πρὸ βραχέος εἴρηται, τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα γίγνεται· καὶ χλευάσας ἔφη τοιαῦτά οἱ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γεγονέναι. τοῦ δὲ μάντεως εἰπόντος καὶ τότε αὐτὸν κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον ἔχειν τὸ σημεῖον, ἐνδούς τι πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐθύετο ὅμως αὖθις, μέχρι βραδυνόντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἱερῶν δυσχεράνας ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἀνῃρέθη. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνέπεσεν. ἐπανιόντα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πλησιάζοντα ἤδη παρεκάλουν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τοῦ δὲ τὸ ἰαμβεῖον εἰπόντος, ὅτι "μάντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς," δεύτερα γοῦν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι παρεκάλουν μὴ ἐς δύσιν ὁρῶντα μετὰ

his army, moved by shame and fear for his safety, rushed forward and rescued him. Thus in the case of each the first inauspicious victims presaged danger of death; the second presaged death itself. As Peithagoras, the soothsayer, was inspecting the entrails, he told Apollodorus, who was in fear of Alexander and Hephestion, not to be afraid of them, because they would both be out of the way very soon. Hephestion died immediately, and Apollodorus, being apprehensive lest some conspiracy might exist against Alexander, communicated the prophecy to him. Alexander smiled, and asked Peithagoras himself what the prodigy meant. When the latter replied that it meant fatality, he smiled again. Nevertheless, he commended Apollodorus for his good-will and the soothsayer for his freedom of speech. CHAP. XXI

153. As Caesar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said, jestingly, that the same thing had happened to him in Spain. When the soothsayer replied that he was in danger then too, and that the omen was now more deadly, he yielded somewhat to the warning and sacrificed again, and continued to do so until he became vexed with the priests for delaying him, and went in and was murdered. The same kind of thing happened to Alexander. As he was returning from India to Babylon with his army, and was nearing the latter place, the Chaldeans urged him to postpone his entrance for the present. He replied with the iambic verse, "He is the best prophet who can guess right."[1] Again, the Chaldeans urged him not to

[1] A fragment of Euripides.

CAP. XXI τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιοδεῦσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν λαβεῖν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. ὁ δ' ἐς τοῦτο μὲν ἐνδοῦναι λέγεται καὶ ἐπιχειρῆσαι περιοδεῦσαι, λίμνῃ δὲ καὶ ἕλει δυσχεραίνων καταφρονῆσαι καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μαντεύματος καὶ ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δύσιν ὁρῶν. ἐσελθών γε μὴν καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Παλλακόττην, ὃς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπολαμβάνων ἐς ἕλη καὶ λίμνας ἐκφέρει καὶ κωλύει τὴν Ἀσσυρίδα γῆν ἄρδειν,—ἐπινοοῦντα δὴ τοῦτον διατειχίσαι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκπλέοντά φασιν ἐπιτωθάσαι τοῖς Χαλδαίοις, ὅτι σῶος ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐσέλθοι τε καὶ ἐκπλέοι. ἔμελλε δ' ἐπανελθὼν αὐτίκα ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνήξεσθαι. ἐπετώθασε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅμοια. τοῦ γὰρ μάντεως αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς προειπόντος, ὅτι μὴ περιοίσει τὰς Μαρτίας εἰδούς, ἐλθούσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἔφη, τὸν μάντιν χλευάζων, ὅτι πάρεισιν αἱ εἰδοί· καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅμως ἀπέθανεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σημεῖα τὰ περὶ σφῶν ἐχλεύασαν ὁμοίως, καὶ τοῖς προειποῦσιν αὐτὰ μάντεσιν οὐκ ἐχαλέπηναν, καὶ ἑάλωσαν ὅμως ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν μαντευμάτων.

154. Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς, τῆς τε πατρίου καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ξένης, φιλόκαλοι, τὰ μὲν Ἰνδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξετάζων τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἳ δοκοῦσιν Ἰνδῶν εἶναι μετεωρολόγοι τε καὶ σοφοὶ καθὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μάγοι,

march his army into the city while looking toward the setting sun, but to go around and enter facing the east. It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being impeded by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west. Not long after entering he went down the Euphrates in a boat to the river Pallacotta, which takes its water from the Euphrates and carries it away in marshes and ponds and thus hinders the irrigation of the Assyrian country. While he was considering how he should dam this stream, and while he was sailing out to it for this purpose, it is said that he jeered at the Chaldeans because he had gone into Babylon and sailed out of it safely. But yet the moment he returned back to it he was to die. Caesar jeered at the prophecies in like manner, for the soothsayer predicted the day of his death, saying that he should not survive the Ides of March, and when the day came Caesar mocked him, saying, "The Ides have come"; and yet the same day he died. Thus both alike made light of the prophecies concerning themselves, and were not angry at the soothsayers who uttered them, and yet they became the victims of the prophecies.[1] CHAP. XXI

154. Both were students of the science and arts[2] of their own country, of Greece, and of foreign nations. As to those of India, Alexander interrogated the Brahmins who seem to be the astronomers and learned men of that country, like the Magi among the

[1] Apparently a metaphor from the law-courts; "the sentence of the prophecies was duly carried out."

[2] ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς: literally, "the science of excellence," which is by no means clear. [Should we not read ἀστρικῆς "astronomy"?]

CAP. XXI τὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενος καθίστατο Κλεοπάτραν. ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν πολλὰ Ῥωμαίοις διωρθώσατο καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνώμαλον ἔτι ὄντα διὰ τοὺς ἔσθ' ὅτε μῆνας ἐμβολίμους (κατὰ γὰρ σελήνην αὐτοῖς ἠριθμεῖτο) ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμον μετέβαλεν, ὡς ἦγον Αἰγύπτιοι. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλευσάντων μηδένα διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδὶ δοῦναι δίκην ἀξίαν, καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς Φιλίππου ἀνελόντας. ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν, αἱ ἑξῆς βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν.

Persians. Caesar likewise interrogated the Egyptians while he was there restoring Cleopatra to the throne, by which means he made many improvements among the peaceful arts for the Romans. He changed the calendar, which was still in disorder by reason of the intercalary months till then in use, for the Romans reckoned the year by the moon. Caesar changed it to the sun's course, as the Egyptians reckoned it.[1] It happened in his case that not one of the conspirators against him escaped, but all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son, just as the murderers of Philip were by Alexander. How they were punished the succeeding books will show.

CHAP. XXI

[1] Caesar also, at this time, changed the beginning of the year from the first of March to the first of January, because the latter was the date for changing the supreme magistrates.

BOOK III

Γ

I

CAP. I 1. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ πλείστου Ῥωμαίοις ἄξιος ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνῄρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τέθαπτο· ἁπάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγέων δίκην δόντων, ὅπως οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν, ἥδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήνδε ἐπιδείξουσιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Ῥωμαίοις ἐμφύλια ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐγίγνετο ὁμοῦ.

2. Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἡ βουλὴ δι' αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑφ' ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθισθεὶς ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἄρτι ἐπεψηφισμένης ἀμνηστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον· ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χαλεπαίνουσαν ἐνὶ τοιῷδε πολιτεύματι ἐς εὔνοιαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. Ἀμάτιος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος· Μαρίου γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο υἱωνὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήρεσκε τῷ δήμῳ. γιγνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενὴς τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήλγει μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπῳκοδόμει τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ χεῖρα θρασυτέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀεὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῦ

BOOK III

I

1. Thus was Gaius Caesar, who had been foremost in extending the Roman sway, slain by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers were brought to punishment. How the most distinguished of them were punished this book and the next one will show, and the other civil wars waged by the Romans will likewise be included in them. CHAP. I B.C. 44

2. The Senate blamed Antony for his funeral oration over Caesar, by which, chiefly, the people were incited to disregard the decree of amnesty lately passed, and to scour the city in order to fire the houses of the murderers. But he changed it from bad to good feeling toward himself by one capital stroke of policy. There was a certain pseudo-Marius in Rome named Amatius. He pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and for this reason was very popular with the masses. Being, according to this pretence, a relative of Caesar, he was pained beyond measure by the latter's death, and erected an altar on the site of his funeral pyre. He collected a band of reckless men and make himself a perpetual terror to the murderers. Some of these had fled from the city, and those who had accepted the command of The city after Caesar's funeral

CAP. 1 Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν ὅμορον τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικήν, Τρεβώνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τίλλιος δὲ Κίμβερ ἐς Βιβυνίαν· Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ βουλῇ διέφερεν, ᾑρηντο μὲν καὶ οἵδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βροῦτος, ἔτι δὲ ὄντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοὶ . . . ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ διατάγμασιν οἷα στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἐθεράπευον, ὅσοις τε ἄλλοις ἐπενόουν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχήματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου κωλύοντος ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι.

3. Τούτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ ἐνεδρεύσειν ἐλέγετο. τῷδε οὖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων οἷα ὕπατος συλλαμβάνει καὶ κτείνει τὸν Ἀμάτιον χωρὶς δίκης, μάλα θρασέως· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἐθαύμαζεν ὡς μέγα καὶ παράνομον, τὴν δὲ χρείαν αὐτοῦ προσεποιοῦντο ἥδιστα· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ποτὲ χωρὶς τοιᾶσδε τόλμης ἀσφαλῆ τὰ κατὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀματίου στασιῶται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δῆμος ἐπ' ἐκείνοις πόθῳ τε τοῦ Ἀματίου καὶ ἀγανακτήσει τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεπράχει ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος, οὐκ ἠξίουν σφῶν καταφρονεῖν· τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖν καταλαβόντες ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθεοῦν καὶ θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρώτους. ἐξελαυνό-

provinces from Caesar himself had gone away to take charge of the same, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Western Asia Minor, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the special favourites of the Senate, had also been chosen by Caesar as governors for the following year, the former of Syria, and the latter of Macedonia. But being still city praetors, they [remained at Rome][1] necessarily, and in their official capacity they conciliated the colonists by various decrees, and among others by one enabling them to sell their allotments, the law hitherto forbidding the alienation of the land till the end of twenty years. CHAP. I

3. It was said that Amatius was only waiting an opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On this rumour, Antony, making capital out of the plot, and using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they readily condoned its expediency, because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness. The followers of Amatius, and the plebeians generally, missing Amatius and feeling indignation at the deed, and especially because it had been done by Antony, whom the people had honoured, determined that they would not be scorned in that way. With shouts they took possession of the forum, exclaiming violently against Antony, and called on the magistrates to dedicate the altar in place of Amatius, and to offer the first sacrifices on it to Caesar. Having Antony puts Amatius to death

[1] The verb is missing.

CAP. I

μενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλόν τε ἠγανάκτουν καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ ἕδρας ἔνιοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυον ἀνῃρημένων. ὡς δέ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἔνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δείξειν, εὐθὺς εἵποντο καὶ ἰδόντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἕως ἑτέρων ἐπιπεμφθέντων ἐξ Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνόμενοί τε ἀνῃρέθησαν ἔνιοι καὶ συλληφθέντες ἕτεροι ἐκρεμάσθησαν, ὅσοι θεράποντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ κατερρίφησαν.

4. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάραχος ἐπέπαυτο, μῖσος δὲ ἄρρητον ἐξ ἀρρήτου εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγήγερτο. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἔχαιρον ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως ἐν ἀδεεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον γενόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σέξστον Πομπήιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου περιποθήτου πᾶσιν ἔτι ὄντος, εἰσηγήσατο καλεῖν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν, ἀντί τε τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας δεδημευμένης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλίας, εἶναι δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἤδη τῆς θαλάσσης, καθὼς ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν αὐτίκα ταῖς πανταχοῦ χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰ ἐπείγοντα, θαυμάζουσα ἕκαστα ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ προθυμίας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ ὅλην εὐφήμουν ἡμέραν· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει Μάγνου γενέσθαι δημοκρατικώτερος, ὅθεν οὐδὲ περιποθητότερος ἦν. ὅ τε Κάσσιος καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος, ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου καὶ πᾶσι τότε τιμιωτάτω, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐδόκουν ἕξειν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὧν ἐπεπράχεσαν ἐγκρατῆ,

been driven out of the forum by soldiers sent by Antony, they became still more indignant, and vociferated more loudly, and some of them showed places where Caesar's statues had been torn from their pedestals. One man told them that he could show the shop where the statues were being broken up. The others followed, and having witnessed the fact, they set fire to the place. Finally, Antony sent more soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others were captured, and of these the slaves were crucified and the freemen thrown over the Tarpeian rock.

Antony deceives the Senate

4. So this tumult was quieted; but the extreme fondness of the plebeians for Antony was turned into extreme hatred. The Senate was delighted, because it believed that it could not rest secure otherwise about Brutus and his associates. Antony also moved that Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still much beloved by all) should be recalled from Spain, where he was still attacked by Caesar's lieutenants, and that he should be paid 50 millions of Attic drachmas out of the public treasury for his father's confiscated property and be appointed commander of the sea, as his father had been, with charge of all the Roman ships, wherever situated, which were needed for immediate service. The astonished Senate accepted each of these decrees with alacrity and applauded Antony the whole day; for nobody, in their estimation, was more devoted to the republic than the elder Pompey, and hence nobody was more regretted. Cassius and Brutus, who were of Pompey's faction, and most honoured by all at that time, thought that they would be entirely safe. They thought that what

CAP. 1 καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τέλος ἐπάξεσθαι, τῆς μοίρας σφῶν ἀνισχούσης. ἃ καὶ Κικέρων συνεχῶς ἐπῄνει τὸν Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συγγινώσκουσα αὐτῷ διὰ σφᾶς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον ἔδωκε φρουρὰν περιστήσασθαι περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων καὶ ἐπιδημούντων ἑαυτῷ καταλέγοντα.

5. Ὁ δέ, εἴτε εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸ πάντα πεπραχὼς εἴτε τὴν συντυχίαν ὡς εὔχρηστον ἀσπασάμενος τὴν φρουρὰν κατέλεγεν, αἰεὶ προστιθεὶς μέχρι ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ὁπλιτῶν, οὓς εὐμαρῶς ἂν ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ᾠέτο ἕξειν καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντας λοχαγοὺς ὡς ἡγεμονικούς τε καὶ ἐμπειροπολέμους καί οἱ γνωρίμους ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ὑπὸ Καίσαρι· ταξιάρχους δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πρέποντα κόσμον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήσας ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φανερῶν βουλευμάτων. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίλεξιν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενοι συνεβούλευον τὴν φρουρὰν ὡς ἐπίφθονον ἐς τὸ ἀρκοῦν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν, ὅταν σβέσῃ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ταραχῶδες. ἐψηφισμένον δ' εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα Καίσαρι πέπρακτό τε καὶ γενέσθαι βεβούλευτο, τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος Φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τοιάδε αἰτήματα ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐξιὼν ἀνετίθετο, πολλὰ ἐς πολλῶν χάριν προσετίθει καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο πόλεσι

they had done would be confirmed, and the republic be at last restored, and their party successful. Wherefore Cicero praised Antony continually, and the Senate, perceiving that the plebeians were making plots against him on its account, allowed him a guard for his personal safety, chosen by himself from the veterans who were sojourning in the city. CHAP. I

5. Antony, either because he had done everything for this very purpose, or seizing the happy chance as very useful to him, enlisted his guard and kept adding to it till it amounted to 6000 men. They were not common soldiers. He thought that he should easily get the latter when he needed them otherwise. These were composed wholly of centurions, as being fit for command, and of long experience in war, and his own acquaintances through his service under Caesar. He appointed tribunes over them, chosen from their own number and adorned with military decoration, and these he held in honour and made sharers of such of his plans as he made known. The Senate began to be suspicious of the number of his guards, and of his care in choosing them, and advised him to reduce them to a moderate number so as to avoid invidious remarks. He promised to do so as soon as the disorder among the plebeians should be quieted. It had been decreed that all the things done by Caesar, and all that he intended to do, should be ratified. The memoranda of Caesar's intentions were in Antony's possession, and Caesar's secretary, Faberius, was obedient to him in every way since Caesar himself, on the point of his departure, had placed all petitions of this kind in Antony's discretion. Antony made many additions in order to secure the favour of many persons. He

CAP. I καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φρουροῖς· καὶ ἐπεγράφετο μὲν πᾶσι τὰ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, τὴν δὲ χάριν οἱ λαβόντες ἤδεσαν Ἀντωνίῳ. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον πολλοὺς κατέλεγε καὶ ἄλλα τῇ βουλῇ δι' ἀρεσκείας ἔπρασσεν, ἵνα μὴ φθονοῖεν ἔτι τῆς φρουρᾶς.

6. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος, οὔτε τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐξεστρατευμένων εἰρηναίου φανέντος, οὔτε τὴν ἐνέδραν Ἀματίου καὶ παρ' ἑτέρου ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι, οὔτε τὸ ποικίλον Ἀντωνίου φέροντες ἀφόβως, ἤδη καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντος, οὔτε τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαιουμένην ἔργοις ὁρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφορώμενοι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐπεποίθεσαν, ἔχοντι ἐν πλευραῖς τρία τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Τρεβώνιον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πρὸς Τίλλιον ἐς Βιθυνίαν κρύφα ἔπεμπον χρήματα ἀγείρειν ἀφανῶς καὶ στρατὸν περιβλέπεσθαι. αὐτοί τε ἠπείγοντο τῶν δεδομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐθνῶν λαβέσθαι. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ οὔπω συγχωροῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμενοι, τὴν ἐν ἄστει στρατηγίαν προλιπόντες ἀτελῆ, δόξαν ὕποπτον φιλαρχίας ἐθνῶν ἐνέγκασθαι, ᾑροῦντο ὅμως ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα διατρῖψαί ποι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύοντες ἢ ἐν ἄστει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε ἀφόβως ἔχοντες οὔτε τὰ εἰκότα ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεπράχεσαν τιμώμενοι. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἡ βουλὴ συνειδυῖα

made gifts to cities, to princes, and to his own guards, and although all were advised that these were Caesar's memoranda, yet the recipients knew that the favour was due to Antony. In the same way he enrolled many new names in the list of senators and did many other things to please the Senate, in order that it might not bear him ill-will in reference to his guards. CHAP. I

He falsifies Caesar's decrees

6. While Antony was busy with these matters, Brutus and Cassius, seeing nobody among either the plebeians or the veterans inclined to be at peace with them, and considering that any other person might lay plots against them like that of Amatius, became distrustful of the fickleness of Antony, who now had an army under his command, and seeing that the republic, too, was not confirmed by deeds, they suspected Antony for that reason also; and so they reposed most confidence in Decimus Brutus, who had three legions near by, and also sent secretly to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, asking them to collect money quietly and to prepare an army. They were anxious, too, themselves to enter upon the government of the provinces assigned to them by Caesar, but as the time for doing so had not yet come, they thought that it would be indecorous for them to leave their service as city praetors unfinished, and that they would incur the suspicions of an undue longing for power over the provinces. They preferred, nevertheless, to spend the remainder of their year as private citizens somewhere, as a matter of necessity, rather than serve as praetors in the city where they were not safe, and were not held in honour corresponding to the benefits they had conferred upon their country. While they were in this state of mind, the Senate,

Brutus and Cassius uneasy

CAP. 1 τὴν γνώμην ἔδωκε σίτου τῇ πόλει φροντίσαι, ἐξ ὅσης δύναιντο γῆς, μέχρις αὐτοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς στρατηγίας καταλάβοι.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἔπραξεν, ἵνα μή ποτε Βροῦτος ἢ Κάσσιος φεύγειν δοκοῖεν· τοσήδε αὐτῶν φροντὶς ἦν ἅμα καὶ αἰδώς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σφαγεῦσι διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα συνελάμβανον· 7. ἐξελθόντων δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἐπὶ δυναστείας ὧν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἤδη μοναρχικῆς ἀρχὴν ἔθνους καὶ στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ περιέβλεπε· καὶ Συρίας μὲν ἐπεθύμει μάλιστα, οὐκ ἠγνύει δὲ ὧν δι' ὑπονοίας καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσόμενος, εἴ τι αἰτοίη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ κρύφα Δολοβέλλαν τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον ἐπήλειφεν εἰς ἐναντίωσιν ἡ βουλή, διάφορον αἰεὶ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμενον. αὐτὸν οὖν τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, νέον τε καὶ φιλότιμον εἰδώς, ἔπεισεν αἰτεῖν Συρίαν ἀντὶ Κασσίου καὶ τὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους κατειλεγμένον στρατὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίους, αἰτεῖν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν), ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡσθεὶς αὐτίκα προυτίθει τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτιωμένης αὐτὸν παραλύειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους πόλεμον οὐδενὶ ἔφη ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπιτετράφθαι, Κάσσιον δὲ τὸν Συρίας ἀξιωθέντα αὐτόν τι τῶν Καίσαρος πρότερον ἀλλάξαι, δόντα πωλεῖν τὰ κληρουχήματα τοῖς λαβοῦσι πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ αἰδεῖσθαι Συρίας οὐκ ἀξιούμενος, Δολοβέλλας ὤν,

holding the same opinion as themselves, gave them charge of the supply of corn for the city from all parts of the world, until the time should arrive for them to take command of their provinces. CHAP. I

This was done in order that Brutus and Cassius might not at any time seem to have run away. So great was the anxiety and regard for them that the Senate cared for the other murderers chiefly on their account. 7. After Brutus and Cassius had left the city, Antony, being in possession of something like monarchical power, cast about for the government of a province and an army for himself. He desired that of Syria most of all, but he was not ignorant of the fact that he was under suspicion and that he would be more so if he should ask for it; for the Senate had secretly encouraged Dolabella, the other consul, to oppose Antony, as he had always been at variance with him. Antony, knowing that this young Dolabella was himself ambitious, persuaded him to solicit the province of Syria and the army enlisted against the Parthians, to be used against the Parthians, in place of Cassius, and to ask it, not from the Senate, which had not the power to grant it, but from the people by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately brought forward the law. The Senate accused him of nullifying the decrees of Caesar. He replied that Caesar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to anybody, and that Cassius, who had been assigned to the command of Syria, had himself been the first to alter the decrees of Caesar by authorizing colonists to sell their allotments before the expiration of the legal period of twenty years. He said also it would be an indignity to himself if he, being Dolabella, were not chosen for

They leave the city

Antony obtains Syria for Dolabella

CAP. 1 πρὸ Κασσίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ Ἀσπρήναν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ψεύσασθαι περὶ διοσημείας, ἐλπίσαντές τι καὶ Ἀντώνιον συμπράξειν, ὕπατόν τε ὄντα καὶ τῶν σημείων ἱερέα καὶ διάφορον ἔτι νομιζόμενον εἶναι τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεὶ τῆς χειροτονίας οὔσης ὁ Ἀσπρήνας ἔφη διοσημείαν ἀπαίσιον γεγονέναι, ἔθους ὄντος ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τοῦτο πέμπεσθαι, πάνυ χαλεψάμενος τῷ Ἀσπρήνᾳ τοῦ ψεύσματος τὰς φυλὰς ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν περὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.

8. Καὶ γίνεται μὲν οὕτω Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Δολοβέλλας καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Παρθυαίους καὶ στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος κατειλεγμένης, ὅση τε περὶ Μακεδονίαν προελιλύθει, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τότε πρῶτον ἔγνωστο συμπράσσων τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ᾔτει Μακεδονίαν, εὖ εἰδώς, ὅτι αἰδέσονται, μετὰ Συρίαν δοθεῖσαν Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἀντειπεῖν περὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ταῦτα γυμνῆς στρατοῦ γενομένης. καὶ ἔδοσαν μὲν ἄκοντες καὶ ἐν θαύματι ἔχοντες, ὅπως τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατὸν προμεθῆκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἠγάπων δὲ ὅμως Δολοβέλλαν ἔχειν τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον. ἐν καιρῷ δὲ αὐτοὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀντῄτουν ἕτερα ἔθνη, καὶ ἐδόθη Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη, ὡς δ' ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, τάδε μὲν ἀμφότερα Κασσίῳ, Βιθυνία δὲ Βρούτῳ.

Syria instead of Cassius. The Senate then persuaded one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to give a false report of the signs in the sky during the comitia, having some hope that Antony, too, who was both consul and augur, and was supposed to be still at variance with Dolabella, would co-operate with him. But when the voting came on, and Asprenas said that the signs in the sky were unfavourable, as it was not his business to attend to this, Antony, angry at his lying, ordered that the tribes should go on with the voting on the subject of Dolabella. CHAP. I

8. Thus Dolabella became governor of Syria and general of the war against the Parthians and of the forces enlisted for that purpose by Caesar, together with those that had gone in advance to Macedonia. Then it became known for the first time that Antony was co-operating with Dolabella. After this business had been transacted by the people, Antony solicited the province of Macedonia from the Senate, well knowing that after Syria had been given to Dolabella, they would be ashamed to deny Macedonia to himself, especially as it was a province without an army. They gave it to him unwillingly, at the same time wondering why Antony should let Dolabella have the army, but glad nevertheless that the latter had it rather than the former. They themselves took the opportunity to ask of Antony other provinces for Brutus and Cassius, and there were assigned to them Cyrenaica and Crete ; or, as some say, both of these to Cassius and Bithynia to Brutus.

He receives Macedonia for himself

II

CAP. 11

9. Τὰ μὲν δὴ γινόμενα ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοιάδε ἦν· Ὀκτάουιος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατριδοῦς ἵππαρχος μὲν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος γεγένητο πρὸς ἓν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιφέρων ἐτήσιον ἔσθ' ὅτε ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι, μειράκιον δὲ ἔτι ὢν ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου παιδεύεσθαί τε καὶ ἀσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐψόμενος αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἱππέων ἴλαι παραλλὰξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιοῦσαι συνεγύμναζον καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ὡς συγγενεῖ Καίσαρος θαμινὰ ἐπεφοίτων. γνῶσίς τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ εὔνοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ἐνεγίγνετο, σὺν χάριτι δεξιουμένῳ πάντας. ἕκτον δ' ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἀγγέλλεται περὶ ἑσπέραν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρημένος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνατωτάτων τότε μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδενὸς ἀπαγγελθέντος πω δέος αὐτὸν ἐπεῖχε καὶ ἄγνοια, εἴτε κοινὸν εἴη τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἔργον εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἴδιον, καὶ εἰ δίκην ἤδη τοῖς πλείοσι δεδώκοιεν ἢ καὶ τοῦδε εἶεν, ἢ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῖς συνήδοιτο.

10. Ἐφ' οἷς οἱ φίλοι ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπετίθεντο ταῦτα, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος

II

CHAP. II

Octavian in Apollonia

9. Such was the state of affairs at Rome. We turn now to Octavian,[1] the son of the daughter of Caesar's sister, who had been appointed master of Caesar's horse for one year, for Caesar at times made this a yearly office, passing it round among his friends. Being still a young man, he had been sent by Caesar to Apollonia on the Adriatic to be educated and trained in the art of war, so that he might accompany Caesar on his expeditions. Troops of horse from Macedonia were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill, and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Caesar. As he received all with kindness, an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army. At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, it was announced to him one evening that Caesar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to him, and were then his most powerful subordinates. As the rest of the story was untold he was overcome by fear, not knowing whether the deed had been committed by the Senate as a whole or was confined to the immediate actors; nor whether the majority of the Senate had already punished them, or were actually accomplices, or whether the people were pleased with what had been done.

10. Thereupon [his friends in Rome advised as follows:] [2] some urged him to take refuge with the

[1] His name was originally C. Octavius. When taking the names C. Julius Caesar he added *Octavianus*, as shewing his original *gens*. For clearness the name *Octavian* is employed in translation. [2] These words are perhaps an insertion.

CAP. II αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατὸν καταφυγεῖν καί, ὅτε μάθοι μὴ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιθαρρήσαντα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ ἦσαν οἳ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα φυλάξειν ὑπεδέχοντο· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτήν, ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἔγραφον μήτε ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε θαρρεῖν πω μεμνημένον, οἷα Καῖσαρ ὁ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ κρατήσας ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων μάλιστα πάθοι, τὰ δὲ ἰδιωτικώτερα ὡς ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀκινδυνότερα αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπείγεσθαι φυλασσόμενον. οἷς Ὀκτάουιος ἐνδοὺς διὰ τὴν ἔτι ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ γενομένων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ δεξιωσάμενος διέπλει τὸν Ἰόνιον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον (οὔπω γάρ τινα τοῦ ἐκεῖθι στρατοῦ πεῖραν εἰληφὼς πάντα ἐφυλάσσετο), ἀλλ' ἐς ἑτέραν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πόλιν, ἐκτὸς οὖσαν ὁδοῦ, ᾗ ὄνομα Λουπίαι. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἐνηυλίσατο διατρίβων.

11. Ὡς δέ οἱ τά τε ἀκριβέστερα περὶ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῦ δημοσίου πάθους τῶν τε διαθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων ἦλθε τὰ ἀντίγραφα, οἱ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἠξίουν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς Καίσαρος δεδιέναι, υἱόν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμον ὄντα, καὶ παρήνουν ἅμα τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν θέσιν ἀπείπασθαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ καὶ τὸ μὴ τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ᾔει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνησάμενος, μή τις ἐκ τῶν φονέων ἐγκαθέζοιτο ἐνέδρα. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατὸς οἷα Καίσαρος υἱὸν δεξιούμενος ἁπάντα, θαρρήσας ἔθυε καὶ εὐθὺς ὠνομάζετο

army in Macedonia to ensure his personal safety, and when he should learn that the murder was only a private transaction to take courage against his enemies and avenge Caesar; and there were high officers who promised to protect him if he would come. But his mother and his stepfather, Philippus, wrote to him from Rome not to be too confident and not to attempt anything rash, but to bear in mind what Caesar, after conquering every enemy, had suffered at the hands of his closest friends; that it would be safer under present circumstances to choose a private life and hasten to them at Rome, but with caution. Octavian yielded to them because he did not know what had happened after Caesar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the Adriatic, not to Brundusium (for as he had made no test of the army at that place he avoided all risk), but to another town not far from it and out of the direct route, named Lupiae. There he took lodgings and remained for a while. CHAP. II

He comes to Italy

11. When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Caesar's will and the decrees of the Senate, his relatives still more cautioned him to beware of the enemies of Caesar, as he was the latter's adopted son and heir. They even advised him to renounce the adoption, together with the inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Caesar, would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundusium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him. When the army there advanced to meet him, and received him as Caesar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of

CAP. 11 Καῖσαρ. ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς τὰ τῶν θεμένων ὀνόματα ἐπιλαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πατρῷον ὅλως ἐνήλλαξεν, ἀντὶ Ὀκταουίου παιδὸς Ὀκταουίου Καῖσαρ εἶναι καὶ Καίσαρος υἱός, καὶ διετέλεσεν οὕτω χρώμενος. εὐθύς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἄθροιν καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς ἐς Καίσαρος υἱὸν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων συνέθεον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιλίας Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕτεροι στρατιῶται σὺν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἀποσκευὰς ἢ χρήματα φέροντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτερα χρήματα καὶ φόρους ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἄλλων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον.

12. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ πάντων εἰς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίᾳ θαρρῶν ὤδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν ἀξιολόγῳ πλήθει, αὐξομένῳ μᾶλλον ἑκάστης ἡμέρας οἷα χειμάρρῳ, φανερᾶς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς ὢν ἀμείνων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐνέδρας δὲ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα ὑφορώμενος, ἀρτιγνώστων οἱ τῶν συνόντων σχεδὸν ὄντων ἁπάντων. τὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ πάντῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν ὁμαλά· οἱ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διῃρημένοι συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν ἀποικιῶν ἐπὶ χάριτι τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα τηλικούτῳ μύσει καὶ σφᾶς ἔλεγον, εἴ τις ἡγοῖτο, ἀμυνεῖν. οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπέπεμπεν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας, ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων που Ῥώμης σταδίων, ἀγγέλλεται Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος ἀφῃρημένοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων

Caesar ; for it is customary among the Romans for the adopted son to take the name of the adoptive father. He not only assumed it, but he changed his own name and his patronymic completely, calling himself Caesar the son of Caesar, instead of Octavian the son of Octavius, and he continued to do so ever after. Directly multitudes of men from all sides flocked to him as Caesar's son, some from friendship to Caesar, others his freedmen and slaves, and with them soldiers besides, who were either engaged in conveying supplies and money to the army in Macedonia, or bringing other money and tribute from other countries to Brundusium. CHAP II

12. Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, and by the glory of Caesar, and by the goodwill of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger and larger each day. Although he was safe from any open attacks by reason of the multitude surrounding him, he was all the more on his guard against secret ones, because almost all of those accompanying him were new acquaintances. Some of the towns were not altogether favourable to him, but Caesar's veterans, who had been distributed in colonies, flocked from their settlements to greet the young man. They bewailed Caesar, and cursed Antony for not proceeding against the monstrous crime, and said that they would avenge it if anybody would lead them. Octavian praised them, but postponed the matter for the present and sent them away. When he had arrived at Tarracina, about 400 stades from Rome, he received news that Cassius and Brutus had been deprived of Syria and

Caesar's soldiers receive him gladly

He moves towards Rome

CAP. II Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς παρηγορίαν βραχύτερα ἕτερα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην ἀντειληφότες, φυγάδων τέ τινων κάθοδοι καὶ Πομπηίου μετάκλησις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἐγγραφαί τινων καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ γιγνόμενα.

13. Ὡς δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὖθις καὶ Φίλιππος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι κηδεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐδεδοίκεσαν τήν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλοτρίωσιν καὶ τὸ δόγμα, μὴ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι φόνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου τότε δυναστεύοντος ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπεροψίαν, οὔτε ἀφικομένου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἐλθόντα οὔτε προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράυνεν, αὐτὸς ἀπαντήσειν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἰπὼν οἷα νεώτερος ἐς πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐς ὕπατον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν θεραπεύσειν τὰ εἰκότα. καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἔφη γενέσθαι μηδενὸς πω τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους διώκοντος· ἀλλ' ὁπότε θαρρήσας τις διώκοι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικουρήσειν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς ἐννόμῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς δικαίῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἴσως. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς θέσεως ὑπερίδοι, ἔς τε τὸν Καίσαρα ἁμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀδικήσειν εἰς τὴν διανομήν.

Ἀπερρήγνυ τε λήγων τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ κινδυνεύειν οἱ καλὸν εἴη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θνήσκειν, εἰ προκριθεὶς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τοσαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀντάξιος αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο φιλοκινδυνοτάτου γεγονότος. τά τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὑπόγυά οἱ τότε

Macedonia by the consuls, and had received the smaller provinces of Cyrenaica and Crete by way of compensation; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompeius had been recalled; that some new members had been added to the Senate in accordance with Caesar's memoranda, and that many other things were happening. CHAP. II

13. When he arrived at the city his mother and Philippus and the others who were interested in him were anxious about the estrangement of the Senate from Caesar, and the decree that his murderers should not be punished, and the contempt shown him by Antony, who was then all-powerful, and had neither gone to meet Caesar's son when he was coming nor sent anybody to him. Octavian quieted their fears, saying that he would call on Antony, as the younger man on the older and the private citizen on the consul, and that he would show proper respect for the Senate. As for the decree, he said that it had been passed because nobody had prosecuted the murderers; whenever anybody should have courage to prosecute, the people and the Senate would lend their aid to him as enforcing the law, and the gods would do so for the justice of his cause, and Antony himself equally. If he (Octavian) should reject the inheritance and the adoption, he would be false to Caesar and would wrong the people who had a share in the will. He resolves to avenge Caesar

As he was finishing his remarks he burst out that honour demanded that he should not only incur danger, but even death, if, after he had been preferred before all others in this way by Caesar, he would show himself worthy of one who had himself braved every danger. Then he repeated the words of Achilles,

CAP. II

ὄντα μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν μητέρα ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ἔλεγεν·

"Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμύνειν."

καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν ἔφη κόσμον ἀθάνατον ἐκ πάντων εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα· αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα οὐχ ἑταῖρον, ἀλλὰ πατέρα, οὐδὲ συστρατιώτην, ἀλλ' αὐτοκράτορα, οὐδὲ πολέμου νόμῳ πεσόντα, ἀλλ' ἀθεμίστως ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ κατακοπέντα.

14. Ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐς ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ δέους ὑπαχθεῖσα, ἠσπάζετο ὡς μόνον ἄξιον Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι ἐπισχοῦσα ἐπέσπερχεν ἐς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα σὺν τῇ τύχῃ. παρῄνει γε μὴν ἔτι τέχνῃ καὶ ἀνεξικακίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ φανερᾷ θρασύτητί πω χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπαινέσας καὶ πράξειν ὑποσχόμενος οὕτως, αὐτίκα τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιέπεμπεν, ἐς ἕω συγκαλῶν ἕκαστον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ πλήθους. ἔνθα Γάιον Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου, στρατηγοῦντα τῆς πόλεως, ὑπαντιάσας ἔφη δέχεσθαι τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἔθος γάρ τι Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς ἐπὶ μάρτυσι γίγνεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ τῶν δημοσίων τὸ ῥῆμα, εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆν ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχώρει. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐς κήποις, οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ δεδώρητο Πομπηίου γενομένους. διατριβῆς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας πλείονος γενομένης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑποψίαν

which were then fresh in his mind, turning to his mother as if she were Thetis ;— CHAP. II

"Would I might die this hour, who failed to save
My comrade slain!" [1]

After saying this he added that these words of Achilles, and especially the deed that followed, had of all things given him immortal renown ; and he invoked Caesar not as a friend, but a father ; not as a fellow-soldier, but a commander-in-chief ; not as one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of sacrilegious murder in the senate-house.

14. Thereupon his mother's anxiety was changed to joy, and she embraced him as alone worthy of Caesar. She checked his speaking and urged him to prosecute his designs with the favour of fortune. She advised him, however, to use art and patience rather than open boldness. Octavian approved of this policy and promised to adopt it in action, and forthwith sent around to his friends the same evening, asking them to come to the forum early in the morning and bring a crowd with them. There presenting himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was the city praetor, he said that he accepted the adoption of Caesar ; for it is a Roman custom that adoptions are confirmed by witnesses before the praetors. When the public scribes had taken down his declaration, Octavian went from the forum straightway to Antony. The latter was in the gardens that Caesar had given to him, which had formerly been Pompey's. As Octavian was kept waiting at the vestibule for

He visits Antony

[1] Iliad xviii. 98 (Lord Derby's translation).

CAP. 11 Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως ἐτίθετο, εἰσκληθέντος δέ ποτε ἦσαν προσαγορεύσεις τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων πύσματα εἰκότα.

Ὡς δὲ ἤδη λέγειν ἔδει περὶ ὧν ἦσαν ἐν χρείᾳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶπεν· 15. "ἐγὼ δέ, πάτερ Ἀντώνιε (πατέρα γὰρ εἶναι σέ μοι δικαιοῦσιν αἵ τε Καίσαρος ἐς σὲ εὐεργεσίαι καὶ ἡ σὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χάρις), τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν ὀφλήσω, τὰ δ' ἐπιμέμφομαι, καὶ λελέξεται μετὰ παρρησίας, ἐς ἣν ἡ λύπη με προάγει. κτεινομένῳ μὲν οὐ παρῆς, τῶν φονέων σε περισπασάντων περὶ θύρας, ἐπεὶ περιέσῳζες ἂν αὐτὸν ἡ συνεκινδύνευες ὅμοια παθεῖν· ὧν εἰ θάτερον ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι, καλῶς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆς. ψηφιζομένων δέ τινων αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τυράννῳ γέρα ἀντεῖπας ἐγκρατῶς· καὶ τοῦδέ σοι χάριν οἶδα λαμπράν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔγνως συνανελεῖν σε βεβουλευμένους, οὐχ, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡγούμεθα, τιμωρὸν ἐσόμενον Καίσαρι, ἀλλ', ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, τῆς τυραννίδος διάδοχον. ἅμα δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυραννοκτόνοι, εἰ μὴ καὶ φονεῖς ἦσαν· διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον συνέφυγον ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν ἁμαρτόντες ἱκέται ἢ ὡς ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐχθροί. πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία καὶ τὸ ἀνεύθυνον τοῦ

some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of Antony's displeasure, but when he was admitted there were greetings and mutual inquiries proper to the occasion. CHAP. II

When the time came to speak of the business in hand, Octavian said: 15. "Father Antony (for the benefits that Caesar conferred upon you and your gratitude toward him warrant me in giving you that title), for some of the things that you have done since his death I praise you and owe you thanks; for others I blame you. I shall speak freely of what my sorrow prompts me to speak. When Caesar was killed you were not present, as the murderers detained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved him or incurred the danger of sharing the same fate with him. If the latter would have befallen you, then it is well that you were not present. When certain senators proposed rewards to the murderers as tyrannicides you strongly opposed them. For this I give you hearty thanks, although you knew that they intended to kill you also;[1] not as I think, because you were likely to avenge Caesar, but, as they themselves say, lest you should be his successor in the tyranny. Slayers of a 'tyrant' they may or may not have been; murderers they certainly were;[2] and that is why they took refuge in the Capitol, either as guilty suppliants in a temple or as enemies in a fortress. How then could they have obtained amnesty and and reads him a lecture

[1] The interpretation of this passage is doubtful. Schweighäuser thinks that Octavian means to say that he thanks Antony for opposing the proposition to reward the murderers, although he may have had a selfish interest in doing so.

[2] Literally "they were not 'tyrant-killers' [as they claimed] without also being [by that confession] murderers."

CAP. II φόνου, ἡ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου εἰ τινες ἐφθάρατο ὑπ' ἐκείνων; καὶ σὲ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων ὁρᾶν ἐχρῆν, ὕπατον ὄντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερα βουλομένῳ σοι ἡ ἀρχὴ συνελάμβανε, τιμωρουμένῳ τηλικοῦτον ἄγος καὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους μεταδιδάσκοντι. σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅμηρα τῆς ἀδείας, οἰκεῖα αὐτοῦ σοῦ, τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἔπεμψας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

"'Αλλ' ἔστω καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς διεφθαρμένους σε βιάσασθαι.[1] ὅτε μέντοι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀναγνωσθεισῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ σοῦ δίκαιον ἐπιτάφιον εἰπόντος ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἀκριβεῖ Καίσαρος μνήμῃ γενόμενοι πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφερον, καὶ φεισάμενοι χάριν τῶν γειτόνων ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἦξειν ἐπὶ ὅπλα συνέθεντο, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπραξας καὶ ἐστρατήγησας τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ τῶν ὅπλων ἢ δίκην γε τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπέγραψας, εἰ δίκης ἔδει κατὰ αὐτοφώρων, καὶ φίλος ὢν Καίσαρι καὶ ὕπατος καὶ 'Αντώνιος;

16. "'Αλλὰ Μάριος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφυγεῖν ὑπερείδες καὶ ἐς ἡγεμονίας ἐνίους διαδραμεῖν, ἃς ἀθεμίστως ἔχουσι τὸν δόντα ἀνελόντες. Συρίαν μὲν δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν εὖ ποιοῦντες οἱ ὕπατοι, σὺ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, καθισταμένων ἄρτι τῶν πραγμάτων περιεσπάσατε ἐς ἑαυτούς. καὶ τοῦδέ σοι χάριν ἤδειν ἄν, εἰ μὴ αὐτίκα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ φυγάδας ἠξιώσατε ἡγεμονίαις αἰεὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ

[1] Viereck reads ἔστων . . . οἱ διεφθαρμένοι, but approves the reading given above.

impunity for their crime unless some portion of the Senate and people had been corrupted by them? Yet you, as consul, ought to have seen what would be for the interest of the majority, and if you had wished to avenge such a monstrous crime, or to reclaim the erring, your office would have enabled you to do either. But you sent hostages from your own family to the murderers at the Capitol for their security. CHAP. II

"Let us suppose that those who had been corrupted forced you to do this also, yet when Caesar's will had been read, and you had yourself delivered your righteous funeral oration, and the people, being thus brought to a lively remembrance of Caesar, had carried firebrands to the houses of the murderers, but spared them for the sake of their neighbours, agreeing to come back armed the next day, why did you not co-operate with them and lead them with fire or arms? Or why did you not bring them to trial, if trial was necessary for men seen in the act of murder—you, Caesar's friend; you, the consul: you, Antony?

16. "The pseudo-Marius was put to death by your order in the plenitude of your authority, but you connived at the escape of the murderers, some of whom have passed on to the provinces which they nefariously hold as gifts at the hands of him whom they slew. These things were no sooner done than you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded, very properly, to strip them and possess yourselves of Syria and Macedonia. I should have owed you thanks for this also, had you not immediately voted them Cyrenaica and Crete; had you not preferred these fugitives for governorships, where they can

CAP. II δορυφορεῖσθαι· Δέκμον τε τὴν ἐγγὺς Κελτικὴν ὑπερορᾶτε ἔχοντα, καὶ τόνδε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως αὐθέντην τοὐμοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε τὴν βουλὴν ἐρεῖ τις ἐγνωκέναι. σὺ δ' ἐπεψήφιζες καὶ προυκάθησο τῆς βουλῆς, ᾧ μάλιστα πάντων ἥρμοζε διὰ σαυτὸν ἀντειπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἣν ἐκείνοις χαριζομένων μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὖθις ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ γέρα ὑβριζόντων Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἀκυρούντων.

"Ἐπὶ τάδε με δὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξήνεγκε παρὰ τὸ ἁρμόζον ἴσως ἐμοὶ τῆς τε ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ αἰδοῦς. εἴρηται δ' ὅμως ὡς ἐς ἀκριβέστερον φίλον Καίσαρι καὶ πλείστης ὑπ' ἐκείνου τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἠξιωμένον καὶ τάχα ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ θετὸν γενόμενον, εἰ ᾔδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰνεάδην ἀντὶ Ἡρακλείδου γενέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν . . . ἐνδοιάσαι, πολὺν τῆς διαδοχῆς λόγον ποιούμενον.

17. "Ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, πρὸς θεῶν τε φιλίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ σοι Καίσαρος, εἰ μέν τι καὶ τῶν γεγονότων μεταθέσθαι θέλεις (δύνασαι γάρ, εἰ θέλεις)· εἰ δὲ μή, τά γε λοιπὰ τοὺς φονέας ἀμυνομένῳ μοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶνδε τῶν ἔτι μοι πατρικῶν φίλων συνίστασθαι καὶ συνεργεῖν· εἰ δέ σε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τις ἢ τῆς βουλῆς αἰδὼς ἔχει, μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τούτων· οἶσθα δ', ὅπως ἔχει μοι καὶ τὰ οἴκοι, δαπάνης τε ἐς τὴν

always defend themselves against me, and had you not tolerated Decimus Brutus in the command of Hither Gaul, although he, like the rest, was one of my father's slayers. It may be said that these were decrees of the Senate. But you put the vote and you presided over the Senate—you who ought most of all to have opposed them on your own account. To grant amnesty to the murderers was merely to insure their personal safety as a matter of favour, but to vote them provinces and rewards forthwith was to insult Caesar and annul your own judgment. CHAP. II

"Grief has compelled me to speak these words, against the rules of decorum perhaps, considering my youth and the respect I owe you. They have been spoken, however, as to a more fully declared friend of Caesar, to one who was invested by him with the greatest honour and power, and who would have been adopted by him no doubt if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Aeneas in exchange for that of Hercules; for this created[1] doubt in his mind when he was thinking strongly of designating you as his successor.

17. "For the future, Antony, I conjure you by the gods who preside over friendship, and by Caesar himself, to change somewhat the measures that have been adopted, for you can change them if you wish to; if not, that you will in any case hereafter aid and co-operate with me in punishing the murderers, with the help of the people and of those who are still my father's faithful friends, and if you still have regard for the conspirators and the Senate, do not be hard on us. Enough of this topic. You know about my private affairs and the expense I must

[1] The main verb is missing.

CAP. II διανομήν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ ἐκέλευσε τῷ δήμῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ ἐπείξεως ἐς αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύνων ἀχάριστος εἶναι δοκοίην μηδ' ὅσοι καταλεχθέντες εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐπιμένουσι τῇ πόλει, δι' ἐμὲ τρίβοιντο. ὅσα δὴ τῶν Καίσαρος εὐθέως ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ πρὸς σὲ μετενήνεκται ὡς ἐπ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε οἰκίας, τὰ μὲν κειμήλια αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα κόσμον ἔχειν ἀξιῶ σε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐθέλῃς ἄλλα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν διανομὴν ἀποδοῦναί μοι τὸ χρυσίον τὸ ἐπίσημον, ὃ συνηθροίκει μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκεῖνος, οὓς ἐπενόει, ἀρκέσει δ' ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν μεριζόμενον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς δαπάνης, εἰ μὲν θαρρήσαιμί σοι, παρὰ σοῦ ἂν ἴσως ἢ διὰ σοῦ δανεισαίμην ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἂν διδῷς· διαπεπράσεται δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ ἡ οὐσία."

18. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ὁ Ἀντώνιος κατεπλάγη, τῆς τε παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐτολμίας παρὰ δόξαν οἱ πολλῆς καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν φανείσης· χαλεψάμενος δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει τὸ πρέπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων τῇ ἀπαιτήσει, αὐστηρότερον αὐτὸν ὧδε ἠμείψατο· "εἰ μὲν ὁ Καῖσάρ σοι μετὰ κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέλιπεν, εἰκὸς σὲ τῶν κοινῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς αἰτεῖν κἀμὲ ὑπέχειν. εἰ δὲ οὐδενί πω Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔδοσαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων, οὓς ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν μηδ' ἄλλων ἔτι ἀνέξεσθαι, (ὃ καὶ τῷ πατρί σου μάλιστα οἱ φονεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες φασὶν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν βασιλιζόμενον,

incur for the legacy which my father directed to be given to the people, and the haste involved in it lest I may seem churlish by reason of delay, and lest those who have been assigned to colonies be compelled to remain in the city and waste their time on my account. Of Caesar's movables, that were brought immediately after the murder from his house to yours as a safer place, I beg you to take keepsakes and anything else by way of ornament and whatever you like to retain from us. But in order that I may pay the legacy to the people, please give me the gold coin that Caesar had collected for his intended wars. That will suffice for the distribution to 300,000 men now. For the rest of my expenses I may perhaps borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or from the public treasury on your security, if you will give it, and I will offer my own property for sale at once."

CHAP. II

18. While Octavian was speaking in this fashion Antony was astonished at his freedom of speech and his boldness, which seemed much beyond the bounds of propriety and of his years. He was offended by the words because they were wanting in the respect due to him, and still more by the demand for money, and, accordingly, he replied in these somewhat severe terms: "Young man, if Caesar left you the government, together with the inheritance and his name, it is proper for you to ask and for me to give the reasons for my public acts. But if the Roman people never surrendered the government to anybody to dispose of in succession, not even when they had kings, whom they expelled and swore never to have any more (this was the very charge that the murderers brought against your father, saying that they killed him because he was no longer a leader

Antony's reply

CAP. II

οὐχ ἡγούμενον ἔτι), ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως δεῖ πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ σὲ κουφίζω, μὴ χάριν ὀφείλειν ἡμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ἐπράσσετο γὰρ οὐ σοῦ χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου, πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἔς τε Καίσαρα καὶ σὲ ἔργου. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἕνεκα ἀδεοῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνου περιεῖδον ἐγὼ τιμὰς ψηφιζομένας τοῖς φονεῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις, τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐγίγνετο, ᾧ μήτε δόξης μήτε τιμῆς τινος ἢ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων βεβαιώσεως ἔτι μετῆν. οὐ διαθήκας εἶχεν ἄν, οὐ παῖδα, οὐκ οὐσίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ταφῆς ἀξιούμενον, οὐδὲ ἰδιώτου· ἄταφα γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τὰ σώματα τῶν τυράννων ὑπερορίζουσι καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ δημεύουσι τὴν περιουσίαν.

19. "Ὧν ἐγὼ δεδιὼς ἕκαστον ὑπερηγωνιζόμην Καίσαρος, ἀθανάτου τε δόξης καὶ δημοσίας ταφῆς, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐμαυτῷ, τυχεῖν, πρός τε ἄνδρας ταχυεργεῖς καὶ φόνου πλήρεις καί, ὡς ἔμαθες, ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνομωμοσμένους πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθομένην σου τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύειν καὶ παθεῖν ὁτιοῦν ἡρούμην ἑκὼν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄταφον καὶ ἄτιμον γιγνόμενον περιιδεῖν Καίσαρα, ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ εὐτυχέστατον ἐς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιοτιμότατον ἐκ πάντων ἐμοὶ γενόμενον. τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς μου τοῖσδε κινδύνοις καὶ σὺ τὰ νῦν σοι παρόντα πάντα λαμπρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔχεις, γένος, ὄνομα, ἀξίωμα, περιουσίαν. ὧν σε δικαιότερον ἦν ἐμοὶ χάριν εἰδέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ

but a king), then there is no need of my answering you as to my public acts. For the same reason I release you from any indebtedness to me in the way of gratitude for those acts. They were performed not for your sake, but for the people's, except in one particular, which was of the greatest importance to Caesar and to yourself. For if, to secure my own safety and to shield myself from enmity, I had allowed honours to be voted to the murderers as tyrannicides, Caesar would have been declared a tyrant, to whom neither glory, nor any kind of honour, nor confirmation of his acts would have been possible; who could make no valid will, have no son, no property, nor any burial of his body, even as a private citizen. The laws provide that the bodies of tyrants shall be cast out unburied, their memory stigmatized, and their property confiscated. CHAP. II

19. "Apprehending all of these consequences, I entered the lists for Caesar, for his immortal honour, and his public funeral, not without danger, not without incurring hatred to myself, contending against hot-headed, blood-thirsty men, who, as you know, had already conspired to kill me; and against the Senate, which was displeased with your father on account of his usurped authority. But I willingly chose to incur these dangers and to suffer anything rather than allow Caesar to remain unburied and dishonoured—the most valiant man of his time, the most fortunate in every respect, and the one to whom the highest honours were due from me. It is by reason of the dangers I incurred that you enjoy your present distinction as the successor of Caesar, his family, his name, his dignity, his wealth. It would have been more becoming in you to testify your

CAP. II ἐκλειφθέντα εἰς τὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρηγορίαν ἢ ἐς ἀντίδοσιν τῶνδε, ὧν ἔχρῃζον, ἢ κατ' ἄλλας χρείας ἢ λογισμοὺς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι πρεσβυτέρῳ νεώτερον ὄντα.

"Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀρκέσει σοι περὶ τῶνδε εἰρῆσθαι· ἐνσημαίνῃ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας με ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντα μέν, οὐκ ἀπάξιον δὲ ἡγούμενον εἶναι, καὶ ἄχθεσθαι μὴ τυχόντα τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος, ὁμολογῶν μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος ἀρκεῖν.

20. "Περὶ δὲ τῶν σῶν χρειῶν, ἐθέλοντα μέν σε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων δανείσασθαι ἡγούμην ἂν εἰρωνείαν λέγειν, εἰ μὴ πιθανὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν σε κενὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολελεῖφθαι τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα, τῶν προσόδων, ἐξ οὗ παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτὶ τοῦ ταμιείου συμφερομένων καὶ εὑρεθησομένων αὐτίκα ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος περιουσίᾳ, ὅταν αὐτὰ ζητεῖν ψηφισώμεθα. ἄδικον γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦτο ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔσται, τεθνεῶτά τε ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντα ἄδικον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ζῶν ᾐτεῖτο τοὺς λογισμούς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί σοι καθ' ἕνα τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἀδήριτον αὐτὴν ἔχων γνώσῃ. τῶν δὲ μετενεχθέντων πρός με χρημάτων οὔτε τὸ πλῆθός ἐστιν, ὅσον εἰκάζεις, οὔτε τι νῦν ἔστι παρ' ἐμοί, πάντα τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ δυνάμει, πλὴν Δολοβέλλα καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν νειμαμένων μὲν εὐθὺς ὡς τυράννου, δι' ἐμὲ δὲ μετατεθέντων ἐς χάριν τῶν ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐψηφισμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τὰ λοιπὰ φέρων

gratitude to me for these things than to reproach me for concessions made to soothe the Senate, or in compensation for what I needed from it, or in pursuance of other needs or reasons—you a younger man addressing an older one. CHAP. II

"But enough of that. You hint that I am ambitious of the leadership. I am not ambitious of it, although I do not consider myself unworthy of it. You think that I am distressed because I was not mentioned in Caesar's will, though you agree with me that the family of the Heraclidae is enough to content one.

20. "As to your pecuniary needs and your wishing to borrow from the public funds, I might have thought you must be jesting, had it not been possible to think that you are still ignorant of the fact that the public treasury was left empty by your father; because after he assumed the government the public revenues were brought to him instead of to the treasury, and they will presently be found among Caesar's assets when we vote an investigation into these matters. For such investigation will not be unjust to Caesar now that he is dead, nor would he say that it was unjust if he were living and were asked for the accounts. And as there will be many private persons to dispute with you concerning single pieces of property, you may assume that this portion will not be uncontested. The money transferred to my house was not so large a sum as you conjecture, nor is any part of it in my custody now. The men in power and authority, except Dolabella and my brothers, divided up the whole of it straightway as the property of a tyrant, but were brought round by me to support the decrees in favour of Caesar, and you, if you are wise, when you get possession of the remainder,

CAP. II οἵσεις ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἂν σωφρονῇς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκπέμψουσιν, ἂν συμφρονῶσι, τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας· ὁ δὲ δῆμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδακτος ὢν ἔμαθες, ἀστάθμητον ὥσπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ κῦμα κινούμενον· ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰεὶ τοὺς δημοκόπους ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξάρας ἐς γόνυ ἔρριψε."

III

CAP. III 21. Τούτων τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσχεράνας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ὕβριν εἰρημένοις ἀπεχώρει, τὸν πατέρα ἀνακαλῶν θαμινὰ ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς πρᾶσιν αὐτίκα προυτίθει πᾶσαν, ὅση κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῦ, προτρέπων ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς σπουδῆς· φανερᾶς δὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθρας γενομένης καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ζήτησιν εὐθὺς εἶναι τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ψηφισαμένης, οἱ πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν ἐπὶ τῷ νέῳ Καίσαρι τῆς πατρῴας ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας οὕνεκα καὶ τῆς νῦν ἐπὶ τῇ χορηγίᾳ δημοκοπίας καὶ περιουσίας, ἣ δὴ πάνυ αὐτῷ πολλὴ προσελθοῦσα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἰδιώτου μέτρῳ καθέξειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλιστα, μὴ τὸν Καίσαρα, νέον ἄνδρα καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ πλούσιον, ἑταιρισάμενος ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν εἶναι πρότερος ἅψαιτο τῆς Καίσαρος δυναστείας. οἱ

will distribute it among those who are disaffected toward you rather than among the people. The former, if they are wise, will send the people, who are to be colonized, away to their settlements. The people, however, as you ought to have learned from the Greek studies you have been lately pursuing, are as unstable as the waves of the sea, now advancing, now retreating. In like manner, among us also, the people are for ever exalting their favourites, and casting them down again." CHAP. II

III

21. Feeling outraged by the many insulting things said by Antony, Octavian went away invoking his father repeatedly by name, and offered for sale all the property which had come to him by the inheritance, at the same time endeavouring by this zeal to induce the people to stand by him. While this hasty action made manifest Antony's enmity toward him, and the Senate voted an immediate investigation of the public accounts, most people grew apprehensive of the young Caesar on account of the favour in which his father was held by the soldiers and the plebeians, and on account of his own present popularity based on the expected distribution of the money, and by reason of the wealth which had fallen to him in such vast measure that in the opinion of many he would not restrict himself to the rank of a private citizen. But they were most apprehensive of Antony, lest he should bring the young Caesar, distinguished and rich as he was, under his own control, and grasp the sovereignty held by the elder CHAP. III

Disagreement between Antony and Octavian

CAP. III δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε γιγνομένοις ἐφήδοντο, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐμποδὼν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πλούτου τῇ ζητήσει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτίκα διαλυθησομένου καὶ σφίσι τοῦ ταμιείου περιουσίας πλήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσομένου· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν εὑρήσειν παρὰ Καίσαρι.

22. Πολλοί τε αὐτῶν ἐς δίκας τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπῆγον περὶ χωρίων, ἕτερος ἑτέρῳ ἐπιλέγοντες ἄλλα τε ἕκαστοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, ἐκ προγραφῆς εἶναι τῶν δημευθέντων ἢ φυγόντων ἢ ἀναιρεθέντων. ἦγόν τε τὰς δίκας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον Δολοβέλλαν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς ἐδικάζετο, πανταχοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοίως ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς χάριν Ἀντωνίου ἡττᾶτο, τά τε ὠνήματα τῷ πατρὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνὺς καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ψήφισμα τὸ βεβαιοῦν τὰ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα πάντα. ὕβρεις τε πολλαὶ παρὰ τὰς δίκας ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ζημίας προύκοπτεν ἐς ἄπειρον, ἔστε Πέδιον καὶ Πινάριον (οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος διαθηκῶν τοῦ κλήρου μοῖραν εἶχον) μέμψασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ περί τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἄδικα πασχόντων παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς. ᾤοντό τε αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς ὕβριν ἐκλύειν δεῖν μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κυροῦν, ὅσα τῷ Καίσαρι πέπρακται.

Caesar. Others were delighted with the present state of affairs, believing that the two men would come into conflict with each other; and that the investigation concerning the public money would presently put an end to the wealth of Octavian, and that the treasury would be filled thereby, because the greater part of the public property would be found in Caesar's estate. CHAP. III

22. In the meantime many persons brought lawsuits against Octavian for the recovery of landed property, some making one claim and some another, differing in other respects, but for the most part having this in common, that it had been confiscated from persons who had been banished or put to death owing to the proscription. These suits were brought before Antonius himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were brought before other magistrates, Octavian was everywhere worsted for the most part through Antony's influence, although he showed by the public records that the purchases[1] had been made by his father, and that the last decree of the Senate had confirmed all of Caesar's acts. Great wrongs were done him in these judgments, and the losses in consequence thereof were going on without end, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a certain portion of the inheritance under Caesar's will, complained to Antony, both for themselves and for Octavian, that they were suffering injustice in violation of the Senate's decree. They thought that he ought to annul only the things done to insult Caesar, and to ratify all that had been done by him. Litigation over Caesar's estate

[1] The words may perhaps mean "he shewed the *deeds of sale* executed by the *public scribe*;" the words bearing some such sense in newly discovered papyri.

CAP. III

Ὁ δὲ ὡμολόγει μὲν τὰ πρασσόμενα ἴσως ἐναντίον ἔχειν τι τοῖς συνεψηφισμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα δ' ἔφη τοῖς τότε δόξασιν ἐναντίως γεγράφθαι. μόνης γὰρ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπειγούσης, τὸ 'μηδὲν ἀνατρέπειν τῶν προδιῳκημένων,' οὐ τοῦδ'[1] αὐτοῦ γε χάριν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἁπλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρηγορίαν τοῦ δήμου θορυβουμένου τούτοις, ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἶναι δὲ δικαιότερον τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ψηφίσματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ῥήματι χρωμένους μὴ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀντιπράττειν ἀνδράσι τοσοῖσδε ἰδίων ἢ προγονικῶν κτήσεων κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὲρ νεανίσκου τοσόνδε πλοῦτον ἀλλότριόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν παρ' ἐλπίδα λαβόντος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδεξίως, ἀλλ' ἐς θρασύτητα τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένου. σφῶν μέντοι φείσεσθαι τὸ μέρος νειμαμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πινάριον ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνέμοντο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις προσαπόλοιτο, οὐ σφῶν ἕνεκα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδε τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἔμελλον γὰρ αὐτῷ μετ' οὐ πολὺ πάντα χαριεῖσθαι.

23. Θέας δὲ πλησιαζούσης, ἣν ἔμελλεν ὑπὲρ Βρούτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐπιδώσειν Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τἆλλα τοῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντος, παρασκευή

[1] τοῦδ' Viereck, τοῦ MSS.

Antony acknowledged that his course was perhaps somewhat contrary to the agreements voted. The decrees also, he said, had been recorded in a sense different from the original understanding. While it was the amnesty alone which was urgent, the clause "that nothing previously resolved be repealed" was added not for the sake of this provision in itself, nor because it was entirely satisfactory in all matters of detail, but rather to promote good order and to quiet the people, who had been thrown into tumult by these events. It would be more just, he added, to observe the spirit than the letter of the decree, and not to make an unseemly opposition to so many men who had lost their own and their ancestors' property in the civil convulsions, and to do this in favour of a young man who had received an amount of other people's wealth disproportionate to a private station and beyond his hopes, and who was not making good use of his fortune, but employing it in the rashest adventures. He would take care of them (Pedius and Pinarius) after their portion should have been separated from that of Octavian. This was the answer made by Antony to Pedius and Pinarius. So they took their portion immediately, in order not to lose their own share by the lawsuits, and they did this not so much on their own account as on that of Octavian, for they were going to bestow the whole of it upon him soon afterward. CHAP. III

23. The games were now approaching, which Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, was about to give in behalf of Brutus, the praetor, as he attended also to the other duties of the praetorship which devolved on him in the latter's absence. Lavish expense was Growing popularity of Octavian

CAP. III τε ἦν ἐς αὐτὴν δαψιλὴς καὶ ἐλπὶς ἐν τῇ θέᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικλασθέντα καλέσειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσον ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς πράσεως ἐγίγνετο, αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς φυλάρχοις ἀνεδίδου νέμειν τοῖς φθάνουσι λαβεῖν· καὶ ἐς τὰ πωλητήρια περιὼν ἀποκηρύσσειν ἔλεγεν ὅσου δύναιντο πάντα τοὺς πιπράσκοντας ὀλιγίστου, διά τε δίκας ἀμφίβολα ἢ ἐπίφοβα ἔτι ὄντα καὶ διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σπουδήν. ἅπερ αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν δῆμον εἰς εὔνοιαν ἤγειρεν καὶ ἐς ἔλεον, ὡς ἀναξίῳ τοιάδε πάσχειν. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν ὅση τε παρὰ Ὀκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ἑτέρωθεν ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου Πινάριον καὶ Πέδιον αἰτήσας, προύθηκεν ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν πιπράσκεσθαι, ὡς τῆς Καίσαρος περιουσίας οὐδ' ἐς τοῦτο μόνον ἀρκούσης διὰ τὰς ἐπηρείας, ὁ δῆμος οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λογιζόμενος εἶναι ἐκπαθῶς αὐτὸν ἠλέει καὶ ἐπῄνουν ὧδε πάσχοντα καὶ ὧδε φιλοτιμούμενον δῆλοί τε ἦσαν οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου ὕβριν ὑπεροψόμενοι.

24. Διέδειξαν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Βρούτου θέας, πολυτελεστάτας δὴ γενομένας· ἐμμίσθων γάρ τινων ἀνακραγόντων κατακαλεῖν Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον, ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγω-

incurred in the preparations for them, in the hope that the people, gratified by the spectacle, would recall Brutus and Cassius. Octavian, on the other hand, trying to win the mob over to his own side, distributed the money derived from the sale of his property among the head men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among the first comers, and went round to the places where his property was on sale and ordered the auctioneers to announce the lowest possible price for everything, both on account of the uncertainty and danger of the lawsuits still pending, and on account of his own haste; all of which acts brought him both popularity and sympathy as one undeserving of such treatment. When in addition to what he had received as Caesar's heir, he offered for sale his own property derived from his father Octavius, and whatever he had from other sources, and all that belonged to his mother and to Philippus, and the shares of Pedius and Pinarius which he begged from them, in order to make the distribution to the people (because in consequence of the litigation Caesar's property was not sufficient even for this purpose), then the people considered it no longer the gift of the elder Caesar, but of the younger one, and they commiserated him deeply and praised him both for what he endured and for what he aspired to be. It was evident that they would not long tolerate the insult that Antony was doing him. CHAP. III

24. They showed their feelings clearly while Brutus' games were in progress, lavish as these were. Although a certain number, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of the spectators were thus

CAP. III

γεῖτο ἐς τὸν ἕλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον, μέχρι τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι.

Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος, ἐπεὶ σφῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὁ Καῖσαρ διέχεεν, ἔγνωσαν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ὡς πρὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα σφίσιν ἐψηφισμένας, χωρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶνδε φανερῶν γενομένων ἠπείγετο καὶ Δολοβέλλας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ πρὸ Συρίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς χρηματιούμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἡγούμενος ἐς τὰ μέλλοντά οἱ δεήσειν δυνάμεως, τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατιάν, ἀρετῇ τε οὖσαν ἀρίστην καὶ πλήθει μεγίστην, — ἐξ γὰρ ἦν τέλη (καὶ ὅσον ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς τοξοτῶν καὶ ψιλῶν ἢ γυμνητῶν συνεζεύγνυτο, ἵππος τε πολλὴ καὶ παρασκευὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐντελής) δοκοῦντα προσήκειν Δολοβέλλᾳ, Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἐπιτετραμμένῳ, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐς Παρθυαίους ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι — πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπενόει μετενεγκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἀγχοῦ, ὡς τὸν Ἰόνιον περάσαντα εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶναι.

25. Ἄφνω δὲ φήμη κατέσκηψε, Γέτας τὸν θάνατον τὸν Καίσαρος πυθομένους Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν ἐπιτρέχοντας, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν βουλὴν ᾔτει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς Γέταις ἐπιθήσων δίκην· ἔς τε γὰρ Γέτας αὐτὸν πρὸ Παρθυαίων Καίσαρι παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τὰ Παρθυαίων ἠρεμεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τὴν

wrought up to a feeling of pity for them, crowds ran in and stopped the games until they checked the demand for their recall. CHAP. III

When Brutus and Cassius learned that Octavian had frustrated what they had hoped to obtain from the games, they decided to go to Syria and Macedonia, which had been theirs before these provinces were voted to Dolabella and Antony, and to seize them by force. When their intentions became known, Dolabella hastened to Syria, taking the province of Asia in his way in order to collect money there. Antony, thinking that he should soon need troops for his own purposes, conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in Macedonia, which was composed of the very best material and was of large size (it consisted of six legions, besides a great number of archers and light-armed troops, much cavalry, and a corresponding amount of apparatus of all kinds), although it properly belonged to Dolabella, who had been entrusted with Syria and the war against the Parthians, because Caesar was about to use these forces against the Parthians. Antony wanted it especially because it was close at hand, and, by crossing the Adriatic, could be thrown at once into Italy.

Dolabella proceeds to Syria

25. Suddenly a rumour burst upon them that the Getae, learning of Caesar's death, had made an incursion into Macedonia and were ravaging it. Antony asked the Senate to give him an army in order to punish them, saying that this army had been prepared by Caesar to be used against the Getae before marching against the Parthians, and that everything was now quiet on the Parthian frontier. The Senate distrusted the rumour, and

Antony schemes for the Macedonian command

CAP. III φήμην ὑπενόει καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους ἔπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων ἐψηφίσατο μὴ ἐξεῖναί πω κατὰ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν περὶ δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐπιψηφίζειν μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην, ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶνδέ τινος ὑπεριδόντα νηποινεὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων ἀναιρεῖσθαι. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα ἑλὼν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα πράττουσι συνθέμενος ἐν τέλος δώσειν, ᾑρέθη τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δυνάμεως εἶναι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων, ἃ ἐβούλετο, Γάιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτίκα σὺν ἐπείξει τὸ δόγμα φέροντα τῷ στρατῷ διεπέμπετο· οἱ δὲ ἐπισκέπται τῆς φήμης ἐπανελθόντες Γέτας ἔλεγον οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, προσέθεσαν δέ, εἴτε ἀληθὲς εἴτε ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διδαχθέντες, ὅτι δέος ἦν, μὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς τοι μετελθούσης οἱ Γέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπιδράμοιεν.

26. Ὅδε μὲν εἶχε τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν συνέλεγον, καὶ Τρεβώνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐτείχιζε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐλθόντα οὐκ ἐδέχετο οὔτε Περγάμῳ οὔτε Σμύρνῃ, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀγορὰν ἔξω τείχους ὡς ὑπάτῳ προυτίθει. ἐπιχειροῦντος δ' ἐκείνου σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνύοντος, ὁ Τρεβώνιος αὐτὸν ἔφη δέξεσθαι Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον εὐθὺς ἀπιόντι τοὺς ἐφεψομένους ἐκ διαστήματος ἔπεμπεν, οἳ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπιόντα τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁρῶντες

sent messengers to make inquiry. Antony, in order to dissipate their fear and suspicion, proposed a decree that it should not be lawful for anybody, for any cause whatever, to vote for a dictatorship, or to accept it if offered. If anybody should disregard any of these provisions, he might be killed with impunity by anybody who should meet him. Having deceived the Senate[1] chiefly by this means, and having agreed with the friends of Dolabella to give him one legion, he was chosen absolute commander of the forces in Macedonia; and then when he had obtained what he desired, he sent his brother Gaius with haste to communicate the decree of the Senate to the army. Those who had been sent to inquire into the rumour came back and reported that they had seen no Getae in Macedonia, but they added, either truthfully, or because they were instructed to do so by Antony, that it was feared that they would make an incursion into Macedonia if the army were withdrawn. CHAP. III

26. While these things were taking place at Rome, Cassius and Brutus were collecting troops and money, and Trebonius, governor of the province of Asia, was fortifying his towns for them. When Dolabella arrived, Trebonius would not admit him to Pergamus or Smyrna, but allowed him, as consul, an opportunity of buying provisions outside the walls. However, when he attacked the walls with fury, but accomplished nothing, Trebonius said that he would be admitted to Ephesus. Dolabella started for Ephesus forthwith, and Trebonius sent a force to follow him at a certain distance. While these were observing Dolabella's march, they were overtaken by night, and,

[1] Literally, "having captured his hearers."

CAP. III καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι ὑπονοοῦντες, ὀλίγους σφῶν ὑπολιπόντες ἔπεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ τοὺς ὀλίγους ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐνεδρεύσας τε καὶ περιλαβὼν ἔκτεινε καὶ ἦλθε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς Σμύρναν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφύλακτον εὑρὼν εἶλε διὰ κλιμάκων.

Τρεβώνιος δὲ τοῖς συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὐναζόμενον ἠγεῖσθαι πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἐκέλευεν· ἔψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἑκών. καί τις τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ἐπισκώπτων ἠμείψατο· "ἴθι σύ, δεῦρο τὴν κεφαλὴν καταλιπών· ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄγειν προστέτακται." καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλήν. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Δολοβέλλας μὲν αὐτὴν προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα ὁ Τρεβώνιος ἐχρημάτιζε, προτεθῆναι· ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ ὁ οἰκετικὸς ἄλλος ὅμιλος αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τοῦ φόνου Καίσαρος ὁ Τρεβώνιος μετεσχήκει καὶ κτεινομένου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ περὶ θύρας τοῦ βουλευτηρίου περιεσπάκει, εἰς τε τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα αὐτοῦ ποικίλως ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οἷα σφαῖραν ἐν λιθοστρώτῳ πόλει διαβάλλοντες ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ γέλωτι συνέχεάν τε καὶ συνέτριψαν. καὶ πρῶτος ὅδε τῶν φονέων δίκην τήνδε ἐδεδώκει.

having no farther suspicions, returned to Smyrna, leaving a few of their number to follow him. Dolabella laid an ambush for this small number, captured and killed them, and went back the same night to Smyrna. Finding it unguarded, he took it by escalade.

Dolabella puts Trebonius to death

Trebonius, who was captured in bed, told his captors to lead the way to Dolabella, saying that he was willing to follow them. One of the centurions answered him facetiously, "Go where you please, but you must leave your head behind here, for we are ordered to bring your head, not yourself." With these words the centurion immediately cut off his head, and early in the morning Dolabella ordered it to be displayed on the praetor's chair where Trebonius was accustomed to transact public business. Since Trebonius had participated in the murder of Caesar by detaining Antony in conversation at the door of the Senate-house while the others killed him, the soldiers and camp-followers fell upon the rest of his body with fury and treated it with every kind of indignity. They rolled his head from one to another in sport along the city pavements like a ball till it was completely crushed. This was the first of the murderers who received the meed of his crime, and thus vengeance overtook him.

END OF VOL. III.

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
HORACE WHITE, M.A., LL.D.

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THE CIVIL WARS

ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ

Γ'

IV

CAP. IV 27. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας διενεγκεῖν ἐπενόει, καὶ προφάσεως ἄλλης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπορῶν ἠξίου τὴν βουλὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐναλλάξαι οἱ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων Κελτικήν, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβῖνος, εἰδὼς μέν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κελτικῆς ὁρμώμενος ἐκράτησε Πομπηίου, ὡς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν δόξων οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν μετακαλεῖν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τήνδε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγουμένη ἐδυσχέραινέ τε καὶ τῆς ἐνέδρας τότε πρῶτον ἤσθοντο καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν δόντες αὐτῷ μετενόουν. ἰδίᾳ τε αὐτῶν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐπέστελλον τῷ Δέκμῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐγκρατῶς ἔχεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον καὶ χρήματα ἀγείρειν, εἰ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου βιάζοιτο· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσάν τε καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἐπενόει τὸν

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS

BOOK III.—*continued*

IV

CHAP. IV

B.C. 44

Antony brings the Macedonian army to Italy

27. Antony conceived the idea of bringing his army from Macedonia to Italy; and being in want of any other pretext for this step he asked the Senate to let him exchange the province of Macedonia for that of Cisalpine Gaul, which was under the command of Decimus Brutus Albinus. He remembered that Caesar had marched from the latter province when he overthrew Pompey and he thought that he should appear to be transferring his army to Gaul and not to Italy. The Senate, which looked upon Cisalpine Gaul as its own fortress, was angry, and now, for the first time perceived the stratagem and repented having given him Macedonia. The principal members sent word privately to Decimus to keep a strong hold on his province, and to raise additional troops and money in case Antony should resort to violence, so much did they fear and hate the latter. Antony then bethought him to ask the people, instead of the Senate, for this province by a law

CAP. IV

δῆμον αἰτῆσαι νόμῳ τὴν Κελτικήν, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν πρότερον εἰλήφει καὶ Συρίαν Δολοβέλλας ὑπογύως, ἐς δὲ φόβον τῆς βουλῆς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκέλευε Γαΐῳ τὸν Ἰόνιον περᾶν αὐτίκα.

28. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλε ποιήσειν, ὡς προσετέτακτο· θέαι δ' ἦσαν, ἃς Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν ἔμελλε τελέσειν· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὰς θέας τῷ πατρὶ τόν τε χρύσεον θρόνον καὶ στέφανον παρεσκεύαζεν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσας θέας ἐψηφίσαντο προτίθεσθαι. τοῦ Κριτωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τιμωμένου Καίσαρος ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἦγεν ὡς ὕπατον. Ἀντωνίου δὲ εἰπόντος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανοίσειν, χαλεπήνας ὁ Καῖσαρ, "ἀνάφερε," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν θρόνον, ἕως ἂν ᾖ τὸ δόγμα, προθήσω." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος χαλεπήνας ἐκώλυσεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς θέαις ἔτι παραλογώτερον, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέλει, ἀνακειμένας ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφροδίτῃ Γενετείρᾳ, ὅτε περ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν νεὼν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἅμα αὐτῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνετίθει. τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μῖσος ἤδη σαφὲς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγίγνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐς τὸν νῦν Καίσαρα φιλονικοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὸν πρότερον ὑβρίζοντα ἀχαρίστως.

Αὐτός τε ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ πλήθους οἷα φρουρᾶς τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς εὖ τι παθόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ στρατευσαμένους περιθέων ἐπιφθόνως ἱκέτευεν οὗ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοιάδε καὶ τοσάδε

in the same manner that Caesar had obtained it at a former time, and Dolabella had recently obtained Syria. In order to intimidate the Senate he ordered his brother, Gaius, to bring his army across the Adriatic to Brundusium. CHAP. IV

28. Gaius proceeded to do as ordered. Meanwhile there had arrived the time for the games which the aedile Critonius was about to exhibit, and Octavian made preparations to display his father's gilded throne and garland, which the Senate had voted should be placed in front for him at all games. When Critonius said that he could not allow Caesar to be honoured in this way at games given at his expense, Octavian brought him before Antony as consul. Antony said he would refer the matter to the Senate. Octavian was vexed and said, "Refer it; I will place the throne there as long as the decree is in force." Antony became angry and prohibited it. He prohibited it still more unreasonably in the next games given by Octavian himself, which had been instituted by his father in honour of Venus Genetrix when he dedicated a temple to her in a forum, together with the forum itself. Then at last it became evident that universal hatred of Antony was already growing out of this affair, since he seemed to be moved not so much by a feeling of rivalry toward the younger Caesar as by an ungrateful purpose to insult the memory of the elder one. Growing rivalry between Octavian and Antony

Octavian himself, with a crowd of people like a body-guard, moved about among the plebeians and those who had received benefits from his father, or had served under him in war, stirring their anger and beseeching them to pay no attention to

CAP. IV πάσχοντος ὑπερορᾶν καὶ ἀμελεῖν ἑκόντος, Καίσαρι δὲ τῷ σφῶν αὐτοκράτορι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἀμύνειν, ἀτιμουμένῳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ἀμυνεῖν δὲ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἔξουσι βέβαιον ὧν εἰλήφασι παρὰ Καίσαρος, εἰ μηδὲ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι μενεῖ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα βέβαια. Ἀντωνίου τε πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ ὑψηλὰ ἀναπηδῶν κατεβόα· "Καίσαρι μὲν δι' ἐμὲ μήτε ὀργίζεσθαι μήτε ἐνυβρίζειν, εὐεργέτῃ σοῦ μάλιστα, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γεγενημένῳ· ἐμοὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὕβρεων, ἐς ὅσον θέλεις, ἐμφορεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἁρπαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν, μέχρι τοὺς πολίτας κομίσασθαι τὴν διανέμησιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔχειν· ἀρκέσειν γὰρ ἐμοὶ πενομένῳ τήν τε τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν, ἂν διαμένῃ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου διανέμησιν, ἐὰν ἐάσῃς βοηθῆναι."

29. Ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη παρὰ πάντων συνεχεῖς ἐγίγνοντο καὶ φανεραὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου βοαί. ἀπειλησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι πικρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐξενεχθείσης ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντες ὥρμηντο· καὶ οἱ τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀντωνίου ταξίαρχοι, ἐστρατευμένοι τε Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου τότε προτιμώμενοι, τὴν ὕβριν αὐτὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίουν καὶ διὰ σφᾶς καὶ δι' ἑαυτόν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενον καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀγαθῶν παρ' ἐκείνου τυχόντα. συγγιγνώσκων οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀληθέσιν οὖσιν τούτοις καὶ τοὺς προφέροντας αὐτὰ αἰδούμενος, ἤδη δέ τι καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τῆς Κελτικῆς δεόμενος, ὡμολόγει τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ ἐπώμνυεν αὐτὰ καὶ

himself, though the victim of so many and so great outrages, and to ignore him, by his own request, but to defend Caesar, their commander and benefactor, against the insults of Antony; to defend themselves too, because they would never be secure in what they had received from Caesar unless the decrees passed in his honour should remain in full force. He exclaimed against Antony everywhere thoughout the city, leaping up on to any elevated spot, saying, "O Antony, do not be angry with Caesar on my account. Do not insult one who has been the greatest benefactor to you. On me heap indignities to your heart's content. Cease plundering his property until the legacy to the citizens is paid; then take all the rest. However poor I may be, my father's glory, if that remains, and the distribution to the people, if you will allow it to be made, will be all-sufficient for me." CHAP. IV

29. Henceforth there were open and repeated outcries against Antony on all sides. The latter indulged in more bitter threats against Octavian, and when they became known the people were still more incensed against him. The tribunes of Antony's guard, who had served under the elder Caesar, and who were then in the highest favour with Antony, urged him to refrain from insult, both on their account and on his own, as he had served under Caesar and had obtained his present good fortune at Caesar's hands. Antony, recognizing the truth of these words, and feeling a sense of shame before those who uttered them and needing some help from Octavian himself with the people, to procure the exchange of provinces, agreed with what they said and swore

The military tribunes intervene

CAP. IV

οἱ πάνυ ἀβούλητα εἶναι, τῆς δὲ γνώμης τοῦ νεανίσκου ἕνεκεν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐπηρμένου τε ἐπαχθῶς ἔτι τηλικοῦδε ὄντος καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντος αἰδέσιμον ἢ τίμιον ἐς πρεσβυτέρους τε καὶ ἐς ἄρχοντας· ἅπερ αὐτοῦ μὲν χάριν τοῦ νεανίσκου χρῄζειν ἔτι νουθεσίας, σφῶν δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀξιούντων ἕνεκα αὐτὸς καθέξειν τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν προτέραν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν τε καὶ γνώμην ἐπανήξειν, ἣν κἀκεῖνος ἀπέχηται τῆς ἀμετρίας.

30. Ταῦτα οἱ ταξίαρχοι ἀσπασάμενοι συνῆγον ἀμφοτέρους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνέβαινον ἐς φιλίαν. ὅ τε νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς προυγράφετο αὐτίκα, ὀρρωδούσης πάνυ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἐπινοούσης, εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν προβουλεύοι, κωλύειν προβουλευόμενον, εἰ δὲ ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέροι, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐς κώλυσιν ἐπιπέμπειν. ἦσαν δ' οἳ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως ἐλευθεροῦν ἡγεμονίας ἠξίουν· οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἀγχοῦ τὴν Κελτικὴν οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἀντενεκάλει, εἰ Δέκμῳ μὲν αὐτὴν πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι Καίσαρα ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτῷ δ' ἀπιστοῦσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν καταστρεψάμενον αὐτὴν καὶ κλίναντα ἐς γόνυ, ἀπορρίπτων ἤδη ταῦτα φανερῶς ἐς ἅπαντας ὡς ἐφημερομένους τοῖς γεγονόσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τὴν λοχῖτιν ἐνόμιζεν ἐκκλησίαν συλλεγήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τὴν ἀγορὰν περισχοι-

that what he had done had been quite contrary to his intention, but that he changed his purpose because the young man was inordinately puffed up, being still a youth and showing no respect for his elders and no honour for those in authority. Although for his own benefit the young man still needed reproof, yet in deference to their remonstrances he would restrain his anger and return to his former disposition and intention, if Octavian, also, would curb his presumption. CHAP. IV

30. The tribunes were delighted with this reply and they brought Antony and Octavian together, who, after some mutual chiding, formed an alliance. The law concerning Cisalpine Gaul was proposed at once to the great dismay of the senators. They intended, if Antony should first bring the law before them, to reject it, and if he should bring it before the popular assembly without consulting them, to send the tribunes of the people to veto it. There were some who advised that this province be made free altogether, so much was it dreaded on account of its nearness. Antony, on the other hand, accused them of entrusting it to Decimus because he had been one of Caesar's murderers and of having no confidence in himself because he had not joined in killing the man who had subdued the province and brought it to its knees[1]— throwing out these insinuations openly against all of his opponents, as persons who rejoiced over the assassination. When the day for the comitia came the Senate expected that the people would be summoned by centuries, but the Antonians, who had enclosed the forum

Antony obtains Cisalpine Gaul with Octavian's help

[1] There is some confusion here. Caesar did not subdue Cisalpine Gaul.

CAP. IV νισάμενοι τὴν φυλέτιν ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἐληλυθυῖαν. καὶ ὁ δημότης λεώς, ἀχθόμενος τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, συνέπρασσεν ὅμως διὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς περισχοινίσμασι καὶ δεόμενον. ἐδεῖτο δὲ μάλιστα μέν, ἵνα μὴ Δέκμος ἄρχοι χώρας τε ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀνδροφόνος ὢν τοῦ πατρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου συνηλλαγμένου. προσεδόκα δὲ ἄρα τι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιλήψεσθαι παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. διαφθαρέντων δὲ χρήμασι τῶν δημάρχων ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ κατασιωπώντων ὁ νόμος ἐκυροῦτο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς Ἀντωνίῳ μετ' αἰτίας εὐπρεποῦς ἤδη τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπέρα.

V

CAP. V 31. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων τινὸς ἀποθανόντος, ἐς τὴν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ συνέπρασσεν Φλαμινίῳ· καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἰόμενος αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ νεώτερον τῆς ἡλικίας οὐ παραγγέλλειν, ἐπενόουν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις δήμαρχον ἀποφῆναι τὸν Καίσαρα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῆς αὐξήσεως ἐφθόνει καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ δημαρχῶν τοὺς φονέας τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐς δίκην ἀπαγάγοι· Ἀντώνιός τε τῆς ἄρτι συγκειμένης πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα φιλίας ὑπεριδών, εἴτε ἐς χάριν τῆς βουλῆς ἢ παρηγορίαν, ἀχθομένης τῷ

with a rope during the night summoned them by tribes according to a plan they had agreed upon.[1] Although the plebeians were incensed against Antony they nevertheless co-operated with him for the sake of Octavian, who stood alongside the rope and begged them to do so. He did this in order that Decimus, who had been one of his father's murderers, might not have the government of so convenient a province, and of the army belonging to it, and, moreover, to gratify Antony, who was now in league with him. He expected also to get some assistance from Antony in return. The tribunes, too, had been corrupted with money by Antony and remained silent. So the law was passed and Antony now with plausible reason began to bring his army across the Adriatic. CHAP. IV

V

CHAP. V

Antony again opposes Octavian

31. One of the tribunes of the people having died Octavian favoured the election of Flaminius as his successor. The people thought that he was ambitious of this office for himself, but that he refrained from being a candidate because he was under age, and accordingly, they proposed to cast their votes for him for tribune. The Senate begrudged him this increase of power, fearing lest, as tribune, he should bring the murderers of his father before the popular assembly for trial. Antony, in disregard of his recent alliance with Octavian, either to curry favour with the Senate, or to appease

[1] The reading of all the codices is that Antony wanted the votes to be taken by centuries and not by tribes, whereas that plan would have defeated him. Editors accordingly transpose the words "centuries" and "tribes."

CAP. V περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς νόμῳ, εἴτε ἀπ' οἰκείας γνώμης, προύγραφεν ὡς ὕπατος μηδενὶ Καίσαρα ἐγχειρεῖν παρανόμως, ἢ χρήσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ παντὶ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας. ἀχαρίστου δ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ὑβριστικῆς ἅμα ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῆς προγραφῆς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν δῆμος διώργιστο καὶ φιλονικήσειν ἔμελλον ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ὥστε δεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν χειροτονίαν, τοῖς ὑπολοίποις τῶν δημάρχων ἀρκούμενον· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὡς σαφῶς ἐπιβουλευόμενος ἤδη, πολλοὺς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποικίδας πόλεις ἐξαγγέλλειν, ἃ πάσχοι, καὶ τὴν ἑκάστων γνώμην καταμανθάνειν· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ Ἀντωνίου στρατόπεδα ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τινας ἀγορὰν φέροντας καὶ ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς θαρροῦσι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαρριπτεῖν ἀφανῶς βιβλία.

32. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν· οἱ ταξίαρχοι δὲ αὖθις παρὰ Ἀντωνίου καιρὸν αἰτήσαντες ἔλεγον· "ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ σοῦ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ συνεστησάμεθα καὶ ἐς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῆς ὑπηρέται γιγνόμενοι διετελοῦμεν, ἔχθει μὲν ἴσῳ καὶ ἐπιβουλῇ τοὺς φονέας αὐτοῦ γιγνώσκομεν εἰς ἡμᾶς χρωμένους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἐκείνοις ἐπιρρέπουσαν, τοῦ δήμου δ' ἐξελάσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀνεθαρρήσαμεν, οὐ πάντῃ τὰ Καίσαρος ὁρῶντες ἄφιλα οὐδὲ ἀμνήμονα οὐδὲ ἀχάριστα. τὴν δ' ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν εἴχομεν ἐν σοί, φίλῳ τε Καίσαρος ὄντι καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἄρχοντι νῦν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα

its dissatisfaction with the law respecting Cisalpine Gaul, or for private reasons, gave public notice, as consul, that Octavian should not attempt anything contrary to law; and that if he should do so he (Antony) would use the full measure of his authority against him. As this edict was an act of ingratitude toward Octavian, and was insulting both to him and to the people, the latter were extremely angry and took steps to defeat Antony's wishes in the election, so that he became alarmed and annulled the comitia, saying that the remaining number of tribunes was sufficient. Octavian, thus at last openly attacked, sent numerous agents to the towns colonized by his father to tell how he had been treated and to learn the state of feeling in each. He also sent certain persons in the guise of traders into Antony's camp to mingle with the soldiers, to work upon the boldest of them, and secretly distribute handbills among the rank and file. CHAP. V

32. While Octavian was doing this the military tribunes again sought an audience with Antony and addressed him thus: "We, O Antony, and the others who served with you under Caesar, established his rule and continued to maintain it from day to day as its faithful supporters. We know how his murderers equally hate and conspire against us and how the Senate favours them. But after the people drove them out we took fresh courage seeing that Caesar's acts were not altogether without friends, were not forgotten, were not unappreciated. For our future security we put our trust in you, the friend of Caesar, after him the most experienced of all as a commander, our present leader, and the one most fit to be such. The tribunes again intervene

CAP. V

ἐπιτηδείῳ. ἀναφυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ θρασέως ἔς τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν βιαζομένων καὶ χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συνιστάντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς σοι Δέκμον ἐπαλειφούσης, καὶ σοῦ τὰς φροντίδας ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου διαφορὰν δαπανῶντος, δέδιμεν εἰκότως, μὴ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὔπω παρόντα πόλεμον ἡ στάσις ὑμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ συνεπιθῆται καὶ διαπραχθῇ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθ' ἡμῶν, ἃ βούλονται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντα σε ἀξιοῦμεν, ὁσίας τε χάριν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ φειδοῦς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιμέμπτων σοι γενομένων καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ σοῦ τῶν συμφερόντων οὕνεκα, ἕως ἔτι δύνασαι, Καίσαρι μέν, ὅπερ ἀρκέσει, μόνον συνεπαμῦναι τοὺς φονέας τιμωρουμένῳ, σὲ δὲ αὐτίκα δυναστεύειν, ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ γενόμενόν τε καὶ ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι παρασκευάσαντα τοὺς ὑπέρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ δεδιότας."

33. Τοσαῦτα τοὺς ταξιάρχους εἰπόντας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε ἠμείψατο· "ὅσῃ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα περιόντα ἐχρώμην, φιλοκινδυνότατος ἐκ πάντων ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου χρείας γενόμενος, ἴστε σαφῶς, συστρατευσάμενοί τε καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρατυχόντες· ὅσῃ δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος εἰς ἐμὲ χάριτι καὶ προτιμήσει χρώμενος διετέλει, οὐ μαρτυρεῖν ἐμὲ δίκαιον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ φονεῖς εἰδότες συνετίθεντο κἀμὲ Καίσαρι συνανελεῖν, ὡς ἐμοῦ περιόντος οὐ καθέξοντες ὧν ἐπενόουν. καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς μετέπεισε τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' εὐπρεπείᾳ τῆς τυραννοκτονίας, ὡς μὴ δοκῶσι πολλοὺς ὥσπερ ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἕνα ἀνελεῖν ὡς τύραννον. τίς ἂν οὖν πιστεύσειεν

Our enemies are starting up afresh. They are forcibly seizing Syria and Macedonia and are raising money and troops against us. The Senate is stirring up Decimus Brutus against you. Yet you are wasting your powers of mind in a disagreement with the young Caesar. We naturally fear lest there be added to the war, which has not yet broken out but is imminent, dissensions among you, which shall accomplish all that our enemies desire against us. We beseech you to consider these things for the sake of piety toward Caesar and care for us, who have never given you cause for complaint, for your own interest even more than ours; and, while you still may, to assist Octavian at any rate so far—for this will suffice—as to punish the murderers. Then you will enjoy your power without anxiety and will provide security for us, who are now apprehensive both for ourselves and for you." CHAP. V

33. To the tribunes who had thus spoken Antony made the following reply: "What friendship and zeal I had for Caesar while he lived, what dangers I braved in his service, you, who have been my fellow-soldiers and the sharers in those events, know full well. What favours he showed me, what honours he continually bestowed upon me, it does not become me to say. The murderers, too, were acquainted with these facts. They conspired to kill me with Caesar because they knew that if I were living they could not compass their designs. Whoever dissuaded them from that purpose did so not from regard for my safety, but to preserve the appearance of tyrannicide, so that they might not seem to be killing a number of persons as enemies, but only one as a despot. Who, then, Antony replies to them

CAP. V

ἐμὲ Καίσαρός τε ἀμελεῖν εὐεργέτου μοι γεγενημένου καὶ προτιμᾶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνου καὶ τὸν φόνον ἑκόντα χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιβούλοις, ὡς οἴεται Καῖσαρ ὁ νέος; πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἡγεμονίαι; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπικαλεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐμοὶ βούλεται. μάθετε, ὡς ἐγένετο.

34. "Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ σφαγέντος ἄφνω, δέος ἐπέσχεν ἐκ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα πλεῖστον ἐμὲ φιλίᾳ τε αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς· οὐ γάρ πω τὴν συνθήκην ἑώρων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ὅσοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐθορυβεῖτο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς σὺν μονομάχοις τὸ Καπιτώλιον καταλαβόντες ἀπέκλειον, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἐστι φανερώτερον, γέρα τε τοῖς ἀνελοῦσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις ἐψηφίζετο. καὶ εἰ τύραννος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφάνη, ἡμῖν ὑπῆρχεν ἀπολέσθαι πᾶσιν ὡς τυράννου φίλοις. ὧδε δή με ἔχοντα θορύβου καὶ μερίμνης καὶ δέους, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν γνώμης παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἀπορῆσαι, σκοποῦντες εὑρήσετε, ἔνθα μὲν ἔδει τόλμης, θρασύτατον, ἔνθα δὲ ὑποκρίσεως, εὐμήχανον. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐκ πάντων καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνέχον ἦν ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰ γέρα τὰ ψηφιζόμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ὅπερ, ἀντιτάξας ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐγκρατῶς, ἔπραττον σὺν θράσει παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐπικινδύνῳ, τότε μόνον ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀσφαλῶς περιέσεσθαι, ὅταν μὴ Καῖσαρ

will believe that I have no care for Caesar, who was my benefactor, that I prefer his enemies, and that I willingly condone his murder at the hands of those who conspired against me also, as the young Caesar imagines? Whence came their amnesty, whence their preferment? For he wishes to charge these things upon me instead of the Senate. Learn from me how they came about. CHAP. V

34. "When Caesar was suddenly slain in the senate-house fear fell upon me most of all by reason of my friendship for him and my ignorance of the facts, as I knew not yet the particulars of the conspiracy nor against how many it was designed. The people were terror-stricken. The murderers with a body of gladiators took possession of the Capitol and shut themselves up in it. The Senate was on their side, just as it now is more openly, and was about to vote rewards to them as tyrannicides. If Caesar had been declared a tyrant then might we all have perished as the friends of a tyrant. In the midst of such confusion, anxiety, and fear, when it was not the time either for any rash move, or for any long hesitation,[1] you will find, if you examine, that where courage was needed I was boldest and where artifice was required I was most crafty. The first thing to be done, because it embraced everything else, was to prevent the voting of rewards to the conspirators. This I accomplished against the strong opposition of the Senate and of the murderers, with unfailing courage and in the face of danger, because I then believed that we of Caesar's party could be safe only in case Caesar were not declared

[1] So Keil, approved by Viereck. Others couple γνώμης with ἀπορῆσαι, and Nauck transposes γνώμης. It would then mean "When I might well have been at a loss what to decide."

CAP. V

εἶναι δόξῃ τύραννος. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ δέει τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῆς ἐχομένων, ὅτε μὴ Καῖσαρ εἴη τύραννος, ἀνδροφονίας αὐτοὺς ἀλώσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φιλονικούντων, εἶξα τῆς ἀμνηστίας διδομένης ἀντὶ τῶν γερῶν, ἵν' ὅσων ἔχρῃζον ἀντιλάβοιμι. τὰ δὲ ἦν πόσα καὶ πηλίκα; μήτε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλεῖφθαι τὴν ἐμοὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἡδίστην μήτε τὴν περιουσίαν δεδημεῦσθαι μήτε τὴν θέσιν, ἐφ' ᾗ νῦν οὗτος γαυριᾷ, διαλελύσθαι μήτε τὰς διαθήκας ἀκύρους γενέσθαι τό τε σῶμα τεθάφθαι βασιλικῶς καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῷ τὰς πάλαι δεδομένας ἀθανάτους διαμένειν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα κύρια εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γενέσθαι σωτηρίᾳ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ βίῳ ἀντὶ ἐπονειδίστου.

35. "Ἆρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγα ἢ σμικρὰ τῆς ἀμνηστίας τὴν βουλὴν ἀνταιτῆσαι δοκῶ; ἢ δοῦναι ἂν αὐτὰ ἡ βουλὴ χωρὶς τῆς ἀμνηστίας; ἦν μὲν δὴ καὶ καθαρῶς ἀντιδοῦναι τάδε τῶνδε ἄξιον καὶ φείσασθαι σὺν ἀληθεῖ γνώμῃ φονέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἀθανάτου Καίσαρος δόξης καὶ ἡμῶν ἀσφαλοῦς σωτηρίας· οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' ἀνατιθέμενος τὴν δίκην. ἐπεί γέ τοι τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἃ πρῶτα ἔχρῃζον ἐκράτησα καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὡς ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ μεθεῖντο, ἀνεθάρρησα καὶ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν παρέλυον, οὐ ψηφίσμασιν ἢ δόγμασιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ' ἀσήμῳ δημοκοπίᾳ, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ προφάσει τῆς ταφῆς ἐς

a tyrant. But when I saw our enemies, and the Senate itself, plunged alike in fear (lest, if Caesar were not decreed a tyrant, they themselves should be convicted of murder), and making their fight for this reason, I yielded and granted amnesty instead of rewards to the murderers, in order to gain what I wanted in exchange. What number of things did I want and how important were they? That Caesar's name, to me most dear, should not be blotted out, that his property should not be confiscated, that the adoption on which this young man prides himself should not be annulled, that the will should not be declared invalid, that his body should have a royal funeral, that the immortal honours previously decreed to him should be fulfilled, that all his acts should be confirmed, and that his son, and we his friends, both generals and soldiers, should remain in perfect safety and enjoy a life of honour instead of ignominy. CHAP. V

35. "Think you that I asked few or small things from the Senate in exchange for the amnesty, or that the Senate would have made these concessions without the amnesty? If this exchange had been made in all sincerity it would have been a fair bargain actually to spare the murderers for the sake of Caesar's immortal glory and our complete security, but in fact I did it not with that intention, but in order to postpone the retribution. Accordingly, as soon as I had obtained what I wanted from the Senate, and the murderers, freed from anxiety, were off their guard, I took fresh courage and undermined the amnesty, not by votes, not by decrees (for that was impossible), but by working on the people imperceptibly. I brought Caesar's

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τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκφέρων καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἀπογυμνῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιδεικνὺς ἡμαγμένην τε καὶ κατακεκομμένην καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ φιλόδημον αὐτοῦ παλιλλογῶν, ἐκπαθῶς ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μὲν ὡς ἀνηρημένου, καταλῶν δ' ὡς θεόν. τάδε γάρ μου τὰ ἔργα καὶ ῥήματα ἠρέθισε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦψε μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔπεμψε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ὅπως ἀντιπραττούσης καὶ λυπουμένης τῆς βουλῆς ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἔδειξαν, ἐμὲ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τῆς δημοκοπίας, τοὺς δὲ φονέας ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, αἳ μεσταὶ μεγάλων στρατῶν ἦσαν, ἐπείγεσθαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δεδομένου χρόνου διδάξαντες ἐπὶ προφάσει φροντίδος σίτου. ἕτερον δή με δέος ἔτι μεῖζον ἐπελάμβανεν, οὐκ ἔχοντά πω στρατὸν ἴδιον οὐδένα, μὴ πρὸς ἐνόπλους τοσούσδε ἄνοπλοι καθιστώμεθα. καὶ ὁ σύναρχος ὕποπτος ἦν, ἐμοί τε διάφορος ὢν αἰεὶ καὶ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου γενέθλιον τῇ πόλει τιθέμενος.

36. "Ὧδε δὲ ἀπορῶν καὶ ἐπειγόμενος ἐξοπλίσαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων τὰ ὅπλα μετενεγκεῖν, Ἀμάτιον ἔκτεινα καὶ κατεκάλεσα Πομπήιον, ἵνα τοῖσδε αὖθις ἁλοῦσα ἡ βουλὴ πρός με μεταθοῖτο. καὶ οὐδ' ὡς αὐτῇ πιστεύων ἔπεισα Συρίαν αἰτεῖν Δολοβέλλαν, οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμῳ, καὶ συνέπραξα αἰτοῦντι, ἵνα τοῖς τε σφαγεῦσι Δολοβέλλας ἐχθρὸς ἀντὶ φίλου γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς βουλευταῖς

body into the forum under pretence of burial, I laid bare his wounds, I showed the number of them and his clothing all bloody and slashed. In public speech I dwelt on his bravery and his services to the common people in pathetic terms, weeping for him as slain but invoking him as god. Thes eacts and words of mine stirred up the people, kindled a fire after the amnesty, sent them against the houses of our enemies, and drove the murderers from the city How all this was done in the teeth of and to the chagrin of the Senate was presently shown, when they blamed me for exciting the people and sent the murderers away to take command of provinces, Brutus and Cassius to Syria and Macedonia, which were provided with great armies, telling them to hasten before the appointed time, under pretence of looking after the corn supply. And now another and still greater fear took possession of me (since I had no military force of my own as yet), lest we should be exposed without arms to the assaults of so many armed men. I suspected my colleague also because he was always at variance with me, and while pretending to be in the conspiracy against Caesar had proposed that the day of the murder should be celebrated as the birthday of the republic. CHAP. V

36. "While I was at a loss what to do, desiring to disarm our enemies and to arm ourselves instead, I put Amatius to death and recalled Sextus Pompeius in order to entrap the Senate again and bring it over to my side. But as even then I had no confidence in it I persuaded Dolabella to ask for the province of Syria, not from the Senate, but from the people by a law, and I favoured his petition so that he should become an enemy instead of a friend of

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αἰσχρὸν ᾖ μετὰ Δολοβέλλαν ἀντειπεῖν ἐμοὶ περὶ Μακεδονίας. οὐ μέντ' ἂν οὐδ' ὡς μοι Μακεδονίαν ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιάν, εἰ μὴ τὴν στρατιὰν προμεθῆκα τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ ὡς Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Πάρθους διαλαχόντι. τοὺς δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον οὔτε Μακεδονίαν ἀφείλοντο ἂν οὔτε Συρίαν, μὴ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀντιλαβόντες ἔθνη. δεῖσαν οὖν ἀντιδοῦναι θεάσασθε, οἷα ἀνθ' οἵων καὶ ὡς στρατοῦ γυμνὰ ἐδόθη, Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταφρονοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλῶν σφίσιν ὄντων καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀφῃρημένα βιάζονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐς Δολοβέλλαν μετενήνεκτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τέχναις καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ ἀντιδόσεσιν ἑτέρων· οὐ γάρ πω τῶν ὅπλων φανέντων ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις ἔδει πράσσειν.

37. "Γεγενημένων δὲ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγειράντων, ἔδει μοι τοῦ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν στρατοῦ καὶ προφάσεως ἠπόρουν. φήμη δὲ κατέσκηψε Γέτας Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν. ἀπιστουμένης δὲ καὶ ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεψομένων ἀπεσταλμένων, εἰσηγησάμην ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην· ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπαχθέντες ἔδοσάν μοι τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐγὼ τότε πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν ἡγησάμην ἰσόπαλον εἶναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, οὐ τοῖσδε τοῖς φανεροῖς, ὡς οἴεται Καῖσαρ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλέοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις

the murderers, and so that the senators should be ashamed to refuse me Macedonia afterwards. Still, the Senate would not have assigned Macedonia to me, even after Dolabella had been provided for, by reason of the army belonging to it, if I had not previously transferred the army to Dolabella, on the ground that Syria and the Parthian war had fallen to his lot. And again they would not have taken Macedonia and Syria away from Brutus and Cassius unless other provinces had been obtained for them to ensure their safety. When it became necessary to make them a recompense, look at the compensation that was given to them—Cyrene and Crete, devoid of troops, provinces which even our enemies despise as not sufficient for their safety; and they are now trying to seize by force those that were taken from them. Thus in fact was the army transferred from our enemies to Dolabella by artifice, by stratagem, by exchange; for when there was no way to gain our end openly by arms we had necessarily to have recourse to the laws. CHAP. V

37. "After these events our enemies had raised another army and it became needful for me to have the one in Macedonia; but I was in want of a pretext. A rumour gained currency that the Getae were ravaging Macedonia. This was disbelieved, and while messengers were sent to make inquiry I brought forward the decree about the dictatorship, providing that it should not be lawful to speak of it, to vote for it, or to accept it if offered. The senators were particularly taken with this proposal and they gave me the army. Then for the first time I considered myself on an equality with my enemies, not merely with the open ones, as Octavian thinks,

CAP. V καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἔτι εἶναι θέλουσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐργασαμένῳ μοι ἕτερος τῶν σφαγέων ἔλειπεν ἐν πλευραῖς, Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκμος, ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅδε χώρας ἐπικαίρου καὶ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ· ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ θρασύτερον εἰδὼς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀφῃρούμην, ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς Μακεδονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος ἀντιδώσειν, γυμνὴν στρατοῦ γενομένην. ἀγανακτούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἤδη καθορώσης καὶ ἴστε οἷα καὶ ὅσα Δέκμῳ πολλῶν γραφόντων καὶ ἐπαλειφόντων ἤδη τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ ὑπάτους, ἐγὼ θρασύτερον ἔτι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος, ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς, νόμῳ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν ἐπενόησα, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπέρων ὡς χρησόμενος δὴ ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα. καὶ σὺν θεοῖς εἰπεῖν, χρησόμεθα, ὡς ἂν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

38. "Οὕτως ἐκ πολλοῦ δέους τοῦ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐπισχόντος μετεβάλομεν ἔς τε ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκρατῆ καὶ ἐς θάρσος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ὧν ἐκφανέντων ἀνεφάνη καὶ ἡ τῶν πλεόνων ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους σπουδή. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅση μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐστι μεταμέλεια τῶν ἐψηφισμένων, ὅσος δὲ ἀγὼν ἀφελέσθαι με τὴν Κελτικὴν ἤδη δεδομένην. ἴστε, ἃ γράφουσι Δέκμῳ καὶ ὅσα τοὺς ὑπάτους τοὺς μετ' ἐμὲ πείθουσι περὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς μεταψηφίσασθαι. ἀλλὰ σὺν θεοῖς τε πατρῴοις καὶ σὺν εὐσεβεῖ γνώμῃ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἀνδραγαθίαις, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκράτει, ἀμυνούμεν αὐτῷ, τῷ τε σώματι ἐπεξιόντες καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ βοηθοῦντες.

but with the more numerous and powerful ones who still choose to remain secret. When I had accomplished these plans there remained one of the murderers on my flank, Decimus Brutus, governing a conveniently placed province with a large army; whom I, knowing him to be bolder than the rest, tried to deprive of Cisalpine Gaul, by promising, in order to keep up appearances with the Senate, to give him in exchange Macedonia, without an army. The Senate was indignant, for it now perceived the stratagem, and you know what kind of letters, and how many, they are writing to Decimus, and how they are inciting my successors in the consulship. I decided, therefore, to take a bolder course and ask the people for this province by a law, instead of asking the Senate, and I brought my army from Macedonia to Brundusium so that I might use it in emergencies. And with the help of the gods, we will use it as may be needful. CHAP. V

38. "Thus have we changed from the great fear that formerly beset us to a state of entire safety for ourselves, where we can boldly face our foes. When this change became known the multitude also let their zeal against our enemies be known. You see how the latter regret the decrees that have been passed, and what a fight they are making to deprive me of the Gallic province which has already been given to me. You know what they write to Decimus and how they are urging my successors in the consulship to get the law relating to this province changed. But with the help of our country's gods, and with pious intent, and by means of your valour, with which Caesar also conquered, we will avenge him, devoting to that purpose our powers both of body and of mind.

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Ταῦτά μοι γιγνόμενα μέν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἔτι ἔχρηζον ἀπόρρητα εἶναι, γενόμενα δὲ ἐξενήνεκται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὓς ἐγὼ καὶ ἔργου καὶ λόγου κοινωνοὺς ἐς ἅπαντα τίθεμαι. καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴ τινες αὐτὰ οὐ συνορῶσι, μεταφέρετε, πλὴν μόνου Καίσαρος ἀχαρίστως ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔχοντος."

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39. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου διεξιόντος, παρέστη τοῖς ταξιάρχαις αὐτὸν ἅπαντα μετ' ἔχθρας ἀκριβοῦς ἐς τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους, ἐπιτεχνάζοντα τῇ βουλῇ, πεποιηκέναι. ἠξίουν δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ Καίσαρι συναλλαγῆναι καὶ πείσαντες αὐτοὺς συνήλλασσον αὖθις ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὰς ἐς τοὺς φίλους παρήγαγεν ὡς ὑπηρέτας γενομένους ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε συκοφαντῶν εἴτε τῷ ὄντι νομίσας εἴτε περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα περιπεμφθέντων πυθόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπιβουλὴν μεταφέρωι ἐς τὸ σῶμα. ὅ τε λόγος ἐκδραμὼν αὐτίκα θόρυβον ἤγειρε πάνδημον, καὶ ἀγανάκτησις ἦν. ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ, οἷς τι λογισμοῦ βαθέος ἦν, ᾔδεσαν Καίσαρι συμφέρειν Ἀντώνιον καὶ βλάπτοντα ὅμως περιεῖναι, ἐπίφοβον ὄντα τοῖς φονεῦσιν· ἀποθανόντος

"While these events were in progress, fellow-soldiers, I preferred that they should not be talked of; now that they are accomplished I have laid them before you, whom I shall make the sharers of my deeds and my counsels in every particular hereafter. Communicate to others, if there are any, who do not see them in the same light—excepting only Octavian, who behaves ungratefully towards us." [1] CHAP. V

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39. These words of Antony convinced the tribunes that in all he had done he had been moved by bitter animosity towards the murderers and that he had been scheming against the Senate. Nevertheless they urged him to come to an agreement with Octavian; and, proving successful, brought about a reconciliation between them in the Capitol. But not long afterward Antony announced to his friends that some of his bodyguard had been tampered with by Octavian, who had formed a plot against him. This he said either as a slander, or because he believed it to be true, or because he had heard of the emissaries of Octavian in his camp, and turned the plot to checkmate his actions into a plot against his life. When this story was noised about there was a general tumult forthwith and great indignation, for there were few who had sufficient penetration to see that it was for the interest of Octavian that Antony, even though he was unjust to him, should live, because he (Antony) CHAP. VI

Octavian accused of attempting to assassinate Antony

[1] Clearly this speech was composed by Appian and put in the mouth of Antony. It contains errors as to dates and as to the order of events which Antony could not have made.

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γὰρ ἀδεέστερον ἐκείνους ἅπασιν ἐπιτολμήσειν, βοηθουμένους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ὧδε μὲν εἴκαζον οἱ συνετώτεροι· τὸ δὲ πλέον, ὁρῶντες, οἷα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ὑβριζόμενός τε καὶ ζημιούμενος πάσχοι, οὐκ ἄπιστον ἐτίθεντο τὴν διαβολὴν οὐδὲ ὅσιον ἢ ἀνεκτὸν ἐνόμιζον Ἀντώνιον ὑπατεύοντα ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας ἐξέτρεχε σὺν ὀργῇ μανιώδει καὶ ἐβόα αὐτὸς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ φιλίαν ἔτι οἱ μόνην οὖσαν· ἐπί τε τὰς θύρας τοῦ Ἀντωνίου δραμὼν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐβόα καὶ θεοὺς ἐμαρτύρετο καὶ ἀρὰς ἠρᾶτο πάσας καὶ ἐς δίκην ἐλθεῖν προυκαλεῖτο. οὐδενὸς δὲ προϊόντος, "ἐν τοῖς φίλοις," ἔφη, "δέχομαι τοῖς σοῖς κριθῆναι," καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπέτρεχεν ἔσω. κωλυθεὶς δὲ αὖθις ᾤμωζε καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θύρας ἠγανάκτει κωλύουσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐλεγχθῆναι. ἀπιών τε τὸν δῆμον ἐμαρτύρετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, πρὸς Ἀντωνίου δολοφονεῖσθαι. λεγομένων δὲ τῶνδε σὺν πάθει πολλῷ μετέπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, καί τις αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὶν δόξης μετάνοια ἐνεγίγνετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τότε ἀπιστοῦντες ὤκνουν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ πιστὸν νέμειν, καί τινες ὑπόκρισιν ἀμφοῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα διέβαλλον εἶναι, συνθεμένων μὲν ἅρτι ἐν ἱερῷ, μηχανωμένων δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγοῦντο ἐπινοεῖν εἰς ἀφορμὴν

was a terror to the murderers. If he were dead they would quite fearlessly dare anything, especially as they had the support of the Senate. The more intelligent knew this, but the greater part, seeing what Octavian suffered daily from the indignities and the losses inflicted on him, considered the accusation not incredible, yet held it to be impious and intolerable that a conspiracy should be formed against Antony's life while he was consul. CHAP. VI

Octavian ran with mad fury even to those who held this opinion of him, exclaiming that it was Antony who was conspiring against him to alienate from him the friendship of the people, which was the only thing left to him. He ran to Antony's door and repeated the same things, calling the gods to witness, taking all kinds of oaths, and inviting Antony to a judicial investigation. As nobody came forward he said, "I will accept your friends as judges." With these words he attempted to enter the house. Being prevented from doing so he again cried out and railed at Antony and vented his wrath against the door-keepers who prevented Antony being brought to book. Then he went away and called the people to witness that if anything should happen to him his death would be due to Antony's plots. As these words were spoken with deep feeling the multitude underwent a change, and a kind of penitence took the place of their former opinion. There were some who still doubted, and hesitated to put faith in either of them. Some accused them both of making false pretences, believing that they had come to an agreement in the temple, and that these were plots devised against their enemies. Still others thought that this was a device of Antony to

He denies the accusation

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φρουρᾶς πλείονος ἢ ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῶν κληρουχιῶν Καίσαρι.

40. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ τῶν κρύφα ἀπεσταλμένων ἀπηγγέλθη τὸν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀπῳκισμένους ἐν ὀργῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχειν, ἀμελοῦντα τοῦ Καίσαρος φόνου, καὶ σφᾶς ἐπικουρήσειν, ἂν δύνωνται, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐξήει διὰ τάδε. δείσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν ἀφρούρητον αὐτὸν λάβοι, χρήματα φέρων εἰς Καμπανίαν ᾔει, πείσων τὰς πόλεις οἱ στρατεύεσθαι, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ᾠκισμένας. καὶ ἔπεισε Καλατίαν πρώτην, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῃ Κασιλῖνον, δύο τάσδε Καπύης ἑκατέρωθεν· ἐπιδοὺς δ' ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἦγεν ἐς μυρίους ἄνδρας, οὔτε ὡπλισμένους ἐντελῶς οὔτε συντεταγμένους πω κατὰ ἴλας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐς μόνην τοῦ σώματος φυλακήν, ὑφ' ἑνὶ σημείῳ. οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει τὸν Ἀντώνιον δεδιότες μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπανιόντα, ὡς ἐπύθοντο καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα μεθ' ἑτέρας προσιέναι, οἱ μὲν διπλασίως ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οἱ δ' ὡς χρησόμενοι κατ' Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρι ἡσμένιζον· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ διαλλαγὰς ἑωρακότες ὑπόκρισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ἀντίδοσιν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δυναστείας, Καίσαρι δὲ τῶν φονέων.

41. Ὧδε δὲ αὐτῶν θορυβουμένων, Καννούτιος ὁ δήμαρχος, ἐχθρὸς ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ Καίσαρι φίλος, ὑπήντα τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐκμαθὼν ἀπήγγελλε τῷ δήμῳ, μετ' ἔχθρας

increase his body-guard or to alienate the colonies of veterans from Octavian. CHAP. VI

40. Presently news was brought to Octavian by his secret emissaries that the army at Brundusium and the colonized soldiers were incensed against Antony for neglecting to avenge the murder of Caesar, and that they would assist him (Octavian) to do so if they could. For this reason Antony departed to Brundusium. As Octavian feared lest Antony, returning with the army, should catch him unprotected, he went to Campania with money to enlist the veterans who had been settled in those towns by his father. He first brought over those of Calatia and next those of Casilinum, two towns situated on either side of Capua, giving 500 drachmas to each man. He collected about 10,000 men, not fully armed and not mustered in regular cohorts, but serving merely as a body-guard under one banner. The citizens of Rome were alarmed at the approach of Antony with an army, and when they learned that Octavian was advancing with another some were doubly alarmed, while others were well pleased, believing that they could make use of Octavian against Antony. Still others, who had seen them reconciled to each other in the Capitol, considered these transactions a game of false pretences by which Antony was to have the supreme power and Octavian in return was to wreak vengeance on the murderers. Octavian obtains soldiers in Galatia and Casilinum

41. In this time of consternation Cannutius, the tribune, an enemy of Antony, and hence friendly to Octavian, went to meet the latter. Having learned his intentions Cannutius addressed the people, saying that Octavian was advancing with real hostility to The tribune Cannutius sides with Octavian against Antony

CAP. VI

Ἀντωνίου σαφοῦς ἐπιέναι τον Καίσαρα καὶ χρῆναι δεδιότας Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τόνδε προσεταιρίσασθαι, στρατὸν ἄλλον οὐκ ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἐσῆγε τὸν Καίσαρα, αὐλισάμενον πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἱερῷ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν νεὼν τῶν Διοσκούρων παρῆλθε, καὶ τὸν νεὼν περιέστησαν οἱ στρατευόμενοι ξιφίδια ἀφανῶς περιεζωσμένοι, Καννούτιος δὲ πρότερον ἐδημηγόρει κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάθοι, δι' ἃ καὶ τόνδε τὸν στρατὸν ἐς φυλακὴν εἴη συνειλεγμένος· ἔφη τε ἐς πάντα τῆς πατρίδος ὑπηρέτης καὶ κατήκοος ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὰ νῦν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἕτοιμος.

42. Ὧδε δ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαλύσαντος ἐπὶ τῷδε, ὁ στρατὸς ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος ἀφῖχθαι ἢ ἐς μόνην γε φυλακὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν φονέων ἄμυναν, ἤχθοντο τῇ κατ' Ἀντωνίου προαγορεύσει, στρατηγοῦ τε σφῶν γεγονότος καὶ ὄντος ὑπάτου· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπανελθεῖν ᾔτουν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὡς ὁπλιούμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλων ἢ τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων ἀνέξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὑπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἠπόρητο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ὧν προσεδόκησε μετενεχθείς, ἐλπίσας δ' αὐτῶν πειθοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ βίᾳ περιέσεσθαι, συνεχώρει ταῖς προφάσεσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ ἁπλῶς ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα. πάντας δ', ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀχθηδόνα, ἐπῄνει τῆς συνόδου καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο ἑτέραις δωρεαῖς

Antony and that those who were afraid that Antony was aiming at tyranny should side with Octavian as they had no other army at present. After speaking thus he brought in Octavian, who was encamped before the city at the temple of Mars, fifteen stades distant. When the latter arrived he proceeded to the temple of Castor and Pollux, which his soldiers surrounded carrying concealed daggers. Cannutius addressed the people first, speaking against Antony. Afterwards Octavian also reminded them of his father and of what he had himself suffered at the hands of Antony, on account of which he had enlisted this army as a guard for himself. He declared himself the obedient servant of his country in all things, and said that he was ready to confront Antony in the present emergency.

CHAP. VI

Octavian declares his readiness to confront Antony

42. After he had thus spoken and dismissed the assembly, the soldiers, taking the opposite view (that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavian or as a mere guard for the latter and to punish the murderers), were vexed at the declaration of war against Antony, who had been their general and was now consul. Some of them asked leave to return home in order to arm themselves, saying that they could not perform their duty with other arms than their own. Others hinted at the truth. As things had turned out contrary to his expectation, Octavian was at a loss what to do. Hoping, however, to retain them by persuasion rather than by force he yielded to their requests, and sent some of them to get their arms and others simply to their homes. Concealing his disappointment he praised all the assembled multitude, gave them fresh presents, and said that he would reward

Caesar's veterans refuse to fight against Antony

CAP. VI καὶ δαψιλέστερον ἔτι ἀμείψεσθαι ἔλεγεν, αἰεὶ χρώμενος ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ὡς πατρικοῖς φίλοις μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις. χιλίους μὲν δὴ μύνους ἢ τρισχιλίους τάδε λέγων ἐπέκλασεν ἐκ μυρίων οἱ παραμεῖναι (διαφέρονται γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ)· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τότε μὲν ἐξήεσαν, ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δ' αὐτίκα γεωργίας τε πόνων καὶ κερδῶν στρατείας καὶ λόγων τῶν Καίσαρος καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ἃ ἐβούλοντο, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν τε εἰλήφεσαν καὶ ὧν ἤλπιζον ἔτι λήψεσθαι. οἷόν τε ὄχλος ἀνώμαλος μετενόουν καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἐπιβαίνοντες ὡπλίζοντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανήεσαν. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μετὰ χρημάτων ἄλλων τήν τε Ῥάβενναν καὶ τὰ ἀγχοῦ πάντα περιήει, στρατεύων ἑτέρους ἐφ' ἑτέροις· καὶ πάντας ἐς Ἀρρήτιον ἔπεμπεν.

VII

CAP. VII 43. Ἀντωνίῳ δ' ἀφῖκτο μέσον ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐκ πέντε τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τελῶν τέσσαρα· ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεξελθόντα τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, χωρὶς εὐφημίας ἐς τὸ βῆμα παρέπεμπον ὡς περὶ τοῦδε σφίσιν ἐκλογιούμενον πρώτου. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς χαλεπτόμενος τῆς σιωπῆς οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὠνείδιζεν ἀχαριστίαν ἐκ Παρθυαίων ὑπὸ οὗ μετενεχθεῖσιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι τοιᾶσδε χάριτος· ἐμέμφετο δὲ καὶ ὅτι παρὰ μειρακίου προπετοῦς, ὧδε τὸν Καίσαρα καλῶν, ἄνδρας ἐπιπεμπομένους σφίσιν εἰς διαφθορὰν οὐκ αὐτοὶ προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ.

them still more generously, for he made use of them for emergencies rather as the friends of his father than as soldiers. After he had spoken these words, he influenced 1000 only from 10,000 to remain with him, or perhaps 3000, for accounts differ as to the number. The rest then took their departure, but presently they remembered the toils of agriculture and the gains of military service, the words of Octavian, his compliance with their wishes, and the favours they had received and hoped still to receive from him. And so, as a fickle multitude would, they repented, and seizing upon their former pretext for the sake of appearances, they armed themselves and went back to him. Octavian had already proceeded with new supplies of money to Ravenna and the neighbouring parts, continually enlisting new forces and sending them all to Arretium. CHAP. VI

VII

43. In the meantime four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundusium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Caesar. They conducted him without applause to the platform, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but charged them with ingratitude in that they had expressed no thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash boy (for so he called Octavian) who had been sent among them to stir up discord. Those men he would find out himself, he CHAP. VII

Mutiny among Antony's troops

CAP. VII ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν αὐτὸς εὑρήσειν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐψηφισμένην οἱ χώραν εὐδαίμονα Κελτικήν, καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἑκάστῳ δοθήσεσθαι δραχμὰς ἑκατόν. οἱ δὲ ἐγέλασαν τῆς σμικρολογίας καὶ χαλεπήναντος αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἐθορύβουν καὶ διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ ἐξανέστη τοσοῦτον εἰπών· "μαθήσεσθε ἄρχεσθαι." αἰτήσας δὲ παρὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων τοὺς στασιώδεις (ἀνάγραπτος γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατοῖς αἰεὶ καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα ὁ τρόπος) διεκλήρωσε τῷ στρατιωτικῷ νόμῳ καὶ οὐ τὸ δέκατον ἅπαν, ἀλλὰ μέρος ἔκτεινε τοῦ δεκάτου, νομίζων σφᾶς ὧδε καταπλήξειν δι' ὀλίγου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐς φόβον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς ὀργὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ μῖσος ἐτρέποντο.

44. Ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶντες οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶνδε προπεπόμφει, βιβλία πολλὰ τότε μάλιστα διερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίου μικρολογίας τε καὶ ὠμότητος ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος μνήμην τοῦ προτέρου καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ νῦν καὶ χορηγίας δαψιλεῖς μετατίθεσθαι. οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος μηνύμασι τε μεγάλοις ἐζήτει, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς, εἴ τις ἐπικρύπτοι. οὐδένα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἐχαλέπηνεν ὡς τοῦ στρατοῦ σφᾶς ἐπικρύπτοντος. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀποικίαις τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Καίσαρι πεπραγμένων ἐθορυβεῖτο. καὶ ἐπελθὼν αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη χαλεπῆναι μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης στρατιωτικῆς ὀλίγοις ἀντὶ πλεόνων ὧν ἐκόλαζεν ὁ νόμος, αὐτοὺς δὲ εἰδέναι σαφῶς οὔτε ὠμὸν οὔτε μικρολόγον Ἀντώνιον. "ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν φθόνος οἰχέσθω,

said; but the army he would lead to the province voted to him, the prosperous Gallic country, and would give 100 drachmas to each man present. They laughed at his parsimony, and when he became angry they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he required the military tribunes to bring before him the seditious characters (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking that he would thus quickly strike terror into them. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.

He punishes them

44. In view of these facts the men whom Octavian had sent to tamper with the soldiers distributed the greatest possible number of handbills throughout the camp, reflecting on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, recalling the memory of the elder Caesar and urging them to share the service of the younger and his liberal gifts. Antony tried to find these emissaries by means of rewards to informers and threats against those who abetted them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers concealed them. When the news came of what Octavian was doing among the colonized veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither cruel nor stingy. "Let us lay aside

Octavian excites dissension in Antony's army

CAP. VII

κεκορεσμένος," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ ταῖς κολάσεσι· τὰς δὲ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ὑμῖν οὐ δωρεάν (οὐ γὰρ τοῦτό γε τῆς Ἀντωνίου τύχης), ἀλλὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐς ὑμᾶς ἐντεύξεως προσαγορευτικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ δωρεὰν ἐκέλευσα δοθῆναι, καὶ χρὴ νόμῳ πατρίῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτικῷ καὶ ἐς τάδε καὶ ἐς πάντα εὐπειθεῖς ὑπάρχειν." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, οὐδέν τι ἔτι προσθεὶς τῇ δωρεᾷ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡσσῆσθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐλάμβανον, εἴτε μεταγνόντες εἴτε καὶ δεδιότες. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ταξιάρχους, εἴτε μηνίων ἔτι τῆς στάσεως εἴθ' ἑτέρως ὑπονοῶν, ἐνήλλασσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καὶ τἆλλα ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἐδεξιοῦτο καὶ προύπεμπεν ἀνὰ μέρος τὴν παραθαλάσσιον ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ Ἀριμίνου.

45. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων τά τε σώματα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὧδευεν ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρίμινον ὁρμήσων. ἐσῄει δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν σοβαρῶς, τὴν μὲν ἴλην πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως στρατοπεδεύσας, τοὺς δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ὑπεζωσμένους καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν νυκτοφυλακοῦντας ἐνόπλους· συνθήματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο, καὶ αἱ φυλακαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἦσαν ὡς ἐν στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ὡς μεμψόμενος Καίσαρι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐσιὼν ἤδη μανθάνει τῶν τεσσάρων τελῶν τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπισχόντι τε καὶ διαποροῦντι ἀγγέλλεται καὶ τὸ καλούμενον τέταρτον ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις ἐς

ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 drachmas which I have ordered to be given you is not my donative, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but a small dole to mark our first meeting rather than a full reward; but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this affair as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the donative, that it might not seem that as general he had yielded anything to the army; but they, whether moved by penitence or by fear, took what was given them. Antony, however, being still angry at the outbreak, or from some other suspicion, changed their tribunes, but the rest of the army he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them forward by detachments along the sea-coast toward Ariminum. CHAP. VII

45. Antony chose from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who were best in body and character and marched to Rome, intending to push on thence toward Ariminum. He entered the city in a haughty manner, leaving his squadron of horse encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were girded as for war, and they mounted guard over his house at night under arms, and he gave them a countersign and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He convoked the Senate in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavian, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of the four on the road, had gone over to Octavian. While he was waiting at the entrance cogitating over this news it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian

Two of Antony's legions desert to Octavian

CAP. VII Καίσαρα μετατεθεῖσθαι. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ' ἐφ' ἕτερα αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐπὶ Ἄλβην πόλιν ὡς μεταπείσων τοὺς ἀποστάντας. βαλλόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστρεφε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέλεσι προσέπεμπεν ἀνὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ, καὶ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν αὐτὸς ἐς Τίβυρον ἐξῄει, σκευὴν ἔχων τὴν συνήθη τοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐξιοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη σαφὴς ἦν ὁ πόλεμος, Δέκμου τὴν Κελτικὴν οὐ μεθιέντος.

46. Δεῦρο δὲ ὄντι ἥ τε βουλὴ σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον· οἱ καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὁρκοῦντα τοὺς παρόντας οἱ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πάλαι στρατευσαμένων συνδραμόντας (πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἦν) συνώμνυον ἑκόντες οὐκ ἐκλείψειν τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πίστιν, ὡς ἀπορῆσαι, τίνες ἦσαν, οἳ πρὸ ὀλίγου παρὰ τὴν Καίσαρος ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἀρίμινον προεπέμπετο, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἀρχή. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, χωρίς γε τῶν νεολέκτων, τρία τέλη τὰ ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετάπεμπτα (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφῖκτο), ἐξεστρατευμένων δὲ ἕν, οἳ καὶ γηρῶντες ὅμως ἐδόκουν νεοσυλλόγων ἀμείνους ἐς τὸ διπλάσιον εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ τέσσαρα ἐγίγνετο τέλη γεγυμνασμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσον ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῖς ἐπίκουρον

and espoused the side of Octavian. Disconcerted as he was he entered the senate-house, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and thence to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions he forwarded 500 drachmas per man. With the soldiers he had with him he marched to Tibur, taking the equipment customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul. CHAP. VII

46. While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the knights, and the most influential plebeians, came there to do him honour. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a goodly number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not fail in friendship and fidelity to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little before, had decried Antony at Octavian's public meeting.

With this brilliant send-off Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the remainder had now arrived). There was also one of discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the helpers who usually Antony departs to Cisalpine Gaul

CAP. VII

ἄλλο ἔπεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος φρουρὰ καὶ τὰ νεόλεκτα. Λεπιδός τε ἔχων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τέσσαρα τέλη καὶ Ἀσίνιος Πολλίων δύο καὶ Πλάγκος ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ Κελτικῇ τρία ἐδόκουν αἱρήσεσθαι τὰ Ἀντωνίου.

47. Καίσαρι δὲ ἦν δύο ὁμοίως ἀξιολογώτατα, τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, ἓν δὲ νεοσυλλόγων, δύο δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐστρατευμένων, οὐκ ἐντελῆ μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ὁπλίσεσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν νεοσυλλόγων καὶ ταῦτα ἀναπληρούμενα. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας ἐς Ἄλβην ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ. ἡ δὲ ἐφήδετο μὲν αὖθις Καίσαρι, ὡς ἀπορεῖν καὶ τότε, τίνες ἦσαν, οἳ προύπεμπον Ἀντώνιον· ἤχθοντο δὲ τοῖς τέλεσιν οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετελθοῦσιν. ἐπαινέσαντες δ' ὅμως αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ἔφασαν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς ψηφιεῖσθαι, ὅταν αὐτοῖς αἱ νέαι ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰ πράγματα παρέλθωσιν. ἦν δὲ σαφές, ὅτι χρήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου· στρατὸν δὲ οὐδένα πω ἔχοντες ἴδιον οὐδὲ καταλέξαι χωρὶς ὑπάτων δυνάμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας ἀρχὰς πάντα ἀνετίθεντο.

48. Τῷ Καίσαρι δ' ὁ στρατὸς πελέκεώς τε καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ἐσκευασμένους προσαγαγόντες, ἠξίουν ἑαυτὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφῆναι, πολέμου τε ἡγεμονεύοντα καὶ σφῶν αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἄρχουσι ταχθέντων. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τιμὴν ἐπῄνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον

accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus in Spain with four legions, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, seemed likely to espouse the side of Antony. CHAP. VII

47. Octavian had two legions equally efficient, those which had deserted from Antony to him, also one legion of new levies, and two of veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but these also filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and there communicated with the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that now one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him. It praised them and Octavian nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates should enter upon their duties. It was plain that the Senate would use these forces against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to levy one without consuls, it adjourned all business until the new consuls should come in.[1] Octavian offers his services to the Senate: they are accepted

48. The soldiers of Octavian furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of propraetor, carrying on war and acting as their leader, since they were always marshalled under magistrates. He thanked them for the honour, but referred the matter to the Senate. When they

[1] The new consuls were Hirtius and Pansa. They had been designated in advance by Caesar and succeeded to the office by virtue of the decree of the Senate confirming all Caesar's acts.

CAP. VII

ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀνετίθετο· καὶ βουλομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο χωρεῖν ἀθρόους ἐκώλυε καὶ πρεσβευομένους ἐπεῖχεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιουμένης ταῦτα καθ' ἑαυτήν, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἣν αἴσθωνται τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄκνον.

Διαλυθέντων δὲ μόλις οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐς ὑπεροψίαν αὐτὸν αἰτιωμένων, ἐξελογεῖτο αὐτοῖς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκλίνειν μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀντωνίου δέει καὶ στρατιᾶς ἀπορίᾳ, "μέχρι καθέλωμεν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς φίλοι τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ συγγενεῖς ὄντες δύναμιν αὐτοῖς συναγάγωσιν· ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὑπηρετεῖν ὑποκρίνομαι. μὴ δὴ πρότεροι τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποκαλύπτωμεν, ὡς προλαβοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικαλέσουσιν ὕβριν ἢ βίαν, αἰδεσθεῖσι δ' ἴσως ἐπιδώσουσιν αὐτοὶ δέει, μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν λάβοιμι." τοιάδε εἰπὼν ἐθεᾶτο γυμνάσια τῶν δύο τελῶν τῶν αὐτομολησάντων ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, διαστάντων τε ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ δρώντων ἀφειδῶς ἔργα πολέμου πάντα πλὴν ἐς μόνον θάνατον. ἡσθεὶς οὖν τῇ θέᾳ καὶ τῆς προφάσεως ἐπιβαίνων ἄσμενος, ἑτέρας αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἐπεδίδου καί, εἴ τις πολέμου χρεία γένοιτο, νικήσασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο πεντακισχιλίας. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ δαψιλείᾳ δωρεῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκρατύνετο.

wanted to go before the Senate *en masse* he prevented them and would not even allow them to send messengers, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; "and all the more," he said, "if they know of your zeal and my hesitation." CHAP. VII

They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he disdained them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and the want of an army; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we humble Antony, and until the murderers, who are friends and relatives of the senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this false pretence. If we usurp the office they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing lest I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavian was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing 500 drachmas more to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5000 drachmas each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavian bind these mercenaries to himself.

Military manœuvres of Octavian's legions

VIII

CAP. VIII

49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κελτικῇ τὸν Δέκμον ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν μετιέναι, πειθόμενόν τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ φειδόμενον ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀντέπεμπεν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ κεκομισμένα γράμματα, ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὸν δῆμον εἴκειν οἱ πρέπον ἢ διὰ τὴν βουλὴν Ἀντωνίῳ μᾶλλον. Ἀντωνίου δ' αὐτῷ προθεσμίαν ὁρίζοντος, μεθ' ἣν ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσεται, μακροτέραν ὁ Δέκμος ἐκέλευεν ὁρίζειν ἑαυτῷ, μὴ θᾶσσον γένοιτο τῇ βουλῇ πολέμιος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐμαρῶς ἂν αὐτοῦ κρατήσας ἔτι ὄντος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλεις ἔκρινε προελθεῖν. αἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐδέχοντο. καὶ δείσας ὁ Δέκμος, μὴ οὐδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἔς τινα αὐτῶν ἔτι δύνηται, πλάσσεται γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἐχώρει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὑποδεχομένων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπιόντα πάντων, μέχρι Μουτίνην παροδεύων, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα, τάς τε πύλας ἀπέκλειε καὶ τὰ τῶν Μουτιναίων ἐς τὰς τροφὰς συνέφερεν, ὑποζυγιά τε ὅσα ἦν κατέθυε καὶ ἐταρίχευε δέει, μὴ χρόνιος ἡ πολιορκία γένοιτο, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπέμενε. στρατιὰ δ' ἦν αὐτῷ μονομάχων τε πλῆθος καὶ ὁπλιτῶν τρία τέλη, ὧν ἓν μὲν ἦν ἀρτιστρατεύτων ἀνδρῶν ἔτι ἀπείρων, δύο δέ, ἃ καὶ πρότερον ὑπεστρατευμένα αὐτῷ πιστότατα ἦν. ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ τὴν Μουτίνην ἀπετάφρευέ τε καὶ ἀπετείχιζε.

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Antony orders D. Brutus to withdraw from Cisalpine Gaul

49. Such was the course of events in Italy. In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to withdraw to Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own safety. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest Antony should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing that he for his part should now be unable to enter any of them, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, admitted by all as they thought he was departing, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina.[1] Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of new recruits as yet inexperienced. The other two had served under him before and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, and drew a line of circumvallation around Mutina.

Decimus retires to Mutina and Antony besieges him there

[1] The modern Modena.

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50. Καὶ Δέκμος μὲν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον νουμηνίαν ὕπατοι γενόμενοι Ἵρτιός τε καὶ Πάνσας τὴν βουλὴν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ συνῆγον ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ Κικέρωνος φίλοι πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἠξίουν ἤδη ψηφίσασθαι, τὴν Κελτικὴν ἀκούσης τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἐπιτείχισμα τῆς πατρίδος βιαζόμενον ὅπλοις καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκας αὐτῷ δεδομένον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαγαγόντα· ἐπελέγοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην αὐτοῦ μετὰ Καίσαρα προαίρεσιν, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει φανερῶς δορυφορηθέντος ὑπὸ τοσῶνδε λοχαγῶν καὶ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἄκραν ὅπλοις καὶ συνθήμασι κεχρημένου καὶ τἆλλα σοβαρωτέρου σφίσι φανέντος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐτήσιον ἀρχήν. Λεύκιος δὲ Πείσων, ὁ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτροπεύων, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιφανής, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῷ Πείσωνι δι' αὐτὸν ἢ δι' Ἀντώνιον ἢ κατ' οἰκείαν γνώμην προσετίθεντο, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐς κρίσιν ἠξίουν, ὡς οὐ πάτριον σφίσιν ἀκρίτου καταδικάζειν οὐδ' εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ χθὲς ὑπάτου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας, οὗ γε μάλιστα συνεχεῖς ἐπαίνους ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κικέρων αὐτὸς εἶπε πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τότε μὲν ἀγχώμαλοι ταῖς γνώμαις ἐς νύκτα περιῆλθον, ἅμα δ' ἕῳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνελέγοντο· ἔνθα τῶν Κικερωνείων ἐπιβαρούντων ἐψηφίστο ἂν ὁ Ἀντώνιος πολέμιος, εἰ μὴ τῶν δημάρχων Σάλουιος ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν

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B.C. 43

50. Decimus, then, was besieged: but at Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been performed and in the very temple. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had seized Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to operate against the Thracians. They spoke also of his seeking the supreme power as Caesar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with arms and countersigns, and had borne himself more haughtily in other respects than was befitting a yearly magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interest in his absence, a man among the most illustrious in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, contended that Antony ought to have a trial, that it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, that it was not decent to declare a man an enemy to-day who was a consul yesterday, and especially one whom Cicero himself as well as the rest had so often lavishly praised. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session till night. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day;

Cicero urges that Antony be declared a public enemy

The tribune Salvius interposes in favour of Antony

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ἐκέλευσεν ἀναθέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὁ κωλύων ἀεὶ δυνατώτερος.

51. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Κικερώνειοι καὶ τούτῳ μάλα φορτικῶς ὠνείδιζόν τε καὶ ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐκδραμόντες ἠρέθιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Σάλουιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ἐξέτρεχεν, ἕως ἡ βουλὴ κατέσχε δείσασα, μὴ μεταπείσειε τὸν δῆμον ἐς μνήμην ἀγαγὼν Ἀντωνίου. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν καταγινώσκοντες ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς πρὸ δίκης οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ δεδώκει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σφαγέων δεδιότες ὠργίζοντο πρώτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἀνακινήσαντι τὰ κατ' αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐς αὐτὸν προκατεχρῶντο· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ᾔρεῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμως προκαθελεῖν τὸν Ἀντώνιον. τοιᾶδε μὲν ἡ βουλὴ γνώμῃ τὸν Ἀντώνιον εἶχεν ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀναθέμενοι δὲ τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς ὁ δήμαρχος ἐκέλευεν, ἐψηφίσαντο ὅμως Δέκμον τε ἐπαινέσαι οὐκ ἐκστάντα Ἀντωνίῳ τῆς Κελτικῆς, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις Ἱρτίῳ καὶ Πάνσᾳ Καίσαρι συστρατηγεῖν οὗ νῦν ἔχει στρατοῦ, ἐπίχρυσόν τε αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τεθῆναι καὶ γνώμην αὐτὸν ἐσφέρειν ἐν τοῖς ὑπατικοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν αὐτὴν μετιέναι τοῦ νόμου θᾶσσον ἔτεσι δέκα, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου δοθῆναι τοῖς τέλεσι τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσιν, ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ψηφισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ὡς

for among the magistrates the one who has the veto always prevails. CHAP. VIII

51. The Ciceronians heaped gross reproaches and insults on Salvius for this, and hastening out tried to excite the people against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, which feared lest he should cause the people to change by recalling Antony to their memory; for the senators well knew that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the murderers they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously called in the help of Octavian against him. Although Octavian knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote on him was adjourned by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavian to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal period, and voted from the public treasury to the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he promised to give them if they should be victorious. Debate in the Senate

After passing these decrees they adjourned, that

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τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔργῳ διὰ τῶνδε εἰδέναι πολέμιον ἐψηφισμένον καὶ τὸν δήμαρχον ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντεροῦντα· Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ παῖς ἔτι μειράκιον οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι καὶ φίλοι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς τὰς τῶν δυνατῶν οἰκίας διέθεον ἱκετεύοντες καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰόντας ἠνώχλουν, ῥιπτούμενοί τε πρὸ ποδῶν σὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς καὶ μελαίνῃ στολῇ παρὰ θύραις ἐκβοῶντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰφνιδίου γενομένης ἐκάμπτοντο. δείσας δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐβουληγόρησεν ὧδε.

52. "Ἃ μὲν ἔδει γνῶναι περὶ Ἀντωνίου, ἐχθὲς ἔγνωμεν· οἷς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμῶμεν, τούτοις ἐψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον. Σάλουιον δὲ τὸν μόνον ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ἢ πάντων εἶναι χρὴ συνετώτερον ἢ φιλίᾳ τάδε πράσσειν ἢ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἀμαθίᾳ. ὧν τὸ μὲν αἴσχιστόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, εἰ δόξομεν ἀσυνετώτεροι πάντες ἑνὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ Σαλουίῳ, εἰ φιλίαν τῶν κοινῶν προτιμῴη· ἀμαθῶς δ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τῶν παρόντων ἔδει πιστεύειν ὑπάτοις ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δημάρχοις τοῖς συνάρχουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς, οἳ τοσοίδε τὴν ἀξίωσίν τε καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες διά τε ἡλικίαν καὶ ἐμπειρίαν ὑπὲρ τὸν Σάλουιον, καταγινώκομεν Ἀντωνίου. ἔστι δ' ἔν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ δίκαις αἰεὶ τὸ πλέον δικαιότερον. εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῄζει τὰς αἰτίας

Antony might in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and beseeching them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the senate-house, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. Cicero, fearing the result, addressed the Senate as follows :— CHAP. VIII

Cicero's speech

52. "What decision ought to be reached concerning Antony we determined yesterday When we bestowed honours on his enemies we thereby voted him an enemy. Salvius, who alone interrupted the proceedings, must either have been wiser than all the rest, or moved to do so by private friendship, or by ignorance of present circumstances. It would be most disgraceful to us, on the one hand, if all should seem to know less than one, and to Salvius, on the other hand, if he should prefer private friendship to the public weal. If he is not well acquainted with the present circumstances he ought to repose confidence in the consuls, rather than himself, in the praetors, in his fellow-tribunes, and the other senators, so imposing in dignity and in numbers, so much his superiors in age and experience, who condemn Antony. In our elections and in our jury trials justice is ever on the side of the majority. If it be needful still to acquaint him with the reasons

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μαθεῖν, λελέξεται διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐν ἀναμνήσει, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῶν.

"Τὰ χρήματα ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἀποθανόντος ἐσφετερίσατο Ἀντώνιος. Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτυχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ὥρμησε χωρὶς ἡμῶν. τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκας λαβὼν ἀντὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἐπήγαγεν ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ἑκάτερα τούτων αἰτήσας ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ οὐ λαβὼν ἔπραξε δι' ἑαυτοῦ. σπεῖραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ βασιλικὴν συνέταξεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει σιδηροφοροῦντες ἄνδρες ἐδορυφόρουν τε καὶ ἐννυκτοφυλάκουν ὑπὸ συνθήματι. ἦγεν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντα, συντομώτερον ἐφιέμενος ὧν ἐπενόει Καῖσαρ· Καίσαρος δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ νέου σὺν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ φθάσαντος ἔδεισε καὶ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐτράπετο ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁρμητήριον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡμῶν. - .

53. "Τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταπλησσόμενος, ἵνα πρὸς μηθὲν αὐτῷ παρανομοῦντι κατοκνῇ, διεκλήρωσεν ἐς θάνατον, οὐ στασιάσαντας ἢ φυλακὴν ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ' ὧν μόνων ὁ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τὴν οὕτως ὠμὴν ὥρισε τιμωρίαν, καὶ ὅμως αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ὀλίγοι μόλις ἐν τοῖς πάνυ κινδύνοις ἐχρήσαντο ὑπ' ἀνάγκης· ὁ δὲ φωνῆς ἢ γέλωτος ἦγεν ἐς θάνατον τοὺς πολίτας καὶ θάνατον οὐ τῶν ἐλεγχθέντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαλαχόντων. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν δυνηθέντες ἀπέστησαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς ὡς εὖ

for our action I will briefly recount the principal ones by way of reminder. CHAP. VIII

"At Caesar's death Antony possessed himself of our money. Having been invested with the government of Macedonia by us he seized upon that of Cisalpine Gaul without our authority. Having received an army to operate against the Thracians he brought it into Italy against us instead. Each of these powers he asked from us for his own secret motives, and when they were refused he acted on his own authority. At Brundusium he organized a royal cohort for his own use and openly made men-at-arms his private guards and night-watchmen, serving under a countersign. The whole remainder of the army he led from Brundusium to the city, aiming by a shorter path at the same designs that Caesar contemplated. Being anticipated by the younger Caesar and his army he became alarmed and turned his course to the Gallic province as a convenient point of attack on us, because Caesar had used it as his base when he made himself our master.

53. "In order to intimidate the soldiers to do every unlawful act he should order, he decimated them although they had not revolted and had not abandoned their watch or their ranks in time of war, for which offences alone military law allows such cruel punishment, which only a few generals have visited upon their soldiers and with reluctance, in cases of extreme peril, as a matter of necessity. These citizens Antony put to death for a word or a laugh; a death, moreover, of men not regularly condemned but merely chosen by lot. For this reason those who could do so revolted from him, and

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πράξασι δωρεὰς χθὲς ἐψηφίσασθε· οἱ δὲ οὐ δυνηθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι δεδιότες συναδικοῦσι καὶ χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ χώραν ὑμετέραν πολέμιοι καὶ πολιορκοῦσι στρατὸν ὑμέτερον καὶ στρατηγὸν ὑμέτερον, ᾧ γράφετε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐμμένειν τῇ Κελτικῇ, Ἀντώνιος δ' ἐξιέναι κελεύει. πότερον οὖν ἡμεῖς Ἀντώνιον ψηφιζόμεθα εἶναι πολέμιον, ἢ Ἀντώνιος ἡμᾶς ἤδη πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, μέχρι ἄρα Δέκμου πεσόντος ἥ τε χώρα τοσήδε οὖσα καὶ ὅμορος ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ὁ Δέκμου στρατὸς ἐς τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίδας Ἀντωνίῳ προσγένηται. τότε γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ δήμαρχος ψηφιεῖται πολέμιον, ὅταν ἡμῶν γένηται δυνατώτερος."

54. Ταῦτ' ἔτι τοῦ Κικέρωνος λέγοντος οἱ φίλοι θορυβοῦντες ἀπαύστως οὐδενὶ ἀντειπεῖν ἐπέτρεπον, μέχρι Πείσωνος αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἥ τε ἄλλη βουλὴ κατ' αἰδῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσύχασε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἠνέσχοντο. καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Πείσων· "ὁ μὲν νόμος, ὦ βουλή, δικαιοῖ τὸν εὐθυνόμενον αὐτὸν ἀκοῦσαί τε τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογησάμενον ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ κρίνεσθαι· καὶ τὸν δεινότατον εἰπεῖν Κικέρωνα ἐς ταῦτα προκαλοῦμαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀκνεῖ μὲν παρόντος Ἀντωνίου κατηγορεῖν, ἀπόντος δ' ἐγκλήματά τινα εἶπεν ὡς μέγιστα ἐκ πάντων καὶ ἀναμφίλογα ὄντα, παρῆλθον ἐγὼ δείξων αὐτὰ ψευδῆ βραχυτάταις ἀπο-

you yesterday voted them a donative as well-doers. CHAP. VIII
Those who could not desert joined him in wrong-doing under the influence of fear, marched against our province as enemies, and besieged our army and our general, to whom you send letters directing him to hold the province, while Antony now orders him to evacuate it. Are we voting Antony an enemy, or is he already making war against us? And these things our tribune is still ignorant of, and will remain so until Decimus is overthrown and this great province on our border, together with the army of Decimus, is added to the resources with which Antony hopes to attack us. I suppose that the tribune will vote Antony an enemy only as soon as he becomes our master." [1]

54. While Cicero was yet speaking his friends broke forth in such tumultuous applause that for a long time nobody could be heard on the other side, until finally Piso came forward, when the senators, out of respect for him, became silent and even the Ciceronians restrained themselves. Then Piso said: "Our law, Senators, requires that the accused shall himself hear the charge preferred against him and shall be judged after he has made his own defence; and for the truth of this I appeal to Cicero, our greatest orator. Since, however, he hesitates to accuse Antony when present, but brings against him in his absence certain charges which he considers of the greatest gravity, and not open to doubt, I have come forward to show, in the fewest words, that these charges are

Piso defends Antony

[1] The fifth Philippic of Cicero was delivered in the Senate on the first day of January, 43, and the sixth to a popular assembly on the fourth day of the same month. They bear only slight resemblance to this speech.

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κρισεσι. τὰ χρήματά φησιν Ἀντώνιον τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτὴν σφετερίσασθαι, τοῦ μὲν νόμου τὸν κλέπτην οὐ πολέμιον ἀποφαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ ὡρισμένῃ δίκῃ ζημιοῦντος, Βρούτου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρα κτείναντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τόδε κατηγορήσαντος, ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ χρήματα διεφόρησε καὶ κενὰ καταλέλοιπε τὰ ταμιεῖα, Ἀντωνίου δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ζητεῖν αὐτὰ ψηφισαμένου καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποδεξαμένων τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ κεκυρωκότων καὶ γέρας τοῖς μηνύουσι δεκάτην ὑπεσχημένων, ἣν διπλασιάσομεν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τις Ἀντώνιον περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοι τι διελέγχειν.

55. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων· τὴν δὲ Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐψηφισάμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀντωνίῳ, ἔδωκε δὲ ὁ δῆμος νόμῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ Κικέρωνος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ ἕτερα πολλάκις ἔδωκε καὶ τήνδε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὴν Καίσαρι πάλαι. μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ νόμου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ μετιόντα, Δέκμῳ μὴ παραχωροῦντι πολεμεῖν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὶ Θρᾳκῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι κινουμένων ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. ἀλλὰ Κικέρων Δέκμον μὲν οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον, ἐναντία τῷ νόμῳ τιθέμενον ὅπλα, Ἀντώνιον δὲ πολέμιον, τῷ νόμῳ συμμαχοῦντα. εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν αἰτιᾶται τὸν νόμον, τοὺς θεμένους αἰτιᾶται· οὓς ἔδει μεταπείθειν, οὐχὶ συνθέμενον ὑβρίζειν, οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν Δέκμῳ μὲν πιστεύειν, ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, ὅ τι ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν. οὐ γὰρ εὖ βουλευομένων ἐστὶ

false. He says that Antony converted the public money to his own use after Caesar's death. The law declares such a person to be a thief, not a public enemy, and limits his punishment accordingly. After Brutus had killed Caesar he accused the latter before the people of plundering the public money and leaving the treasury empty. Soon afterward Antony proposed a decree to investigate these matters and you adopted and confirmed his motion and promised a reward of one-tenth to informers, which reward we will double if anybody will prove that Antony had any part in the fraud. CHAP. VIII

55. "So much for the charge in reference to money. We did not vote the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, but the people gave it to him by a law, Cicero being present; just as other provinces had often been given, and as this same governorship had previously been given to Caesar. It was a part of this law that, when Antony should arrive at the province given to him, if Decimus would not yield it Antony should declare war and lead the army into the Gallic province against him, instead of using it against the Thracians, who were still quiet. But Cicero does not consider Decimus, who is entrenching himself against the law, an enemy, although he considers Antony an enemy who is fighting on the side of the law. He who accuses the law itself accuses the authors of the law, whom he ought to change by persuasion, not to insult after having himself agreed with them. He ought not to entrust the province to Decimus, whom the people drove out of the city on account of the murder, while refusing to entrust to Antony what the people gave to him. It is not the part of good

CAP. VIII διαστασιάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐν καιροῖς μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνοις οὐδὲ ἀμνημονεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἦν, τὸ κρίνειν τὰ φίλια καὶ πολέμια. μόνος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πάλαι νόμων ὁ δῆμος αὐτοκράτωρ εἰρήνης πέρι καὶ πολέμου σκοπεῖν. ὧν μηδὲν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιστήσειε μηδὲ ἐπιμηνίσειεν ἡμῖν, προστάτου λαβόμενος.

56. "Ἀλλ' ἔκτεινέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. αὐτοκράτωρ γε ὢν καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεχειροτονημένος. καὶ οὐδείς πω τῶνδε λόγον ὑπέσχεν αὐτοκράτωρ. οὐ γὰρ ἔκριναν οἱ νόμοι λυσιτελήσειν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι· οὐδ' ἔστιν ἀπειθείας τι χεῖρον ἐν στρατοπέδῳ, δι' ἣν καὶ νικῶντές τινες ἀνῃρέθησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς εὔθυνε τοὺς ἀνελόντας. οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν συγγενὴς οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ Κικέρων ἐπιμέμφεται καὶ φόνου κατηγορῶν πολέμιον κοινὸν ἀντὶ τῶν ὡρισμένων ἐπιτιμίων τοῖς φονεῦσι τίθεται. Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὅπως τε ἄτακτον ἦν καὶ ὅπως κατεφρόνει, δηλοῖ καὶ τὰ μεταστάντα αὐτοῦ δύο τέλη, ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε Ἀντωνίῳ στρατεύειν, αὐτομολήσαντα δὲ παρὰ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς νόμους, οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καίσαρα, ὁ Κικέρων ὅμως ἐπῄνεσε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθὲς ἐμισθοδότησε· καὶ μή ποτε ὑμᾶς λυπήσειε τὸ παράδειγμα. Κικέρωνα δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀνωμαλίαν ἐξέστησεν ἡ ἔχθρα· κατηγορεῖ γὰρ Ἀντωνίου τυραννίδα καὶ κόλασιν στρατιωτῶν, ἀεὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων τὰ στρατεύματα θεραπευόντων, οὐ κολαζόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ὤκνησεν οὐδε

counsellors to be at variance with the people, especially in times of danger, or to forget that this very power of deciding who are friends and who are enemies formerly belonged to the people. According to the ancient laws the people are the sole arbiters of peace and war. Heaven grant that they may not be reminded of this, and consequently be angry with us when they have found a leader. CHAP. VIII

56. "But it is said that Antony put certain soldiers to death. Being commander-in-chief he was empowered to do so by you. No commander has ever yet rendered an account of such matters. The laws do not consider it expedient that the general should be answerable to his soldiers. There is nothing worse in an army than disobedience, on account of which some soldiers have been put to death even after a victory, and no one called to account those who killed them. None of their relatives complain now, but Cicero complains and while accusing Antony of murder stigmatizes him as a public enemy, instead of calling for the punishment prescribed for murderers. The desertion of two of his legions shows how insubordinate and arrogant Antony's army was—legions which you have voted that he should command, and who deserted, in violation of military law, not to you, but to Octavian. Nevertheless Cicero praised them and yesterday proposed that they be paid out of the public treasury. Heaven grant that this example may not plague you hereafter. Hatred has betrayed Cicero into inconsistency, for he accused Antony of aiming at supreme power and yet punishing his soldiers, whereas such conspirators are always lenient, not severe, toward the men serving under them. As Cicero does not

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τὴν ἄλλην Ἀντωνίου μετὰ Καίσαρα ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννικὴν διαβαλεῖν, φέρε πύθωμαι καθ' ἕκαστον ὧδε.

57. *"Τίνα ἔκτεινεν ὡς τύραννος ἄκριτον ὁ νῦν κινδυνεύων ἀκρίτως; τίνα δ' ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως; τίνα δὲ ὑμῖν διέβαλεν; ἢ καθ' ἕνα μὲν τοιόσδε ἦν, ἐπεβούλευε δὲ πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ; πότε, ὦ Κικέρων; ὅτε τὴν ἀμνηστίαν ἐκύρου τῶν γεγονότων; ἢ ὅτε μηδένα διώκεσθαι φόνου; ἢ ὅτε ζήτησιν εἶναι τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων; ἢ ὅτε Πομπήιον τὸν Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων αὐτῷ διέλυε περιουσίαν; ἢ ὅτε τὸν Ψευδομάριον λαβὼν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐπῃνέσατε πάντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον δι' ὑμᾶς οὐ διέβαλε Κικέρων; ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζετο μὴ εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ δικτάτορος μηδένα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν, ἢ νηποινεὶ πρὸς τοῦ θέλοντος ἀποθνῄσκειν; ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ἃ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἡμῖν Ἀντώνιος ἐν δύο μησίν, οἷς μόνοις ἐπέμεινε τῇ πόλει μετὰ Καίσαρα, ἄρτι μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοὺς φονέας διώκοντος, ἄρτι δὲ ὑμῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσομένοις· οὗ τίνα καιρόν, εἰ πονηρὸς ἦν, ἀμείνονα εἶχεν;*

"Ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἐναντία· οὐκ ἦρχε. πῶς; οὐ μόνος ἦρχεν ἀποδημήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρίας Δολοβέλλα; οὐ

hesitate to arraign as tyrannical all the rest of Antony's administration since Caesar's death, come, let me examine his acts one by one. CHAP. VIII

57. "Whom has Antony put to death in a tyrannical manner without trial—he who is now in danger of being condemned himself without trial? Whom has he banished from the city? Whom has he slandered in our presence? Or, if innocent toward us individually, has he conspired against all of us collectively? When, Cicero? Was it when he carried through the Senate the act of amnesty for the past? Was it when he abstained from prosecuting anybody for the murder? Was it when he moved an investigation of the public accounts? Was it when he proposed the recall of Sextus Pompeius the son of your Pompeius, and payment for his father's confiscated property out of the public treasury? Was it when he seized that conspirator, the false Marius, and put him to death, and you all applauded, and because you did so it was the only act of Antony that Cicero did not calumniate? Was it when he brought in a decree that nobody should ever propose a dictatorship, or vote for it, and that anybody disobeying the decree might be killed with impunity by anyone who wished? These are the public acts that Antony performed for us during two months, the only months that he remained in the city after Caesar's death, the very time when the people were pursuing the murderers and you were apprehensive of the future. If he were a villain what better opportunity could he have had?

"But, you will say, the fact is quite the other way: he was not in authority. What? Did he not exercise the sole authority after Dolabella departed

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στρατὸν εἶχεν ἕτοιμον ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένον; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλάκει τὴν πόλιν; οὐκ ἐνυκτοφυλακεῖτο διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλήν; οὐ πρόφασιν εἶχε τὴν σφαγὴν Καίσαρος, φίλου τέ οἱ καὶ εὐεργέτου ὄντος καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μάλιστα ὑπεραρέσκοντος; οὐχ ἑτέραν εἶχεν οἰκείαν, ἐπιβεβουλευμένος ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ὧν ἔκτεινε μὲν ἃ ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδένα, συνέγνω δέ, ὅσον εἶχε μέτρου καλῶς, καὶ διδομένας αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε δοθῆναι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἀναμφίλογα Κικέρωνος ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκλήματα ὁρᾶτε· 58. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καὶ μαντεύματα ἐπάγουσιν, ὡς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔμελλε μὲν τὸν στρατὸν ἄξειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, δείσειε δὲ προλαβόντος αὐτὴν ἑτέρῳ στρατῷ Καίσαρος, πῶς οὖν, εἰ τὸ μελλῆσαι μόνον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς πολεμίου, τὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσαντα ἡμῖν ἀσήμαντον οὐχ ἡγεῖται πολέμιον; πῶς δ', εἴπερ ἤθελεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, οὐκ ἀφίκετο; ἢ τρισμυρίους ἔχων συντεταγμένους ἔδεισε τρισχιλίους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντας ἀνόπλους, ἀσυντάκτους, ἐς μόνας Καίσαρι διαλλαγὰς συνελθόντας καὶ εὐθύς, ὡς ἔγνωσαν πολεμεῖν αἱρούμενον, καταλιπόντας; εἰ δὲ μετὰ τρισμυρίων ἐλθεῖν ἔδεισε, πῶς ἦλθε μετὰ μόνων χιλίων; μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Τίβυρον ἐξιόντα πόσοι προεπέμπομεν καὶ πόσοι συνώμυμεν οὐχ ὁρκούμενοι; πόσους δὲ Κικέρων ἐπαίνους ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀνάλισκε; πῶς δ' αὐτὸς Ἀντώνιος, εἴ τι τοιοῦτον

for Syria? Did he not keep an armed force that you gave him in readiness in the city? Did he not patrol the city by night? Was he not guarded at night against any conspiracy of his enemies? Did he not have an excuse for this in the murder of Caesar, his friend and benefactor, the man most beloved by the common people? Did he not have another of a personal kind in the fact that the murderers conspired against his life also? Yet none of them did he kill or banish, but pardoned them what he could in decency, and did not begrudge them the governorships that were offered to them. CHAP. VIII

"You behold then, Romans, these very grave and indisputable charges of Cicero against Antony. 58. But since in addition to charges, surmises are introduced to the effect that Antony was about to lead an army to the city, but became alarmed because Octavian had anticipated him with another army, how does it happen that, when the mere intention to do this makes a man an enemy, the one who actually comes and encamps alongside of us without emblems of authority is not regarded by Cicero as an enemy? What would have prevented Antony from coming if he had wanted to? With 30,000 troops in line was he afraid of Octavian's 3000, half-armed, unorganized, who had come together merely to gain his friendship, and who left him as soon as they knew that he had chosen them for war? If Antony was afraid to come with 30,000 how did he dare to come with only 1000? With these what a crowd of us accompanied him to Tibur! What a crowd of us voluntarily joined the soldiers in taking the oath of fidelity to him! What praises did Cicero lavish on his acts and virtues! If Antony himself contemplated any such

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ἐγίγνωσκε, τὰ ἐνέχυρα τὰ νῦν ὄντα πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου κατέλιπεν ἡμῖν; μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μειράκιον υἱόν; οἳ κλαίουσι καὶ δεδίασι νῦν οὐ τὴν Ἀντωνίου πολιτείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δυναστείαν.

59. "Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξενήνοχα δεῖγμα τῆς Ἀντωνίου τε ἀπολογίας καὶ Κικέρωνος μεταβολῆς· παραίνεσιν δ' ἐπιθήσω τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι μήτε ἐς τὸν δῆμον μήτε ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἁμαρτάνειν μηδὲ ἔχθρας καὶ κινδύνους ἐπάγειν τοῖς κοινοῖς, νοσούσης ἔτι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀπορούσης τῶν ὀξέως ἀμυνούντων, δύναμιν δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει συστησαμένους, πρὶν θορυβῆσαί τι τῶν ἔξω, τὴν ἀρκέσουσαν, τότε τοῖς ἑκάστοτε ἐπείγουσιν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ κρίνειν, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε, δυναμένους τὸ κεκριμένον τελεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔσται ταῦτα; ἐὰν Ἀντώνιον μὲν ἐῶμεν ἐς πρόφασιν ἢ χάριν τοῦ δήμου τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔχειν, Δέκμον δὲ μετὰ τριῶν ὧν ἔχει τελῶν ἐνθάδε καλῶμεν καὶ ἀφικόμενον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἐς Μακεδονίαν, τὰ τέλη κατασχόντες. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα δύο πρὸς ἡμᾶς μετέστη, καθάπερ φησὶ Κικέρων, καὶ τάδε καλῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω γὰρ πέντε τελῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ψηφιζοίμεθα ἄν, ὅ τι δοκιμάζοιμεν, ἐγκρατῶς, ἐς οὐδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐλπίδας αἰωρούμενοι.

60. "Καὶ τάδε μὲν εἴρηται τοῖς ἄνευ φθόνου καὶ φιλονικίας ἀκροωμένοις· τοῖς δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπαρασκεύως δι' οἰκείαν ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονικίαν ἐκθορυβοῦσιν ὑμᾶς κριτὰς παραινῶ μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προπετεῖς ἐς ἄνδρας μεγίστους τε καὶ

thing [as invasion] why did he leave as pledges in our hands his mother, his wife, and his grown up son, who are even now at the door of the Senate-house weeping and fearful, not on account of the policy of Antony, but of the overwhelming power of his enemies. CHAP. VIII

59. "These facts I have now brought before you as proof of Antony's defence and of Cicero's fickleness. I will add an exhortation to right-minded men, not to do injustice to the people or to Antony, not to expose the public interests to new enmities and dangers while the commonwealth is sick and in want of timely defenders, but to establish a sufficient force in the city before breeding disorder outside, to provide against attacks from every quarter, and to come to such decisions as you please when you are able to carry them into effect. How shall these ends be accomplished? By allowing Antony, as a matter of policy, or for the sake of the people, to have Cisalpine Gaul. Call Decimus thence with his three legions, and when he comes send him to Macedonia, retaining his legions here. If the two legions that deserted from Antony deserted to us, as Cicero says, let us summon them also from Octavian to the city. Thus with five legions sustaining us we might pass such decrees as we think best with entire confidence, depending on the favour of no man.

60. "I have addressed these words to men who listen to me without malice or the spirit of contention. Those who would excite you heedlessly and inconsiderately on account of private enmity and private strife I exhort not to come to hasty and rash decisions against the most important personages,

CAP. VIII στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντας ἱκανῆς μηδὲ ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμοῦν, ἀναμιμνησκομένους Μαρκίου τε τοῦ Κοριολανοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔναγχος δὴ ταῦτα Καίσαρος, ὃν στρατιᾶς ὁμοίως ἡγούμενον καὶ σπονδὰς ἀρίστας ἂν ἡμῖν γενομένας προτείνοντα προπετῶς πολέμιον ψηφισάμενοι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιον ἠναγκάσαμεν γενέσθαι, φείδεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρὸ βραχέος τοῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς Καίσαρος ἐπιδραμόντος, μὴ ἐς ὕβριν αὐτοῦ δοκῶμεν τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν διδόναι, Δέκμον δὲ ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου νόμον ἀκυροῖ, καὶ Ἀντώνιον πολέμιον κρίνειν, ὅτι τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ δήμου. ὧν τοὺς μὲν εὖ βουλευομένους ἐνθυμεῖσθαι χρὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔτι πλανωμένων, τοὺς δ' ὑπάτους καὶ δημάρχους πλείονας κινδυνεύουσι τοῖς κοινοῖς γενέσθαι."

61. Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πείσων ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ ὠνείδιζεν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐφόβει καὶ σαφῶς αἴτιος ἐγένετο μὴ ψηφισθῆναι πολέμιον Ἀντώνιον. οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε τῆς Κελτικῆς αὐτὸν ἄρχειν· οἱ γὰρ τῶν σφαγέων φίλοι τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπὸ δέους ἐκώλυσαν, μὴ τοῦ πολέμου λυθέντος ἐπεξέλθοι τὸν φόνον Καίσαρι συναλλαγείς· διὸ καὶ στασιάζειν αἰεὶ παρεσκεύαζον Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον. ἐψηφίσαντο δ' Ἀντωνίῳ προαγορεῦσαι Μακεδονίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἔχειν· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐντολάς, εἴτε λαθόντες εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες, Κικέρωνα συγγράψαι τε καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι προσέταξαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν γνώμην παραφέρων συνέγραφεν ὧδε· Μουτίνης Ἀντώνιον εὐθὺς ἀπανίστασθαι

who command strong armies, and not to force them into war against their will. Remember Marcius Coriolanus. Recall the recent doings of Caesar, whom we rashly voted an enemy while he was in like manner leading an army and offering us the fairest terms of peace, whereby we forced him to be an enemy in deed. Have regard for the people who were lately pursuing Caesar's murderers, lest we seem to insult them by giving those murderers the governorship of provinces, by praising Decimus for nullifying the people's law, and by voting Antony an enemy because he accepted the Gallic province from the people. For which reasons the well-wishers of the country ought to take thought for the erring, and the consuls and tribunes ought to multiply their activities [1] in view of the public dangers."

CHAP. VIII

61. Thus did Piso defend Antony, reproaching his enemies and alarming them. He was evidently the cause of their not voting Antony an enemy. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in securing for him the governorship of the Gallic province. The friends and relatives of the murderers prevented it, fearing lest, at the end of the war, Antony should join Octavian in avenging the murder, for which reason they meant to keep Octavian and Antony always at variance with each other. They voted to offer Antony Macedonia instead of the Gallic province, and they ordered, either heedlessly or designedly, that the other commands of the Senate be reduced to writing by Cicero and delivered to the ambassadors. Cicero altered the decree and wrote as follows: "Antony must raise the siege of Mutina forthwith,

The Senate orders Antony to desist from the siege of Mutina

[1] The text is probably corrupt. Compare perhaps the French *se multiplier*: "to be a host in oneself."

CAP. VIII καὶ Δέκμῳ τὴν Κελτικὴν μεθιέναι, ἐντὸς δὲ Ῥουβίκωνος ποταμοῦ, τοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁρίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς Κελτικῆς, ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ γενόμενον ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἅπαντα τῇ βουλῇ. οὕτω μὲν φιλονίκως τε καὶ ψευδῶς τὰς ἐντολὰς ὁ Κικέρων συνέγραφεν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἔχθρας τοσῆσδε ὑπούσης, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ δαιμονίου τὰ κοινὰ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἐνοχλοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ Κικέρωνι κακῶς ἐπινοοῦντος. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρεβωνίου λειψάνων κομισθέντων καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως γνωσθείσης ἀκριβέστερον, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἡ βουλὴ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἔκρινεν εἶναι πολέμιον.

62. Οἱ δ' ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένοι πρέσβεις, αἰδούμενοι τῶν ἐντολῶν τὸ ἀλλόκοτον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἔφασαν, αὐτὰς δ' ἐπέδοσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος σὺν ὀργῇ πολλὰ ἔς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα ἀπερρίπτει, θαυμάζων, ὅτι Καίσαρα μὲν τὸν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελήσαντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡγοῦνται τύραννον ἢ βασιλέα, Κικέρωνα δὲ οὐ νομίζουσιν, ὃν Καῖσαρ μὲν εἶλε πολέμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, Κικέρων δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνου φονέας προτίθησι τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ Δέκμον Καίσαρι μὲν ὄντα φίλον ἐμίσει, ἀνδροφόνον δὲ αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ τῷ μὲν παρ' οὐδενὸς μετὰ Καίσαρα λαβόντι τὴν Κελτικὴν προστίθεται, τῷ δὲ παρὰ

relinquish Cisalpine Gaul to Decimus, withdraw to the hither side of the river Rubicon (which forms the boundary between Italy and the province) before a specified day, and submit himself in all things to the Senate." Thus provokingly and falsely did Cicero write the orders of the Senate, not by reason of an underlying hostility, as it seems, but at the instigation of some evil spirit that was goading the republic to revolution and meditating destruction to Cicero himself.[1] The remains of Trebonius having been lately brought home and the indignities visited upon him more carefully inquired into, the Senate with little opposition declared Dolabella a public enemy. CHAP VIII

62. The ambassadors who had been sent to Antony, ashamed of the extraordinary character of the orders, said nothing, but simply delivered them to him. Antony in his wrath indulged in many invectives against the Senate and Cicero. "He was astonished," he said, "that they should consider Caesar (the man who had contributed most to the Roman sway) a tyrant and a king, and did not so consider Cicero, whom Caesar had captured in war and whose life he had spared, while Cicero in return now prefers Caesar's assassins to his friends. He hated Decimus as long as the latter was the friend of Caesar, but loves him now that he has become his murderer. He favours a man who took the province of Gaul after Caesar's death without authority, and makes war on one who received it at the hands of Antony's reply

[1] The statement that Cicero falsified the message of the Senate to Antony is untrue. Cicero was vehemently opposed to sending ambassadors to Antony, and in favour of an immediate declaration of war and the levying of troops against him.

CAP. VIII τοῦ δήμου λαβόντι πολεμεῖ. "τῶν τε ἐψηφισμένων μοι τελῶν τοῖς μὲν αὐτομολήσασι γέρα δίδωσι, τοῖς δὲ παραμείνασιν οὔ, διαφθείρων οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ τῇ πόλει τὰ στρατιωτικά. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις ἀμνηστίαν ἔδωκεν, ἣ κἀγὼ συνεθέμην διὰ δύο ἄνδρας αἰδεσίμους· Ἀντώνιον δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἡγεῖται πολεμίους, ὅτι τῶν δεδομένων ἐχόμεθα. ἥδε γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθὴς αἰτία· κἂν ἀποστῶ τῆς Κελτικῆς, οὔτε πολέμιος οὔτε μόναρχός εἰμι. ταῦτα μέντοι μαρτύρομαι λύσειν τὴν οὐκ ἀγαπωμένην ἀμνηστίαν."

63. Τοιάδε πολλὰ εἰπὼν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀντέγραφε τῷ δόγματι τῇ μὲν βουλῇ πεισθῆναι ἂν ἐς ἅπαντα ὡς πατρίδι, Κικέρωνι δὲ τῷ συγγράψαντι τὰς ἐντολὰς ὧδε ἀποκρίνεσθαι· "ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκέ μοι τὴν Κελτικὴν νόμῳ, καὶ Δέκμον ἀπειθοῦντα τῷ νόμῳ μετελεύσομαι καὶ τοῦ φόνου δίκας ἀπαιτήσω μόνον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων, ἵνα καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καθαρεύσῃ ποτὲ τοῦ μύσους, ἐμπιπλαμένη νῦν διὰ Κικέρωνα Δέκμῳ βοηθοῦντα." τάδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος εἶπέ τε καὶ ἀντέγραψε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιον καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατόν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταῖεν αὐτοῦ· Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ὑπολοίπων στρατῶν Μᾶρκον Βροῦτον ἄρχειν, μέχρι κατασταίη τὰ κοινά. ὁ δὲ ἴδιόν τε εἶχεν ἤδη στρατὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου τινὰ προσει-

the people. He gives rewards to those who deserted from the legions voted to me, and none to those who remain faithful, thus impairing military discipline not more to my disadvantage than to that of the state. He has given amnesty to the murderers, to which I have assented on account of two men who deserve respect. He holds Dolabella and myself as enemies because we keep what was given to us. That is the real reason. And if I but withdraw from Gaul, then I am neither enemy nor autocrat! I declare that I will bring to naught the amnesty with which they are not satisfied." CHAP. VIII

63. After saying much more to the same purpose Antony wrote his reply to the decree, saying that he would obey the Senate in all respects as the voice of his country, but to Cicero, who wrote the orders, he made the following answer: "The people gave me the province of Gaul by a law, and I shall prosecute Decimus for not obeying the law, and I shall visit with punishment for the murder him alone, as representative of them all, in order that the Senate, which now participates in the wickedness by reason of Cicero's support of Decimus, may at last be purged of such pollution." These words Antony spoke and wrote in reply.[1] The Senate immediately voted him an enemy and also the army under him, if it should not abandon him. The government of Macedonia and Illyria, with the troops still remaining in both, was assigned to Marcus Brutus until the republic should be re-established. The latter already had an army of his own and had received some troops from Apulcius. He also had

The Senate votes him a public enemy

Macedonia voted to Brutus and Syria to Cassius

[1] Antony's reply is quoted by Cicero with a running comment in the eighth Philippic (8–9.)

CAP. VIII λήφει καὶ ναῦς εἶχε μακράς τε καὶ ὁλκάδας καὶ χρημάτων ἐς μύρια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ ὅπλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν Δημητριάδι Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ γιγνόμενα εὗρεν· οἷς ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ τότε ἐψηφίζετο ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος χρῆσθαι. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἄρχειν τε Συρίας καὶ πολεμεῖν Δολοβέλλᾳ· τούς τε ἄλλους, ὅσοι τινὸς ἔθνους ἢ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, πάντας ὑπακούειν ἐς ὅ τι προστάσσοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος.

IX

CAP. IX 64. Ὧδε μὲν ὀξέως σὺν ἀφορμῇ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐξελάμπρυνον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἠπόρητο, τὴν μὲν ἀμνηστίαν ἡγούμενος εὐπρέπειαν ἐσχηκέναι φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἔλεον συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων, καὶ τὰς βραχυτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἀσφάλειαν· Δέκμῳ τε τὴν Κελτικὴν βεβαιοῦντας Ἀντωνίῳ δόξαι περὶ τυραννίδος διαφέρεσθαι, ᾧ προσποιήματι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγεσθαι κατ᾽ Ἀντωνίου· τὸ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλαν πολέμιον ψηφίσασθαι δι᾽ ἕνα τῶν ἀνδροφόνων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ Βρούτῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἔθνη διαλλάξαι στρατόπεδά τε δοῦναι πολλὰ ἀθρόως καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἡγεμονῶν ἀποφῆναι πάντων, ὅσοι πέραν εἰσὶ τῆς Ἰονίου θαλάσσης, σαφῶς εἶναι τὴν μὲν Πομπηίου μοῖραν αὐξόντων, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος

war-ships and ships of burden and about 16,000 talents in money, and quantities of arms which he found in Demetrias, where they had been placed by Gaius Caesar long before, all of which the Senate now voted that he should use for the advantage of the republic. They voted that Cassius should be governor of Syria and that he should make war against Dolabella, and that all other commanders of Roman provinces and soldiers between the Adriatic sea and the Orient should obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus in all things. CHAP. VIII

IX

64. Thus quickly did the Senate seize the opportunity to put the affairs of Cassius and his party in a brilliant aspect. When Octavian learned what had been done he was troubled. He had considered the amnesty in the light of an act of humanity and of pity for the relatives and compeers of these men, and that the very small commands had been given them for their safety merely; finally, the confirming of the Gallic province to Decimus seemed to him to have been done by reason of the Senate's difference with Antony respecting the supreme power, on which ground also they were inciting him against Antony. But the voting of Dolabella an enemy because he had put one of the murderers to death, the changing of the commands of Brutus and Cassius to the largest provinces, the granting of great armies and large sums of money to them and putting them in command of all the governors beyond the Adriatic sea—all pointed plainly to the building up of the party of Pompey and the pulling CHAP. IX

Octavian alarmed by the action of the Senate

CAP. IX καθαιρούντων. ἐνεθυμεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς μειράκιον τέχνης, εἰκόνα μὲν αὑτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν παρασχόντων καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἀποφηνάντων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἴδιον αὑτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ὄντα ἀφαιρουμένων· ὑπάτων γὰρ συστρατηγούντων οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον· τά τε γέρα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μόνοις μεταστᾶσιν ἐψηφισμένα τοὺς αὑτῷ στρατευομένους ἀτιμοῦν· καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὅλως αὑτῷ μὲν αἰσχύνην ἔχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἀποχρῆσθαί οἱ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου, μέχρι καθέλωσιν αὐτόν.

65. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐπέκρυπτε καὶ θύων ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν στρατὸν ἔφη· "καὶ τάδε μοι παρ' ὑμῶν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, γέγονεν, οὐ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδίδοτε· καὶ γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς ἔδωκεν. ὥστε ἐμὲ καὶ τούτων ἴστε τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν ὀφλήσοντα καί, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχωσιν εὐπραγεῖν, ἀποδώσοντα ἀθρόως".

Ὁ μέν οὕτωσὶ τὸν στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ὑπήγετο, τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων Πάνσας μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐξενάγει, Ἵρτιος δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἐμερίζετο καί, ὡς αὐτῷ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ λέλεκτο, ἐς τὸ μέρος ἤτει τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ παρὰ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντα, εἰδὼς τάδε ὄντα τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ ἀξιολογώτατον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἅπαντα συνεχώρει, μερισάμενοι δὲ ἐχείμαζον μετ' ἀλλήλων· παροδεύοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἤδη Δέκμος μὲν ἔκαμνεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ,

down of that of Caesar. He bethought himself of their artifice in treating him as a young man, in providing him a statue and a front seat, and giving him the title of propraetor, when in fact they were taking from him what army he did have, for a propraetor has no authority when consuls are serving with him. Then the rewards voted only to those of his soldiers who had deserted from Antony to him were an indignity to those who had enlisted under him. Finally the war would be nothing but a disgrace to him, for the Senate would simply make use of him against Antony till the latter was crushed. CHAP. IX

65. Meditating thus to himself he performed the sacrifices appertaining to the command assigned to him, and said to his army: "I owe these honours of mine to you, fellow-soldiers, not now merely but from the time when you gave me the command; for the Senate conferred them upon me on account of you. Know, therefore, that my gratitude will be due to you for these things, and that it will be expressed to you abundantly if the gods grant success to our undertakings."

In this way he conciliated the soldiers and attached them to himself. In the meantime, Pansa, one of the consuls, was collecting recruits throughout Italy, and the other one, Hirtius, shared the command of the forces with Octavian, and as he was secretly ordered to do it by the Senate he demanded as his share the two legions that had deserted from Antony, knowing that they were the most reliable in the army. Octavian yielded to him in everything and they shared with each other and went into winter quarters together. As winter advanced Decimus began to suffer from hunger, and Hirtius

CAP. IX

Ἵρτιος δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ἐχώρουν, μὴ κάμνοντα τὸν Δέκμου στρατὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος παραλάβοι. ἀκριβῶς δὲ τῆς Μουτίνης φυλασσομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, πανσυδὶ μὲν οὐ συνεπλέκοντο αὐτῷ Πάνσαν περιμένοντες, ἱππομαχίαι δ' ἦσαν πυκναί, πολὺ μὲν πλείους ἱππέας ἔχοντος Ἀντωνίου· τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἡ δυσχέρεια, διὰ χειμάρρους ἐκτεταφρευμένου, τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπεστέρει.

66. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ, τὰ δ' ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ὑπάτων οὐ παρόντων ὁ Κικέρων ἦγεν ὑπὸ δημοκοπίας· καὶ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἐκκλησίαι, ὅπλα τε εἰργάζετο συναγαγὼν τοὺς δημιουργοὺς ἀμισθὶ καὶ χρήματα συνέλεγε καὶ βαρυτάτας ἐσφορὰς τοῖς Ἀντωνίου φίλοις ἐπετίθει. οἱ δὲ ἑτοίμως ἐσέφερον ἐκλυόμενοι τὴν διαβολήν, μέχρι Πούπλιος Οὐεντίδιος, ἐστρατευμένος τε Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλος ὤν, οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν βαρύτητα τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς Καίσαρος ἀποικίας ἐκδραμὼν ὡς γνώριμος δύο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνεστράτευσε τέλη καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην συλλαβεῖν Κικέρωνα ἠπείγετο. τότε μὲν δὴ θόρυβός τε ἦν ἄπλετος, καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξέφερον οἱ πλείους μετὰ δυσελπιστίας, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τῆς πόλεως ἀπεδίδρασκε. καὶ ὁ Οὐεντίδιος μαθὼν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνέστρεφε. διακλειόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἵρτίου ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα παρῆλθε καὶ τέλος ἄλλο συλλογίσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.

and Octavian advanced towards Mutina lest Antony should receive in surrender Decimus' army which was now weak with famine; but as Mutina was closely hemmed in by Antony, they did not venture to come to close quarters with him at once, but waited for Pansa. There were frequent cavalry engagements, as Antony had a much larger force of horse, but the difficulty of the ground, which was cut up by torrents, deprived him of the advantage of numbers.

CHAP. IX

Octavian Hirtius and Pansa march to the relief of Decimus

66. Such was the course of events round Mutina. At Rome, in the absence of the consuls, Cicero took the lead by public speaking. He held frequent assemblies, procured arms by inducing the armourers to work without pay, collected money, and exacted heavy contributions from the Antonians. These paid without complaining in order to avoid calumny, until Publius Ventidius, who had served under Gaius Caesar and who was a friend of Antony, unable to endure the exactions of Cicero, betook himself to Caesar's colonies, where he was well known, and brought over two legions to Antony and hastened to Rome to seize Cicero. The consternation was extreme. They removed most of the women and children in a panic, and Cicero himself fled from the city. When Ventidius learned this he turned his course towards Antony, but being intercepted by Octavian and Hirtius, he proceeded to Picenum, where he recruited another legion and waited to see what would happen.[1]

Activity of Cicero in Rome

[1] This tale, in so far as it relates to Cicero, must be entirely fictitious, since nothing of the kind is mentioned in the Philippics, although Ventidius is mentioned twice after his supposed march upon Rome to arrest Cicero.

CAP. IX

Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, τοῦ Πάνσα μετὰ στρατιᾶς πλησιάζοντος, Καρσουλήιον αὐτῷ προσέπεμπον ἄγοντα τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα τάξιν καὶ τὸ Ἄρειον τέλος ἐς βοήθειαν τῆς διόδου τῶν στενῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τῶν μὲν στενῶν ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ κωλύσων ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιθυμίᾳ δὲ ἀγῶνος, οὐκ ἔχων τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐλλαμπρύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πεδίον ἑλωδέστερον ὂν καὶ τεταφρευμένον, δύο ἐνήδρευσε τέλη τὰ ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἕλει, τῆς ὁδοῦ, χειροποιήτου καὶ στενῆς οὔσης, ἑκατέρωθεν τῷ δόνακι κρύπτων.

67. Καρσουλήιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσα τὰ στενὰ νυκτὸς διαδραμόντων, ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ μόνοις τοῖς Ἀρείοις καὶ πέντε ἄλλαις τάξεσιν ἐς τὴν χειροποίητον ὁδὸν ἐσβαλόντων, ἔτι καθαρεύουσαν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ ἕλος ἑκατέρωθεν ὂν περισκεπτομένων, ὅ τε δόναξ διακινούμενος ὑπωπτεύετο, καὶ ἀσπὶς ἤδη που καὶ κράνος ἐξέλαμπε, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Ἀντωνίου τάξις αὐτοῖς αἰφνίδιον ἐπεφαίνετο ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου. οἱ δ' Ἄρειοι περιειλημμένοι τε πάντοθεν καὶ οὐδαμόσε διαδραμεῖν ἔχοντες ἐκέλευον τοὺς νεήλυδας εἰ παραγένοιντο, μὴ συνεφάπτεσθαι σφίσι τῶν πόνων, ὡς μὴ συνταράξειαν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, τῇ στρατηγίδι δὲ Ἀντωνίου τὴν Καίσαρος στρατηγίδα ἀντέταξαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς δύο διαιρεθέντες ἐνέβαινον ἐς ἑκάτερον ἕλος, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεστάτουν τῇ μὲν ὁ Πάνσας, τῇ δὲ ὁ Καρσουλήιος. δύο δὲ τῶν ἑλῶν ὄντων δύο ἦσαν οἱ πόλεμοι, τῇ διόδῳ εἰργόμενοι μὴ γινώσκειν τὰ ἀλλήλων· καὶ κατὰ τὴν δίοδον αὐτὴν αἱ στρατηγίδες πόλεμον ἄλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπολέμουν. γνώμη δὲ ἦν τοῖς μὲν Ἀντωνίου τοὺς

When Pansa was drawing near with his army, Octavian and Hirtius sent Carsuleius to him with Octavian's praetorian cohort and the Martian legion to assist him in passing through the defile. Antony had disdained to occupy the defile as it served no other purpose than to hinder the enemy; but, eager to fight, and having no chance to win distinction with his cavalry, because the ground was marshy and cut by ditches, he placed his two best legions in ambush in the marsh, where they were concealed by the reeds and where the road, which had been thrown up artificially, was narrow. CHAP. IX

67. Carsuleius and Pansa hurried through the defile by night. At daybreak, with only the Martian legion and five other cohorts, they entered upon the high road above mentioned, which was still free from enemies, and looked over the marsh on either side. There was a suspicious agitation of the rushes, then a gleam here and there of shield and helmet, and Antony's praetorian cohort suddenly shewed itself directly in their front. The Martian legion, surrounded on all sides and having no way to escape, ordered the new levies, if they came up, not to join in the fight lest they should cause confusion by their inexperience. The praetorians of Octavian confronted the praetorians of Antony. The other troops divided themselves in two parts and advanced into the marsh on either side, the one commanded by Pansa and the other by Carsuleius. Thus there were two battles in two marshes, and neither division could see the other by reason of the elevated road, while along the road itself the praetorian cohorts fought another battle of their own. The Antonians were determined to Battle between Antony and the consul Pansa

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Ἀρείους ἀμύνασθαι τῆς αὐτομολίας οἷα προδότας σφῶν γενομένους, τοῖς δ' Ἀρείοις ἐκείνους τῆς ὑπεροψίας τῶν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διεφθαρμένων. συνειδότες τε ἀλλήλοις τὸ κράτιστον ὡς εἴη τῆς ἑκατέρου στρατιᾶς, ἤλπιζον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ μόνῳ τὸν πόλεμον κρινεῖν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰδὼς ἦν τὸ δύο τέλεσιν οὖσιν δι' ἑνὸς ἡσσᾶσθαι, τοῖς δὲ φιλοτιμία μόνοις τῶν δύο κρατῆσαι.

68. Οὕτω μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπῆσαν διωργισμένοι τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμενοι, σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἰκεῖον ἡγούμενοι τόδε ἔργον· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐμπειρίας οὔτε ἠλάλαξαν ὡς οὐκ ἐκπλήξοντες ἀλλήλους, οὔτε ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τις αὐτῶν ἀφῆκε φωνὴν οὔτε νικῶν οὔτε ἡσσώμενος. περιόδους δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες οὔτε δρόμους ὡς ἐν ἕλεσι καὶ τάφροις, ἀραρότως συνίσταντο, καὶ οὐδέτεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους ὥσασθαι δυνάμενοι τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὡς ἐν πάλῃ συνεπλέκοντο. πληγή τε οὐδεμία ἦν ἀργός, ἀλλὰ τραύματα καὶ φόνοι καὶ στόνοι μόνον ἀντὶ βοῆς· ὅ τε πίπτων εὐθὺς ὑπεξεφέρετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἀντικαθίστατο. παραινέσεων δὲ ἢ ἐπικελεύσεων οὐκ ἐδέοντο, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν. ὅτε δὲ καὶ κάμοιεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐς ἀναπνοὴν ὀλίγον ἀλλήλων διίσταντο καὶ αὖθις συνεπλέκοντο. θάμβος τε ἦν τοῖς νεήλυσιν ἐπελθοῦσι, τοιάδε ἔργα σὺν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σιωπῇ γιγνόμενα ἐφορῶσι.

69. Πονουμένων δὲ ὧδε πάντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἡ μὲν στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα διεφθάρη, τῶν δὲ Ἀρείων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ Καρσου-

punish the Martians for desertion as being traitors to themselves. The Martians were equally determined to punish the Antonians for condoning the slaughter of their comrades at Brundusium. Recognizing in each other the flower of either army, they hoped to decide the whole war by this single engagement. The one side was moved by shame lest its two legions should be beaten by one; the other by ambition that its single legion should overcome the two. CHAP. IX

68. Thus urged on by animosity and ambition they assailed each other, considering this their own affair rather than that of their generals. Being veterans they raised no battle-cry, since they could not expect to terrify each other, nor in the engagement did they utter a sound, either as victors or vanquished. As there could be neither flanking nor charging amid marshes and ditches, they met together in close order, and since neither could dislodge the other they locked together with their swords as in a wrestling match. No blow missed its mark. There were wounds and slaughter but no cries, only groans; and when one fell he was instantly borne away and another took his place. They needed neither admonition nor encouragement, since experience made each one his own general. When they were overcome by fatigue they drew apart from each other for a brief space to take breath, as in gymnastic games, and then rushed again to the encounter. Amazement took possession of the new levies who had come up, as they beheld such deeds done with such precision and in such silence.

69. All put forth superhuman exertions, and the praetorians of Octavian perished to the last man. Those of the Martians who were under Carsuleius

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λείῳ μᾶλλον ἐκράτουν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς, οὐκ αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐνδιδόντων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πάνσᾳ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐβαροῦντο, διεκαρτέρουν δ' ὅμως ἐπ' ἴσης ἑκάτεροι, μέχρι Πάνσας ὀβελῷ τὴν λαγόνα τρωθεὶς ἐς Βονωνίαν ἐξεφέρετο. τότε γὰρ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρουν, ἐπὶ πόδα πρῶτον, εἶτα μεταβαλόντες ὀξύτερον ὡς ἐν φυγῇ. καὶ οἱ νεήλυδες ἰδόντες ἔφευγον ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς ἐξείργαστο ὁ ταμίας Τορκουᾶτος συνεστώσης ἔτι τῆς μάχης, ὑπονοήσας ἐν χρείᾳ γενήσεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ νεήλυδες ἐς αὐτὸ ἀτάκτως συνειλοῦντο, Ἰταλοὶ μὲν ὄντες ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀρείοις· ἡ δὲ ἄσκησις ἄρα τοῦ γένους ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρετῇ διαφέρει. οἱ δὲ Ἄρειοι οὐκ ἐσῆλθον μὲν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ἀδοξίας, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτὸ ἔστησαν· κατάκοποι δὲ ὄντες ὥργων ὅμως, εἴ τις ἐπίοι, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου τέλους διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀντώνιος δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀρείων ἀπέσχετο ὡς ἐπιπόνων, τοῖς δὲ νεήλυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν πολὺν εἰργάζετο φόνον.

70. Ἵρτιος δὲ ἐν Μουτίνῃ τῆς μάχης πυθόμενος, ἑξήκοντα στάδια ἀπεχούσης, ἵετο δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τέλους τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστάντων. ἤδη τε ἦν ὀψία δείλη, καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες τῶν Ἀντωνίου παιανίζοντες ἐπανῄεσαν· καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἵρτιος ἀσυντάκτοις οὖσιν ἐπιφαίνεται συντεταγμένος ὁλοκλήρῳ τέλει καὶ ἀπαθεῖ. οἱ δὲ συνετάχθησαν μὲν αὖθις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούσδε ἔργα λαμπρὰ ἐπεδείξαντο· οἷα δὲ

got the better of those opposed to them, who gave way, not in disgraceful rout, but little by little. Those under Pansa were likewise in difficulties, but they held out with equal bravery on both sides until Pansa was wounded in the side by a javelin and carried off the field to Bononia. Then his soldiers retired, at first step by step, but afterwards they turned and hurried as if in flight. When the new levies saw this they fled in disorder, and with loud cries, to their camp, which the quaestor, Torquatus, had put in readiness for them while the battle was in progress, apprehending that it might be needed. The new levies crowded into it confusedly although they were Italians, as well as the Martians; so much more does training contribute to bravery than race; but the Martians for fear of shame did not enter into the camp, but ranged themselves near it. Although fatigued they were still furious and ready to fight to the bitter end if anybody should attack them. Antony refrained from attacking the Martians as being a troublesome business, but he fell upon the new levies and made a great slaughter.

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Pansa is wounded and his men retire to their camp

70. When Hirtius, near Mutina, heard of this fight, at a distance of sixty stades, he hurried thither with the other legion that had deserted from Antony. It was already evening and the victorious Antonians were returning singing hymns of triumph. While they were in loose order Hirtius made his appearance in perfect order with his legion complete and fresh. The Antonians got themselves in line under compulsion, and performed against this foe also many splendid deeds of valour; but being wearied by their recent exertions they were overcome by the fresh army opposed to them, and the

Hirtius comes to the rescue and defeats Antony

CAP. IX. ἀκμήτων ἡσσῶντο κεκμηκότες, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ ἔργον Ἰρτίου διέφθειρε, καίπερ οὐ διώκοντος αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόβου τῶν ἑλῶν, καὶ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἤδη μελαινομένης διέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ ἕλος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεπλήρωτο ὅπλων τε καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἡμιθνήτων καὶ τετρωμένων· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου κατεφρόνουν. ἱππέες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου περιθέοντες, ὅσοι παρήσπιζον αὐτῷ, δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνελέγοντο καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀντὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνετίθεντο ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς ἀντεχομένους παρεκάλουν παρατροχάζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν. ὧδε μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ καλῶς ἀγωνισαμένῳ διέφθαρτο ἡ ἰσχὺς διὰ Ἴρτιον ἐπελθόντα. καὶ ηὐλίσατο ἐν κώμῃ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀχαρακώτως· Ἀγορὰ Κελτῶν ἡ κώμη καλεῖται. ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἑκατέρων, καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς ἡ Καίσαρος ἅπασα, Ἰρτίου δὲ ὀλίγοι.

X

CAP. X. 71. Τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἀνεζεύγνυον ἐς τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουτίνῃ στρατόπεδα πάντες. γνώμη δὲ ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσῷδε πταίσματι μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἔτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μεγάλῃ μάχῃ μηδ' ἐπιόντων ἀμύνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἱππέων τὰ ἐφήμερα μόνα αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλεῖν, μέχρι παραδῴη Δέκμος αὐτὸν ἐς ἔσχατον ἤδη λιμοῦ τετρυμένος, Ἰρτίῳ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρι διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τὰ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκτάσσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀντώνιος οὐκ ἐπεξῆγεν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς

greater part of them were slain in this encounter by Hirtius, although the latter did not pursue, being apprehensive of the marshy ground. As darkness was coming on he allowed them to escape. A wide stretch of the marsh was filled with arms, corpses, wounded men, and half-dead men, and some even who were unhurt mistrusted their strength by reason of their fatigue. Antony's cavalry, as many as he had with him, went to their assistance and collected them through the entire night. Some they put on horseback in their own places, others they took on the horses with themselves, still others they urged to take hold of the horses' tails and run along with them and so secure their safety. Thus were Antony's forces, after he had fought splendidly, destroyed by the coming of Hirtius. He encamped without entrenchments in a village near the plain, named Forum Gallorum. Antony and Pansa each lost about one-half of their men. The whole of Octavian's praetorian cohort perished. The loss of Hirtius was slight. CHAP. IX

X

CHAP. X

Octavian and Hirtius defeat Antony at Mutina

71. The next day they all withdrew to the camps at Mutina. After so severe a disaster Antony decided not to come to a general engagement with his enemies at present, not even if they should attack him, but merely to harass them daily with his cavalry until Decimus, who was reduced to extremity by famine, should surrender. For this very reason Hirtius and Octavian decided to push on a fight. As Antony would not come out when they offered battle, they moved toward the other

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Μουτίνης ἀφυλακτότερα ὄντα διὰ δυσχέρειαν ἐχώρουν ὡς βιασόμενοι βαρεῖ στρατῷ παρεσελθεῖν ἐς αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῶν ἐξήπτετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τότε μόνοις. ἀμυνομένων δὲ κἀκείνων αὐτὸν ἱππεῦσι μόνοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς χωρούσης, ἐφ' ἃ ἐβούλοντο, δείσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος περὶ τῇ Μουτίνῃ ἐξῆγε δύο τέλη· οἱ δὲ ἡσθέντες ἐπέστρεφον καὶ ἐμάχοντο. ἄλλα δὲ Ἀντωνίου τέλη καλοῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατοπέδων, ὧν βραδέως ὡς ἐν αἰφνιδίῳ τε μετακλήσει καὶ μακρόθεν ἰόντων ἐκράτουν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ μάχῃ. Ἵρτιος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσήλατο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαχόμενος ἔπεσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ τό τε σῶμα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσδραμὼν ἀνείλετο καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέσχεν, ἕως μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξεώσθη πρὸς Ἀντωνίου. διενυκτέρευσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἑκάτεροι.

72. Καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος δευτέρᾳ τῇδε συμπεσὼν πληγῇ συνεβουλεύετο τοῖς φίλοις εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει τῆς προτέρας αὐτὸν γνώμης ἔχεσθαι, πολιορκοῦντα Μουτίνην καὶ ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐπεξιόντα· τό τε γὰρ πάθος ὅμοιον ἀμφοῖν γεγονέναι καὶ Ἵρτιον ἀνῃρῆσθαι καὶ Πάνσαν νοσεῖν καὶ σφᾶς τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν Μουτίνην τε ἐς ἔσχατον ἀφῖχθαι λιμοῦ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνδώσειν. ὧδε μὲν ἤρεσκε τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ ἦν τὰ ἄριστα· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἤδη θεοῦ βλάπτοντος, ἐδεδοίκει, μὴ ἐς τὴν Μουτίνην ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ ἐχθὲς ἐπιχειρήσας, ἐσδράμοι ἢ αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειε

side of Mutina where it was less closely besieged on account of the badness of the ground, as if about to force their way into the town with their strong army. Antony hung upon their movement with his cavalry and this time also with those alone. But as the enemy, too, fought him with their cavalry only, the rest of their army moving to effect their purposes, Antony, lest he should lose Mutina, drew out of his entrenchments two legions. Then his enemies, rejoicing at this, turned and delivered battle. Antony ordered up other legions from other camps, but as they came slowly, by reason of the suddenness of the call or the long distance, the army of Octavian won the victory. Hirtius even broke into Antony's camp, where he was killed, fighting near the general's tent. Octavian rushed in and carried off his body and possessed himself of the camp. A little later he was driven out by Antony. Both sides passed the night also under arms. CHAP. X

Death of Hirtius

72. When Antony had suffered this second defeat, he took counsel with his friends directly after the battle. They advised him to adhere to his first resolution, to continue the siege of Mutina and not to go out and fight, saying that the losses had been about equal on both sides, Hirtius having been killed and Pansa wounded; they said that he was superior in cavalry and that Mutina was reduced to extremity by famine and must succumb. Such was the advice of his friends, and it was truly for the best. But Antony, already under some divine infatuation, was fearful lest Octavian should make another attempt to break into Mutina like that of yesterday, or even try to enclose him, as Octavian had the greater force to work with,

CAP. X περιτειχίζειν, πλέον ἔχων τὸ ἐργάσιμον, "ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων," ἔφη, "γιγνομένων ἡμῖν ἀχρήστων, ὑπερόψεταί με Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἡττώμενον. εἰ δὲ Μουτίνης ἐξανασταῖμεν, Οὐεντίδιός τε ἡμῖν αὐτίκα προσέσται, τρία τέλη φέρων ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος, καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ Πλάγκος ἐρρωμένως οἱ συμμαχήσουσι." ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, οὐκ ἄτολμος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνήρ, καὶ εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀνίστατο καὶ ὥδευεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἄλπεων.

73. Δέκμῳ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς πολιορκίας ὁ φόβος ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐνηλλάσσετο· τῶν γὰρ ὑπάτων ἐκποδὼν γενομένων ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἐδεδοίκει. τάς τε οὖν γεφύρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διέκοπτε πρὸ ἡμέρας καὶ κελητίῳ τινὰς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποστέλλων ἐμαρτύρει μὲν ὡς αἰτίῳ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἠξίου δὲ μέσον ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς λόγους οἱ συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς πολίταις· πείσειν γάρ, ὅτι δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν ἔβλαψεν, ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπηγμένον ὑφ' ἑτέρων. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀποκριναμένου τε πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ τὴν χάριν, ἣν δίδωσίν οἱ Δέκμος, διωθουμένου ("οὐδὲ γὰρ Δέκμον ἐγὼ πάρειμι περισώσων, ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμήσων, ᾧ μοι καὶ συναλλαγῆναί ποτε θέμις· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ ἐς ὄψιν ἢ λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐπιτρέπει· σῳζέσθω μέντοι, μέχρι τοῖς ἐν ἄστει δοκεῖ"), πυθόμενος τούτων ὁ Δέκμος ἔστη τε πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ καλῶν ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, σὺν βοῇ τὰ γράμματα τῆς βουλῆς ἀνεγίνωσκε, διδούσης οἱ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀπηγόρευέ τε Καίσαρι χωρὶς ὑπάτων μὴ περᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς

"in which case," said he, "our cavalry will be useless and Lepidus and Plancus will despise me as a vanquished man. If we withdraw from Mutina, Ventidius will presently join us with three legions from Picenum, and Lepidus and Plancus will be emboldened to ally themselves with him." So he spake, although he was not a timid man in the presence of danger; and breaking camp forthwith he made his way toward the Alps. CHAP. X

Antony flees to the Alps

73. When Decimus was delivered from the siege he began to be afraid of Octavian, whom, after the removal of the two consuls, he feared as an enemy. So he broke down the bridge over the river before daybreak and sent certain persons to Octavian in a boat, as if to return thanks for rescuing him, and asked that Octavian would come to the opposite bank of the river to hold a conversation with him in the presence of the citizens as witnesses, because he could convince Octavian, he said, that an evil spirit had deceived him and that he had been led into the conspiracy against Caesar by others. Octavian answered the messengers in a tone of anger, declining the thanks that Decimus gave him, saying: "I am here not to rescue Decimus, but to fight Antony, with whom I may properly come to terms some time, but nature forbids that I should even look at Decimus or hold any conversation with him. Let him have safety, however, as long as the authorities at Rome please." When Decimus heard this he stood on the river bank and, calling Octavian by name, read with a loud voice the letters of the Senate giving him command of the Gallic province, and forbade Octavian to cross the river without consular authority into the government belonging to another,

Decimus seeks an interview with Octavian

CAP. X

ἀλλοτρίαν ἡγεμονίαν μηδὲ ἐπὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔτι χωρεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν διώκων ἀρκέσειν. ὁ δὲ ἥδει μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν θρασύτητα αὐξανόμενον, δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν ἐκ προστάγματος ἐλεῖν ἐφείδετο ἔτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πάνσαν ἐς Βονωνίαν τραπεὶς ἔγραφε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ἁπάντων. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ Πάνσας.

74. Καὶ Κικέρων ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἀνεγίγνωσκεν ὡς ὑπάτου, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ βουλῇ μόνον· θυσίας τε ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ πεντήκοντα ἡμερῶν ἱκεσίους ἐψηφίζετο, ὅσας οὔτε ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς οὔτε ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν ὑπάτων ἐδίδου Δέκμῳ καίπερ ἔτι Πάνσα περιόντος (ἤδη γὰρ ἀπεγιγνώσκετο), στρατηγόν τε τὸν Δέκμον ἀπέφηνεν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίῳ μόνον εἶναι καὶ εὐχὰς δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου περιγενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος ἦν οἶστρος αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ἀπειροκαλία. ἐβεβαίου τε αὖθις τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντωνίου μεταστᾶσι τὰς ἑκάστῳ προϋπεσχημένας παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπινικίους δραχμὰς πεντακισχιλίας ὡς ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ στέφανον αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αἰεὶ θαλλοῦ περιτίθεσθαι. περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος οὐδὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις, οὐδὲ τοὔνομα ὅλως· οὕτως αὐτίκα κατεφρονεῖτο ὡς Ἀντωνίου καθῃρημένου. ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Πλάγκῳ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ πολεμεῖν, ὅπως πλησιάσειαν Ἀντωνίῳ.

75. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Πάνσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀποθνῄσκων Καίσαρά οἱ παρεστή-

and not to follow Antony further, for that he himself would be quite capable of pursuing him. Octavian knew that he was prompted to this audacious course by the Senate, and although able to seize him by giving an order, he spared him for the present and withdrew to Pansa at Bononia, where he wrote a full report to the Senate, and Pansa did likewise. CHAP. X

74. In Rome Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavian. For the victory over Antony, he caused them to vote a thanksgiving of fifty days,—a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (for his life was now despaired of), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5000 drachmas per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was nothing about Octavian in the decrees, and his name was not even mentioned. He was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. They wrote to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to continue the campaign so as to come to close quarters with Antony. Thanksgiving at Rome for victory over Antony

75. Such was the course of events at Rome. In the meantime Pansa was dying of his wound, and he Death of Pansa

CAP. X

σατο καὶ εἶπεν· "ἐγὼ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἐμαυτῷ, ἀναιρεθέντι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ἐπαμύνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς πλείουσι μὴ συνίστασθαι, οἷς γε δὴ καὶ σὺ καλῶς ποιῶν ὑπήκουσας, καίτοι στρατὸν ἔχων. δείσαντες δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ σὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιον, φιλοτιμότατον κἀκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Καίσαρος γνώμην φανέντα, διαφερομένοις ὑμῖν ἐφήσθησαν ὡς ἐς ἀλλήλους συντριβησομένοις. ἐπεὶ δέ σε καὶ στρατοῦ δεσπότην εἶδον, προσεποιοῦντο εὐπρεπέσι καὶ ἀσθενέσι τιμαῖς οἷα μειράκιον. σοβαρωτέρου δέ σου καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρου τιμῆς τότε μάλιστα ὀφθέντος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ σοι δεδομένην οὐκ ἐδέξω, διεταράχθησαν καὶ συστρατηγεῖν σε ἡμῖν ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα σου τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ πρακτικώτερα ἀποσπάσωμεν, ἐλπίσαντες ἡττηθέντος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἀσθενέστερόν τε καὶ μόνον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἤδη πᾶσαν τὴν Καίσαρος ἑταιρείαν καθελόντες ἀνάξειν τὴν Πομπηίου· τόδε γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τῆς γνώμης τὸ κεφάλαιον.

76. "Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ἵρτιος τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποιοῦμεν μέχρι συστεῖλαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπιπολάζοντα ὑπεροψίᾳ· ἡττηθέντα δὲ σοὶ συναλλάσσειν ἐπενοοῦμεν, ὡς τῇ Καίσαρος φιλίᾳ τόδε χαριστήριον ἔχοντες ἀποδοῦναι καὶ μόνον τῇ μοίρᾳ χρησιμώτατον ἐσόμενον ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκφέρειν σοι πρότερον, ἡττημένου δὲ νῦν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Ἵρτίου τεθνεῶτος κἀμὲ τοῦ

summoned Octavian to his side, and said :[1] " I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor could I fail to unite with the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he also seemed to be most ambitious to continue the policy of Caesar, and they were delighted with your dissensions, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and inexpensive honours. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honours than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were alarmed and they appointed you to the command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was vanquished the other would be weakened and isolated, and so the whole of Caesar's party would be effaced and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim. CHAP. X

76. " Hirtius and I did what we were ordered to do, until we could humble Antony, who was much too arrogant; but we intended when he was vanquished to bring him into alliance with you and thus to pay the debt of gratitude we owed to Caesar's friendship, the only payment that could be serviceable to Caesar's party hereafter. It was not possible to communicate this to you before, but now that Antony is vanquished and Hirtius dead, and I am

[1] This interview is probably an invention of the Augustan age.

CAP. X

χρεὼν ἀπάγοντος, ἐν καιρῷ λέλεκται, οὐχ ἵνα μοι γινώσκῃς χάριν ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλ' ἵνα σὺν δαιμονίᾳ μοίρᾳ γενόμενος, ὡς τὰ ἔργα ὑποδείκνυσι, τά τε σαυτῷ συμφέροντα γινώσκῃς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ Ἰρτίου προαίρεσίν τε καὶ ἀνάγκην. τὸν μὲν οὖν στρατόν, ὃν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἔδωκας, εὐπροφάσιστον ἀποδοῦναί σοι, καὶ παραδίδωμι· τοὺς δὲ νεήλυδας εἰ μὲν καθέξεις λαβών, καὶ τούσδε σοι παραδώσω, εἰ δὲ τεθήπασι τὴν βουλὴν ἀμέτρως, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν φύλακες ἡμῖν ἐπέμφθησαν εἶναι, καὶ τό τε ἔργον ἐπίφθονον ἔσται σοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος ἐξανίστησί σε, ὁ ταμίας παραλήψεται Τορκουᾶτος." ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ τοὺς νεήλυδας ἐγχειρίσας ἀπέθανε. καὶ τούσδε μὲν ὁ ταμίας, καθὰ προσέτασσεν ἡ βουλή, Δέκμῳ παρεδίδου, Ἴρτιον δὲ καὶ Πάνσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφανῶς ἔθαπτε καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε μετὰ τιμῆς.

XI

CAP. XI

77. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ περί τε Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο. Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὅτε Συρίαν διώδευε, τέλος ἐν αὐτῇ καταλελοίπει τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος. τούτου τὴν μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν Καικίλιος Βάσσος εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα Ἰούλιος Σέξστος, μειράκιον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενές, ὅπερ ἐκδιαιτώμενον ἐς τρυφὴν τὸ τέλος ἀσχημόνως ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ. μεμψαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν αὐτὸν

about to pay the debt of nature, the time for speaking has come, not that you may be grateful to me after my death, but that you, born to a happy destiny, as your deeds proclaim, may know what is for your own interest, and know that the course taken by Hirtius and myself was a matter of necessity. The army that you yourself gave to us should most properly be given back to you, and I do give it. If you can take and hold the new levies, I will give you those also. If they are too much in awe of the Senate (for their officers were sent to act as spies upon us), and if the task would be an invidious one, and would create trouble for you prematurely, the quaestor Torquatus will take command of them." After speaking thus he formally transferred the new levies to the quaestor and expired. The quaestor transferred them to Decimus as the Senate had ordered. Octavian sent the bodies of Hirtius and Pansa with honours to Rome, where they received a public funeral. CHAP. X

XI

77. The following events took place in Syria and Macedonia about the same time. Gaius Caesar, when he passed through Syria, left a legion there, as he was already contemplating an expedition against the Parthians. Caecilius Bassus had charge of it, but the title of commander was held by Sextus Julius, a young man related to Caesar himself, who was given over to dissipation and who led the legion around everywhere in an indecorous manner. Once when Bassus reproved him, he replied insultingly, and some time later, when he called Bassus to him CHAP. XI

State of affairs in Syria

CAP. XI

ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ βραδέως ὑπήκουσεν, ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἕλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ καὶ πληγῶν γενομένων ἡ στρατιὰ τὴν ὕβριν οὐ φέρουσα τὸν Ἰούλιον κατηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, μέχρι θανάτου διαγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ Βάσσον ἀναγκάσαντες ἄλλο συνέλεξαν τέλος καὶ συνεγύμνασαν. ὧδε μέν τισι περὶ τοῦ Βάσσου δοκεῖ, Λίβωνι δ', ὅτι τῆς Πομπηίου στρατιᾶς γενόμενος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἰδιωτεύων ἐν Τύρῳ, διέφθειρέ τινας τοῦ τέλους, καὶ διεχρήσαντο τὸν Σέξστον καὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ σφᾶς ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁποτέρως δ' ἐγένετο, Στάιον Μοῦρκον οἶδε, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντα σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἐγκρατῶς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἕως ὁ Μοῦρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίσπον ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας καὶ ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλεσιν ἄλλοις τρισίν.

78. Ὡς δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπολιορκοῦντο, ὁ Κάσσιος σὺν ἐπείξει καταλαβὼν τά τε τοῦ Βάσσου δύο τέλη παρελάμβανεν αὐτίκα καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων αὐτὸν ἕξ, φιλίᾳ τε παραδόντων καὶ ὡς ἀνθυπάτῳ κατηκόων γενομένων· ἐψήφιστο γάρ, ὥς μοι προείρηται, πάντας ὑπακούειν Κασσίῳ τε καὶ Βρούτῳ. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρᾳ καταλελειμμένων. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος

and the latter was slow in obeying, he ordered him to be dragged before him. A tumult and blows ensued. The soldiers would not tolerate the indignity and slew Julius. This act was followed by repentance and fear of Caesar. Accordingly, they took an oath together that they would defend themselves to the death if they were not pardoned and restored to confidence, and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They also enlisted and drilled another legion as associates with themselves. This is one account of Bassus, but Libo[1] says that he belonged to the army of Pompey and that after the latter's defeat he became a private citizen in Tyre, where he corrupted certain members of the legion, who slew Sextus and chose Bassus for their leader. However that may have been, Caesar sent Staius Murcus against him with three legions. Bassus defeated him badly. Finally, Murcus appealed to Marcius Crispus, the governor of Bithynia, and the latter came to his aid with three legions. CHAP. XI

78. While Bassus was besieged by the latter, Cassius suddenly came up with them and took possession, not only of the two legions of Bassus, but also of the six that were besieging him, whose leaders surrendered in a friendly way and obeyed him as proconsul; for the Senate had decreed, as I have already said, that all [beyond the Adriatic] should obey Cassius and Brutus. Just then Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that quarter four legions of soldiers dispersed by the disasters of Pompey and of Crassus, or left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him Cassius raises an army

[1] Λίβωνι; either Scribonius Libo, or there is an error of text for Λιβίῳ (Livy).

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οὐδὲν προπεπυσμένον ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασεν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι, δείσαντα τοῖς τέσσαρσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυώδεκα τελῶν ἀθρόως ἐκράτει καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σὺν δύο τέλεσιν ἐλθόντα τε καὶ ἐς Λαοδίκειαν ὑπὸ οἰκειότητος ἐσδεχθέντα περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα ἐφήδετο.

79. Μακεδονίας δὲ πέρι Γάιος Ἀντώνιος, ὁ Ἀντωνίου Μάρκου ἀδελφός, Βρούτῳ διεφέρετο καὶ ἐπολέμει, τέλος ἔχων ἐν ὁπλιτῶν· καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἡσσώμενος ἐνήδρευσεν. ὁ δ' ἐκφυγὼν ἀντενήδρευσε καὶ οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο ἀποληφθέντας, ἀλλὰ ἀσπάσασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους προσέταξε· τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀντασπασαμένων οὐδὲ τὴν πεῖραν ἐνδεξαμένων, μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀπιέναι. κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας ὁδοὺς περιελθὼν αὖθις ἐν ἀποκρήμνοις κατέστησε καὶ πάλιν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἠσπάσατο. οἱ δέ, ὡς πολιτῶν τε περιφειδόμενον καὶ τῆς δόξης ἄξιον ἧς εἶχεν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τε καὶ πραότητι, ἠγάσαντο καὶ ἀντησπάσαντο καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν μετεβάλοντο. ἐπέτρεψε δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ Βρούτῳ, μέχρι τὸν στρατὸν πολλάκις διαφθείρων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Βρούτῳ μετὰ τῶν προτέρων στρατῶν ἓξ ἐγίνετο τέλη· καὶ Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν δύο τέλη κατέλεξεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν τρόπον καὶ τάδε ἐγυμνάζετο.

80. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἦν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν

unawares in Palestine and compelled him to surrender, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus Cassius became the master, in a surprising way, of twelve legions, and laid siege to Dolabella, who was coming from Asia with two legions and had been received in Laodicea in a friendly manner. The Senate was delighted when it heard the news. CHAP. XI

79. In Macedonia Gaius Antonius, the brother of Mark Antony, with one legion of foot soldiers, contended with Brutus, and, being inferior in strength to the latter, laid an ambuscade for him. Brutus avoided the trap, and, in his turn, laid an ambuscade, but he did no harm to those whom he caught in it, but ordered his own soldiers to salute their adversaries. Although the latter did not return the salutation or accept the courtesy, he allowed them to pass out of the trap unharmed. Then he went around by other roads and confronted them again at a precipice, and again did them no harm but saluted them. Then, regarding him as a saviour of his fellow citizens and as one deserving the reputation he had gained for wisdom and mildness, they conceived an admiration for him, saluted him, and passed over to him. Gaius also surrendered himself and was treated with honour by Brutus until he was convicted of having tried several times to corrupt the army, when he was put to death. Thus, including his former forces, Brutus had possession of six legions, and since he approved the valour of the Macedonians he raised two legions among them, whom, too, he drilled in the Italian discipline. Brutus captures Gaius Antonius in Macedonia

80. Such was the state of affairs in Syria and Macedonia. In Italy Octavian, although he con-

CAP. XI ὕβρει θέμενος ἀντὶ οὗ Δέκμον ἡρῆσθαι στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπέκρυπτε, θρίαμβον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἤτει. καταφρονούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπινοῶν, ἔδεισε, μὴ διαφθαρέντος Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον ἔτι καταφρονηθείη, καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν συμβάσεις ἐπόθει, καθὰ καὶ Πάνσας αὐτῷ διεσήμαινεν ἀποθνήσκων. τούς τε οὖν ἀλωμένους ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνας ἢ στρατιώτας ἐφιλανθρωπεύετο, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγκατέλεγεν ἢ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπεν, ὡς οὐ δι' ἔχθρας ἀνηκέστου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰόντα· Οὐεντιδίῳ τε τῷ Ἀντωνίου φίλῳ, μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ὄντι, παραστρατοπεδεύσας καὶ δέος ἐμβαλὼν ἔπραξε μὲν οὐδὲν πολέμιον, ἐδίδου δὲ ὁμοίως συνεῖναί οἱ ἢ ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μέμφεσθαι τῆς ἐς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἀγνωσίας. ὧν Οὐεντίδιος συνεὶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῄει. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Δέκιον, τῶν τινα ἡγεμόνων Ἀντωνίου, περὶ Μουτίνην ληφθέντα διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων μεθῆκεν, εἰ θέλοι, πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπιέναι· καὶ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον γνώμης πολλὰ ἔφη σύμβολα τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἐξεννοχέναι, τοῖς δ' ἄφροσιν οὐδὲ τὰ πλείονα ἀρκέσειν.

81. Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν δὴ τάδε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνεσήμαινε, Λεπίδῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀσινίῳ σαφέστερον ἔτι περὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς τῶν σφαγέων ἀθρόας προαγωγῆς ἐπέστελλεν, ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς, μὴ ἐς χάριν τῆς Πομπηιανῆς ἑταιρείας καθ' ἕνα τῶν

sidered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen general against Antony, concealed his indignation and asked the honours of a triumph for his exploits. But being disdained by the Senate as though he were seeking honours beyond his years, he began to fear lest if Antony were destroyed he should be despised still more, and so he desired the reconciliation with Antony, which Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of the stragglers from Antony's army, both officers and soldiers, enrolling them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony allowing them to do so, in order to show that Antony was not moved by implacable hatred against him. Having encamped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, he made him anxious, but performed no hostile act, and in like manner gave him the opportunity either to join himself or to go on unmolested with his army to Antony and chide him for ignoring their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Decius also, one of Antony's officers, who had been taken prisoner at Mutina, Octavian treated with honour, allowing him to return to Antony if he wished, and when Decius asked what were his sentiments toward Antony, he said that he had given plenty of indications to persons of discernment and that even more would be insufficient for fools.

CHAP. XI

Octavian takes steps toward a reconciliation with Antony

81. After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavian wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the indignities put upon himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear, lest to secure the favour of the Pompeian faction, each of the Caesarians should one by

He communicates with Lepidus and Asinius Pollio

CAP. XI Καίσαρος ἕκαστος ὅμοια Ἀντωνίῳ πάθοι, κἀκείνῳ δι' ἀφροσύνην καὶ ὑπεροψίαν τοῦδε τοῦ δέους τάδε παθόντι. ἠξίου τε ἐς μὲν εὐπρέπειαν τῆς βουλῆς εἶναι κατηκόους, ἐς δὲ τὸ σφέτερον ἀσφαλὲς συμφρονεῖν, ἕως ἔτι δύνανται, καὶ ὀνειδίζειν ταῦτα Ἀντωνίῳ, μιμεῖσθαί τε τοὺς ὑπὸ σφίσιν ὁπλίτας· οὐ διαλυομένους, οὐδ' ὅτε παύσαιντο τῶν στρατειῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εἶεν εὐεπίθετοι, ἀλλ' ἀθρόους ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ συνοικίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν μᾶλλον ἐθέλοντας ἢ καθ' ἕνα τῶν πατρίδων ἀπολαύειν. τάδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ Λεπίδῳ τε ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀσινίῳ· Δέκμῳ δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος στρατὸς ἐνόσει πιμπλάμενος ἐκ λιμοῦ καὶ τὰς γαστέρας κατερρήγνυντο, ὅ τε νεοστράτευτος ἀγύμναστος ἔτι ἦν. Πλάγκος δὲ προσεγένετο μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, καὶ ὁ Δέκμος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀλώμενον κυνηγετήσειν ναυτικῶν περ ἤδη γεγονότων.

82. Οἵ τε Πομπηιανοὶ πυθόμενοι θαυμαστοὶ ὅσοι διεφάνησαν, ἐκβοῶντες ἄρτι τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ θυσίαι καθ' ἕνα ἦσαν καὶ χειροτονίαι δέκα ἀνδρῶν ἐς εὔθυναν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἀντωνίου. πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκύρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων· Ἀντώνιος γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ἦ πάνυ σμικρά, πάντα δὲ ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων διῳκήκει, καὶ τόδε σαφῶς εἰδυῖα ἡ βουλὴ τὰ μέν τινα αὐτῶν

one be treated like Antony, since he too was suffering CHAP. XI
the consequences of his own folly and contempt of this fear. He advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should confer together for their own safety while they could still do so, and reproach Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred for the sake of strength to settle together in groups upon the conquered territory, rather than to enjoy their own homes singly. This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. But the first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still undrilled. Plancus soon joined him with his own army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would hunt down Antony, who was now a wanderer; certain small naval actions having already taken place.[1]

82. When the Pompeians learned what had happened an astonishing number showed themselves to be of that party; they exclaimed that their ancestral freedom had at last been regained: they each offered sacrifices, and decemvirs, too, were chosen to examine the accounts of Antony's magistracy. This was a preliminary step to annulling Caesar's arrangements, for Antony had done little or nothing himself, but had conducted all the affairs of state in accordance with Caesar's memoranda. The Senate knew this well, but it hoped that by finding a pretext

[1] The text is probably corrupt. The mention of naval actions is out of place.

CAP. XI

ἐπὶ προφάσεσι διέλυεν, ἀθρόα δὲ οὕτως ἤλπιζε διαλύσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ δέκα προύγραφον, ὅ τι τις λάβοι παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀντωνίου, πάντας αὐτίκα ἀπογράφεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν· ἀπειλαί τε τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ μετῄεσαν ἀντὶ Ἱρτίου τε καὶ Πάνσα· μετῄει δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, οὐκ ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔτι πέμπων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Κικέρωνα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸν παρεκάλει καὶ συνάρξαι, ὡς Κικέρωνα μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν διοικήσοντα πρεσβύτερόν τε καὶ ἐμπειρότερον ὄντα, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καρπωσόμενος μόνην ἐς ἀπόθεσιν τῶν ὅπλων εὐπρεπῆ, οὗ δὴ καὶ πρώην ἕνεκα τὸν θρίαμβον αἰτῆσαι. Κικέρων μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ἔλεγεν αἰσθέσθαι σπουδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔξω στρατηγοῖς ὑπονοουμένων καὶ συνεβούλευε θεραπεῦσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὑβρισμένον καὶ στρατοῦ ἔτι ἄρχοντα πολλοῦ, ἀνασχέσθαι τε παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄρχοντος ἐν τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ μηνίοντος ἐν ὅπλοις· ὡς δ' ἄν τι μὴ πράξειε παρὰ τὸ τῇ βουλῇ συμφέρον, ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ συνελέσθαι τῶν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἔμφρονα, τῆς ἐκείνου νεότητος ἐγκρατῆ παιδαγωγόν.

for annulling a part of the measures it would be enabled in the same way to annul the whole. The decemvirs gave public notice that whoever had received anything in the course of Antony's government should make it known in writing immediately, and threatened any who should disobey. The Pompeians also sought the consulship for the remainder of the year in place of Hirtius and Pansa; but Octavian also sought it, applying not to the Senate, but to Cicero privately, whom he urged to become his colleague, saying that Cicero should carry on the government, as he was the elder and more experienced, and that he himself desired to enjoy the title only, as a means by which he could dismiss his army in a becoming manner, and that this was the reason he had previously asked the honour of a triumph. Cicero, whose desire for office was excited by this proposal, said to the Senate that he understood that a negotiation was on foot among the generals commanding the provinces, and he advised that they should conciliate the man whom they had treated with disdain and who was still at the head of a large army, and allow him to hold office in the city, notwithstanding his youth, rather than that he should remain under arms in a state of resentment. But lest he should do anything contrary to the interests of the Senate, Cicero proposed that some man of prudence from among the older ones should be chosen as his colleague to be a firm guardian of the immature nature of Octavian.

Octavian applies for the consulship, asking Cicero to be his colleague

XII

CAP. XII

Ἀλλὰ Κικέρωνα μὲν ἥ τε βουλὴ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐγέλασε, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς μάλιστα τῶν σφαγέων ἐνέστησαν, δεδιότες μὴ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ τίσαιτο ὑπατεύων· 83. ὑπερθέσεων δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ γιγνομένων ἐννόμων κατὰ ποικίλας αἰτίας, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ τέως τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερέβαλε, Κουλλεῶνα πείσας τὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου φύλακα αὐτῶν, ἐπί τε ποταμὸν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ἐστρατοπεδευμένος ἦν ὁ Λέπιδος, καὶ οὔτε χάρακα περιεβάλετο οὔτε τάφρον ὡς δὴ φίλῳ παραστρατοπεδεύων. διαπομπαὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους πυκναί, Ἀντωνίου μὲν ὑπομιμνήσκοντος φιλίας τε καὶ χαρίτων ποικίλων, καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι μεθ' αὑτὸν ὅμοια πείσονται καθ' ἕνα πάντες, οἳ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο φιλίας, Λεπίδου δὲ τὴν μὲν βουλὴν δεδιότος πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ κελεύουσαν, ὑπισχνουμένου δ' ὅμως οὐ πολεμήσειν ἑκόντος. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου τό τε ἀξίωμα αἰδούμενοι τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῶν διαπομπῶν αἰσθανόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ἀγάμενοι, ἐπεμίγνυντο τοῖς Ἀντωνίου λανθάνοντες, εἶτα φανερῶς οἷα πολίταις τε καὶ συστρατιώταις γενομένοις, τῶν τε χιλιάρχων κωλυόντων ὑπερεώρων καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς εὐμάρειαν τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ναυσὶν ἐγεφύρουν· τό τε καλούμενον δέκατον τέλος, ἐξεναγμένον ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πάλαι, τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαζεν.

84. Ὧν αἰσθανόμενος Λατερήσιος, τῶν τις ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιφανῶν, προηγόρευε τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ

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CHAP. XII

THE Senate laughed at Cicero's ambition, and the relatives of the murderers especially opposed him, fearing lest Octavian, as consul, should bring the murderers to punishment, 83. but on various accounts the election was postponed by certain legal objections. Meanwhile, Antony passed over the Alps with the permission of Culleo, who had been stationed there by Lepidus to guard them, and advanced to a river where Lepidus was encamped; but he neglected to surround himself with palisade and ditch, as though he were camping alongside a friend. Messengers were going to and fro between them constantly. Antony reminded Lepidus of their friendship and of his various good offices, pointing out that after he himself should be destroyed all who had enjoyed Caesar's friendship would suffer a like fate, one by one: Lepidus feared the Senate, which had ordered him to make war on Antony, but he promised nevertheless that he would not do so willingly. The army of Lepidus, having respect for Antony's dignity and perceiving the messengers going to and fro, and being gratified with the simplicity of Antony's camp, mingled with his men, at first secretly, then openly, as with fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers; they disregarded the orders of the tribunes, who forbade their doing so; and in order to facilitate their intercourse they made a bridge of boats across the river. The Tenth Legion, which had been originally enlisted by Antony, arranged things for him inside the camp of Lepidus.

Antony encamps near Lepidus

84. When Laterensis, one of the distinguished members of the Senate, perceived this, he warned

CAP. XII ἀπιστοῦντα ἐκέλευε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς πολλὰ διελύντα ἐκπέμψαι κατὰ δή τινας χρείας, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ τῆς προδοσίας ἢ τῆς πίστεως. καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐς τρία διελών, ἐκέλευε νυκτὸς ἐξορμᾶν ἐς φρουρὰν ταμιείων πλησιαζόντων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, ὡς ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον ὁπλισάμενοι, τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον Ἀντωνίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Λεπίδου σκηνὴν ἴετο δρόμῳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ Λεπίδου παραπέμποντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἔλεον ἐς ἀτυχοῦντας πολίτας. ὁ μὲν δὴ Λέπιδος, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἄζωστος ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξέθορε καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἠσπάζετο καὶ ἐξελογεῖτο τῆς ἀνάγκης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προσπεσεῖν Ἀντωνίῳ νομίζουσιν, ἄπρακτον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄτολμον, οὐ μὴν ἅπασι τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι πιστὸν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ πιθανόν· οὐ γάρ πώ τι αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπέπρακτο, δέους ἄξιον. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐς μέγα δυνάμεως αὖθις ἐπῆρτο, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπιφοβώτατος· στρατὸν γὰρ εἶχεν, ὅν τε ἐξανέστησε Μουτίνης καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ λαμπρότατον ἱππικόν, τρία τε αὐτῷ τέλη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσεγεγένητο τὰ Οὐεντιδίου, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ σύμμαχος ἐγίγνετο ἑπτὰ ἔχων ὁπλιτικὰ τέλη καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἄλλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον. καὶ τοῖσδε ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐπωνομάζετο ἔτι, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἅπαντα διῴκει.

85. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τῶνδε ἐς Ῥώμην θαυμαστὴ καὶ αἰφνίδιος ἦν αὖθις μεταβολή, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ καταφρονήσεως ἐς δέος,

Lepidus. As the latter was incredulous Laterensis advised him to divide his army in several parts and send them away on some ostensible errands in order to test whether they were faithful or not. Accordingly, Lepidus divided them in three parts, and ordered them to go out by night in order to protect some convoys who were approaching. About the last watch the soldiers armed themselves as if for the march, seized the fortified parts of the camp, and opened the gates to Antony. He came running to the tent of Lepidus, whose whole army now escorted him, demanding from Lepidus peace and compassion for their unfortunate fellow-citizens. Lepidus leaped out of bed among them ungirt, just as he was, promised to do what they asked, embraced Antony, and pleaded necessity as his excuse. Some say that he actually fell on his knees before Antony, being an irresolute and timid man. Not all writers put faith in this report, nor do I, for he had as yet done nothing whatever inimical to Antony which might cause him fear. Thus did Antony again become a very powerful man, and most formidable to his enemies; for he had the army with which he had abandoned the siege of Mutina, including its magnificent cavalry; Ventidius had joined him on the road with three legions, and Lepidus had become his ally with seven legions of foot soldiers and a great number of auxiliary troops and apparatus in proportion. Lepidus nominally retained the command of these, but Antony directed everything.

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They unite their forces and Ventidius joins Antony

85. When these facts became known at Rome another wonderful and sudden change took place. Those who had just now held Antony in contempt

Consternation at Rome

CAP. XII τῶν δὲ ἐς θάρσος ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους μεθισταμένων. αἵ τε προγραφαὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν κατεσπῶντο σὺν ὕβρει, καὶ αἱ χειροτονίαι τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπείχοντο ἔτι μᾶλλον· ἥ τε βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀπορουμένη, καὶ δεδιυῖα, μὴ συνθοῖντο ἀλλήλοις ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἔπεμπε μὲν ἐς Βροῦτόν τε καὶ Κάσσιον κρύφα ἀπὸ σφῶν Λεύκιον καὶ Πάνσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ θέας εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἐξιόντας, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ἐς ὃ δύναιντο, μετεκάλει δὲ ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπὸ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ Σέξτιον δύο τέλη, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκέλευε Κορνιφικίῳ παραδοθῆναι, τῆς ἑτέρας ἄρχοντι Λιβύης καὶ τὰ τῆς βουλῆς φρονοῦντι, εἰδότες μὲν καὶ τούσδε Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι ἐστρατευμένους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου πάντα ὑπονοοῦντες· ἡ δὲ ἀπορία σφᾶς ὧδε ἤπειγεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν νέον Καίσαρα, δεδιότες μὴ συνθοῖτο Ἀντωνίῳ, στρατηγὸν αὖθις ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μάλα ἀπρεπῶς ἐχειροτόνουν ἅμα Δέκμῳ.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὀργὴν ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ, ὡς συνεχῶς ὑβριζόμενος, ἀνεκίνει καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐκείνων, ἐπὶ δευτέραν στρατείαν πεμπομένων, πρὶν ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ὅσας αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν· ἐδίδασκέ τε πέμποντας αἰτεῖν. οἱ δ' ἔπεμπον τοὺς λοχαγούς. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ συνίει μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐς ταῦτα διδασκομένους, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔφη δι' ἑτέρων πρέσβεων. καὶ ἔπεμπον, οὓς ἐδίδαξαν τοῖς δύο τέλεσι τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου μεθεστηκόσιν ἐντυχεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ διδάσκειν μὴ ἐφ' ἑνὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ κράτος ἀθάνατον ἐχούσῃ μόνῃ,

were alarmed, while the fears of others were changed to courage. The edicts of the decemvirs were torn down with derision, and the consular election was still further postponed. The Senate, wholly at a loss what to do and fearful lest Octavian and Antony should form an alliance, secretly sent two of their number, Lucius and Pansa, to Brutus and Cassius, under pretence of attending the games in Greece, to urge them to lend all the assistance possible. It recalled from Africa two of the three legions under Sextius, and ordered the third to be given over to Cornificius, who commanded another portion of Africa, and favoured the senatorial party, although they knew that these legions had served under Gaius Caesar, and although they suspected everything of his, but their embarrassment drove them to this, since they even appointed, awkwardly enough, Octavian as general with Decimus against Antony, for they feared lest he should unite with Antony. CHAP. XII

Increasing coolness between Octavian and the Senate

86. But Octavian excited the army to anger against the Senate both on account of its repeated indignities towards himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5000 drachmas per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send and ask for the money. They sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavian and said that they would make answer also by deputies. They sent these, under instructions, to address themselves, when Octavian was not present, to the two legions which had deserted from Antony, and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had perpetual power, and to go

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χωρεῖν δὲ πρὸς Δέκμον, ἔνθα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα ἀπαντήσειν. ταῦτ' ἐπισκήψαντες λέγειν ἐσέφερον ἤδη τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ δέκα ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν ἐχειροτόνουν, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐνδέκατον προσετίθεσαν εἶναι τὸν Καίσαρα. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρέσβεις, οὐκ ἀνασχομένων τῶν δύο τελῶν ἐντυχεῖν σφίσιν ἄνευ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὑπέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκέτι τοὺς λόγους καθίει δι' ἑτέρων οὐδὲ μέλλειν ἠξίου, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν στρατὸν συνειλεγμένον ἐπελθών, τά τε ὑβρίσματα, ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς γεγένητο, κατέλεξε, καὶ τὴν ἐς πάντας τοὺς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐπιβουλήν, καθ' ἕνα καθαιρουμένους, δεδιέναι τε αὐτοῖς περὶ σφῶν διεκελεύσατο, μεταφερομένοις ἔς τε πολέμιον τῆς μοίρας στρατηγὸν καὶ πολέμους ἑτέρους ἀφ' ἑτέρων, ἵν' ἢ ἐκφθαρεῖεν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷδε καὶ τοῦ περὶ Μουτίνην ἔργου κοινοῦ γεγονότος τὰ γέρα τοῖς δύο τέλεσι μόνοις δίδοσθαι, ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔριν καὶ στάσιν ἐμβάλοιεν.

87. "Ἴστε δέ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔναγχος ἠτιᾶτο οἷά τε τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐπύθεσθε ἐν ἄστει πεποιηκέναι κατὰ τῶν τινας δωρεὰς παρὰ Καίσαρος εἰληφότων. τί δὴ πιστὸν ἢ ὑμῖν ὧν ἐλάβετε παρ' ἐκείνου χωρίων τε καὶ χρημάτων ἢ ἐμοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὧδε ἐν τῇ βουλῇ δυναστευόντων τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι; κἀγὼ μὲν ἐκδέξομαι τὸ τέλος, ὅ τι ἂν ἐπιγίγνηταί μοι (καλὸν γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν πατρὶ ἐπικουροῦντα), ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑμῶν δέδια τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε, κινδυνευόντων ἐς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς χάριν. ἴστε μὲν δή με καθαρεύοντα φιλοτιμίας, ἐξ οὗ στρατηγεῖν

to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered this charge to the deputies they forwarded one-half of the donative and appointed ten men to divide it, to whom it did not add Octavian even as an eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavian, the deputies returned without effecting anything. Octavian no longer held communication with the troops through the medium of others, and no longer asked them to wait, but assembled the army and came before them and related to them the indignities he had suffered from the Senate, and its purpose to destroy all the friends of Gaius Caesar, one by one: he admonished them also to beware against being transferred to a general opposed to their party and being sent to one war after another to be killed or set in opposition to each other. This, he said, was the reason why, after their common struggles at Mutina were ended, rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce strife and sedition among them. CHAP. XII

87. "You know, too," he said, "the reason why Antony was lately vanquished. You have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Caesar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety, while the relatives of the murderers thus dominate the Senate? For my part I shall accept my fate, whatever it may be, for it is honourable to suffer anything in the service of a father; but I fear for you, such a host of brave men, who have incurred danger in behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from

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μοι διδόντων ὑμῶν ὑπὸ σημείοις οὐκ ἐδεχόμην· ἐν δὲ μόνον ὁρῶ νῦν ἀμφοτέροις σωτήριον, εἰ δι' ὑμῶν ὕπατος ἀποδειχθείην. τά τε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῖν δοθέντα πάντα βέβαια ἔσται, ἀποικίαι τε προσέσονται αἱ ἔτι ὀφειλόμεναι, καὶ γέρα πάντα ἐντελῆ· ἐγώ τε τοὺς φονέας ὑπὸ δίκην ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἂν ὑμῖν καταλύσαιμι πολέμους."

88. Ὧν λεγομένων ἥ τε στρατιὰ προθύμως ἐπεβόησε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς αὐτίκα ἔπεμπον αἰτήσοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Καίσαρι. ὑποκριναμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἔλεγον οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἃ ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι Κορουΐνός τε ἄρξειε νεώτερος ὢν ἔτι καὶ Σκιπίων ὕστερον, ὅ τε πρότερος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ ἐκ τῆς νεότητος ἑκάστου πολλὰ ὄναιτο ἡ πατρίς. τά τε ἔναγχος ταῦτα καὶ Πομπήιον Μάγνον αὐτοῖς καὶ Λολοβέλλαν προύφερον, αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι ἤδη δεδόσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μετιέναι θᾶσσον ἐτῶν δέκα. ταῦτα τῶν λοχαγῶν σὺν πλέονι παρρησίᾳ λεγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τινες τῶν βουλευτῶν λοχαγοὺς ὄντας ὧδε παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἐπέπλησσον ὡς θρασυνομένοις ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατιώταις πρέπον. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πυθόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζοντο καὶ ἄγειν σφᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσοντες αὐτὸν ἐξαιρέτῳ χειροτονίᾳ, Καίσαρος υἱὸν ὄντα, πολλά τε τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα ἀπαύστως εὐφήμουν. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς

ambition from the time when I declined the praetorship which you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us: if I should obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be forthcoming, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and I should bring the murderers to punishment and release you from any more wars." CHAP. XII

88. At these words the army cheered heartily, and forthwith sent their centurions to ask the consulship for Octavian. When the Senate began to make talk about his youth, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden times Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Caesar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age.[1] While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the senators, who could not endure that centurions should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and raise Octavian to the consulship because he was Caesar's son. At the same time they extolled Octavian sends soldiers to the Senate to demand the Consulship

[1] This is erroneous. Caesar was first elected consul in the year 694 (B.C. 60), and entered upon the office at the beginning of 695, at which time he had just reached the legal age of forty-three.

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ὁρμῆς ἔχοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἦγεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου, ὀκτὼ τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἵππον ἱκανὴν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοῖς τέλεσι συνετάσσετο. περάσας δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὅν τινα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἐπέρασεν, ἐς δύο πάντας διῄρει· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕπεσθαι κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκέλευσε, τὸ δὲ ἄμεινον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐτρόχαζεν, ἐπειγόμενος ἔτι ἀπαρασκεύους καταλαβεῖν. μέρους τε τῶν χρημάτων ὑπαντῶντος, ἃ ἐς τὰ γέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡ βουλὴ πεπόμφει, δείσας ἐπὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὁ Καῖσαρ προύπεμπε κρύφα τοὺς ἐκφοβήσοντας· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων.

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89. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄστυ τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀφικομένης θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φόβος ἄπλετος, διαθεόντων τε ἀκόσμως καὶ γύναιά τινων ἢ παῖδας ἢ ὅσα τιμιώτατα ἄλλα ἐς ἀγροὺς ἢ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς πόλεως μεταφερόντων· οὐ γάρ πω σαφοῦς ὄντος, ὅτι μόνης ὀρέγοιτο ὑπατείας, πολέμιον στρατὸν ἐπιέναι σὺν ὀργῇ πυνθανόμενοι ἐς πάντα ἐδεδοίκεσαν. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐξεπέπληκτο ἀμέτρως, οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτοῖς οὔσης ἑτοίμου δυνάμεως, ἀλλήλους τε, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φόβοις γίγνεται, κατεμέμφοντο, οἱ μὲν ὅτι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτὸν ἀφέλοιντο τὴν ἐπὶ

the elder Caesar without stint. When Octavian saw them in this excited state, he led them directly from the assembly, eight legions of foot and a corresponding number of horse, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from the Gallic province into Italy, the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war,—he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow in a leisurely way. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made forced marches, hastening in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with a part of the money which the Senate had sent as a present to the soldiers, Octavian feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries. So he secretly sent forward a force to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

CHAP. XII

He marches towards Rome with his army

XIII

89. When the news of Octavian's approach reached the city there was immense confusion and alarm. People ran hither and thither, and some conveyed their wives and children and whatever they held most dear to the country and to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Having heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions, there was nothing that they did not fear. The Senate was struck with consternation since they had no military force in readiness. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some complained that they had insolently deprived Octavian of the command of

CHAP. XIII

Alarm in the city

Mutual recriminations in the Senate

CAP. XIII τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑβριστικῶς, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐς τὸν θρίαμβον ὑπεροψίας, οὐκ ἄδικον ὄντα, οἱ δὲ τοῦ φθόνου τῆς διανεμήσεως τῶν χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ἑνδέκατον ἐπιγράψαντες· οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἆθλα, οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε ἐντελῆ διδόμενα, τὴν στρατιὰν σφίσιν ἔλεγον ἐκπολεμῶσαι. τῆς τε φιλονικίας τὸ ἄκαιρον μάλιστα ἐμέμφοντο, Βρούτου μὲν καὶ Κασσίου πορρωτέρω τε ὄντων καὶ συνισταμένων ἔτι, ἐν δὲ πλευραῖς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Λεπίδου πολεμίων· οὓς ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν Καίσαρι συναλλαγήσεσθαι, πάμπαν ἤκμαζεν ὁ φόβος. Κικέρων τε, ὃς τέως αὐτοῖς ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο.

90. Ἀθρόα δὴ πάντων ἐς πάντα ἦν μετάθεσις, ἀντὶ μὲν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν τὰς πεντακισχιλίας, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν δύο τελῶν τοῖς ὀκτὼ δοθῆναι, Καίσαρά τε αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν δέκα ἀνδρῶν διανέμειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν παραγγέλλειν ἀπόντα. πρέσβεις τε ἐξέτρεχον, οἳ τάδε φράσειν ἔμελλον αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδήν. ὧν ἄρτι τῆς πόλεως ἐκδραμόντων μετάνοια ἐνέπιπτε τῇ βουλῇ, μὴ δεῖν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως καταπεπλῆχθαι, μηδὲ ἑτέραν ἐνδέξασθαι τυραννίδα ἀναιμωτί, μηδὲ ἐθίσαι τοὺς ἀρχῆς ἐφιεμένους ἐκ βίας τυγχάνειν, μηδὲ τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἄρχειν τῆς πατρίδος, ὁπλισαμένους δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἐπιοῦσι προτείνειν· προσδοκᾶν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνους νόμων προτεινομένων ὅπλα τῇ

the campaign against Antony, others that they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not without justice; others because they had envied him the honour of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten: still others said that they had made the army hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been quickly and fully paid. They complained especially of the inopportune time for such a strife, while Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organized, and on their own flank in a hostile attitude were Antony and Lepidus, who, they thought, might form an alliance with Octavian, and thus their fears were greatly augmented. Cicero, who had so long been in evidence, was nowhere to be seen. CHAP. XIII

90. There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2500 drachmas 5000 were given; instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavian was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship while absent. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. They felt that they ought not to be so weakly terror-stricken, or accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or the soldiers to govern the country by the word of command. Rather should they arm themselves as best they could and confront the invaders with the laws, for there was some hope that, if they were confronted with the laws, not even they would bear arms against their country. If Vacillating counsels

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πατρίδι ἐποίσειν· εἰ δὲ φέροιεν, ἀνέχεσθαί τε πολιορκίας, μέχρι Δέκμος ἢ Πλάγκος ἔλθοι, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἑκόντας ἐνδέξασθαι δουλείαν ἄνωθεν ἀδιόρθωτον· τά τε ἀρχαῖα Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ φρονήματα καὶ πάθη, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐνδόντων ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, ἀνελέγοντο.

91. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης μετάπεμπτα ἐς τὸν λιμένα αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκετο, τοὺς θεοὺς σφᾶς ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐποτρύνειν. ἡ μὲν δὴ μετάνοια ἐκεκύρωτο, καὶ μετεψηφίζετο ἅπαντα, Κικέρωνος αὖθις αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανέντος· ἥ τε στρατεύσιμος ἡλικία προεγράφετο πᾶσα, καὶ τὰ δύο τέλη τάδε, τὰ ἐκ Λιβύης, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἱππέες χίλιοι καὶ τέλος ἕτερον, ὃ Πάνσας αὐτοῖς ὑπολελοίπει, πάντες οἵδε μερισθέντες οἱ μὲν τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνουκλον, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐσώρευσαν, ἐφρούρουν, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν, ἐπιδιηρημένων σφίσι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκάφη καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα εὐτρέπιζον, εἰ δεήσειεν ἡττωμένους φυγεῖν διὰ θαλάσσης. καὶ τάδε σὺν εὐθαρσείᾳ πράσσοντες οὕτως ὀξέως ἤλπιζον ἀντικαταπλήξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ ἢ μεταπείσειν παρὰ σφῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰτεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ ἐγκρατῶς ἀμυνεῖσθαι· τούς τε τῆς ἐναντίας μοίρας νῦν γε μεταθήσεσθαι προσεδόκων, μέχρι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών. τὴν δὲ μητέρα Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν οὔτε φανερῶς οὔτε λάθρᾳ ζητοῦντες εὕρισκον. ἐθορυ-

they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit voluntarily to a slavery thenceforth without remedy. They recounted the high spirit and endurance in behalf of freedom of the Romans of old, who never yielded to anything when their liberty was at stake. CHAP. XIII

The Senate resolves to resist

91. As both the legions sent for from Africa happened to arrive in the harbour on this very day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they repealed all the decrees above mentioned. All who were of military age were called to arms, also the two legions from Africa, and 1000 horse with them, and another legion that Pansa had left behind,—all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city praetors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others made ready small boats and ships in the harbour, together with money, in case they should be vanquished and have to escape by sea. While courageously making these hasty preparations they hoped to alarm Octavian in his turn, and induce him to seek the consulship from them instead of the army, or they hoped at least to defend themselves vigorously. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. They sought for the mother and sister of Octavian, but as they did not discover them either by any open or secret search, they were again alarmed

CAP. XIII βοῦντο οὖν αὖθις ὁμήρων μεγάλων ἀφῃρημένοι· καὶ τῶν Καισαριανῶν οὔπω σφίσιν ἐπικλωμένων, ὑπὸ ἐκείνων αὐτὰς ὧδε ἀκριβῶς ἐνόμιζον ἐπικρύπτεσθαι.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ ἔτι τῶν πρέσβεων ἐντυγχανόντων τὰ μετεψηφισμένα ἀγγέλλεται· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπολιπόντες ἀνέστρεφον ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς. ὁ δὲ τῷ στρατῷ μᾶλλον ἔτι παρωξυμμένῳ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει, σὺν φόβῳ μή τι πάθοιεν αἱ γυναῖκες· ἔς τε τὸν δῆμον τεθορυβημένον ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐπικελεύων, καὶ τεθηπότων πάντων τὰ πέραν τοῦ Κυριναλίου λόφου κατέλαβεν, οὐδενὸς ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἢ κωλύειν ὑποστάντος. ἦν τε αὖθις ἑτέρα θαυμάσιος ἄφνω μεταβολή, θεόντων ἐς αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ προσαγορευόντων· ἔθει δὲ καὶ ὁ δημότης λεὼς καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἰρηνικὴν ἀπεδέχοντο. ὁ δὲ τὸν στρατόν, ἔνθαπερ ἦν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐχώρει τῆς ἐπιούσης πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, φυλακὴν ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱκανήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τότε ὑπήντων δι' ὅλης τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέρη καὶ προσηγόρευον, οὐδὲν ἐνδέοντες ἢ φιλοφροσύνης ἢ θεραπείας ἀσθενοῦς. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν παρθένων ἠσπάσαντο. καὶ τὰ τρία τέλη, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπεριδόντα, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ μετετίθετο· καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἳ ἦρχον αὐτῶν, Κορνοῦτος μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σπονδῶν καὶ πίστεων ἔτυχον. Κικέρων τε τῶν σπονδῶν πυθόμενος ἔπραξε διὰ τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐντυχὼν ἀπελογεῖτο καὶ τὴν εἰσήγησιν τῆς ὑπατείας ὑπερεπῆρεν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐν

at finding themselves deprived of such important hostages, and as the Caesarians showed no disposition to yield to them they concluded that it was by them that these women were being carefully concealed. CHAP. XIII

92. While Octavian was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers thereupon withdrew, covered with confusion. With his army still more exasperated Octavian hastened to the city, fearing lest some evil should befall his mother and sister. To the plebeians, who were in a state of consternation, he sent horsemen in advance to tell them to have no fear. While all were amazed he took a position just beyond the Quirinal hill, no one daring to fight or prevent him. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him; the common people ran also and took the good order of the soldiers for a sign of peace. On the following day Octavian advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only a sufficient guard. Here, again, detached crowds met him along the whole road and saluted him, omitting nothing that savoured of friendliness and weak compliance. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their generals, sent ambassadors and transferred themselves to him. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself; the others allied themselves with Octavian. When Cicero learned of the truce he sought an interview with Octavian through friends. When it was granted he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavian for the

Octavian arrives at the city gates

The new legions go over to him

CAP. XIII τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον εἰσηγήσατο. ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπεκρίνατο ἐπισκώπτων ὅτι τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ τελευταῖος ἐντυγχάνοι.

93. Νυκτὸς δ' ἄφνω δόξης γενομένης, ὅτι δύο τέλη Καίσαρος, τό τε Ἄρειον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον, μεταθοῖτο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπαχθέντα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πάμπαν ἀταλαιπώρως ἐπίστευσαν, καίπερ ὄντος ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ στρατοῦ· νομίσαντές τε ἀνθέξειν αὐτοῖς οὗσιν ἀρίστοις πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρι τις ἑτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς ἰσχὺς ἐπιγένοιτο, νυκτὸς ἔτι Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον Κράσσον ἐς τὴν Πικηνίτιδα ἐξέπεμπον στρατὸν ἀθροίζειν, καὶ τῶν τινα δημάρχων Ἀπουλήιον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐποίουν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκφέρειν περιθέοντα. ἥ τε βουλὴ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέθεον, Κικέρωνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοὺς δεξιουμένου. ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς δόξης φανείσης ἐν φορείῳ διέφυγεν.

94. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπιγελάσας αὐτοῖς τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς πόλεως προήγαγεν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ καλούμενον Ἄρειον, τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν τότε μὲν οὐδένα ἠμύνατο, οὐδὲ Κράσσον τὸν ἐς Πικήνην ἐκδραμόντα, καίπερ οἱ προσαχθέντα ὡς εἶχε ληφθεὶς ἐν σχήματι οἰκέτου, ἀλλὰ μεθῆκεν ἅπαντας ἐς δόξαν φιλανθρωπίας. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προυγράφησαν. τὰ χρήματα δέ, ὅσα τε κοινὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰανούκλῳ ἢ ἑτέρωθι καὶ ἄλλα συνενεχθῆναι κελεύσας, ὁπόσα Κικέρωνος ἐσηγουμένου πρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο, διένειμεν ἀνὰ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς

consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavian answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him. CHAP. XIII

93. The next night a rumour gained currency that two of Octavian's legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, saying that they had been deceived and led against their country. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered one of the tribunes, named Apuleius, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The senators assembled by night in the senate-house, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter. Cicero takes flight

94. Octavian laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the praetors, not even Crassus, who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave, but he pardoned all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency. But not long afterward they were put on the list of the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and the amount which had been previously ordered to be paid to the army on the motion of Cicero, he distributed, namely 2500

CAP. XIII τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον ἐπιδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, μέχρι χειροτονήσαιεν ὑπάτους αἱρετούς. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς σὺν ᾧ περ ἐβούλετο Κοΐντῳ Πεδίῳ, ὃς τὸ μέρος αὐτῷ δεδώρητο τῆς Καίσαρος κληρονομίας, ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὖθις ὡς ὕπατος ἐσῄει, καὶ ἔθυε, δώδεκά οἱ γυπῶν φανέντων, ὅσους φασὶ καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζοντι ὀφθῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν θυσιῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὖθις κατὰ νόμον κουριάτιον. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου γίγνεσθαι τὴν θέσιν· κουρίας γὰρ ἐς μέρη τὰς φυλὰς ἢ τοὺς δήμους διαιροῦντες καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἕλληνες, εἰκάζοντι φάναι, φατρίας. ἐπινομώτατος δ' ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ τρόπος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπατόρων· καὶ δύνανται μάλιστα αὐτοὶ ἴσα τοῖς γνησίοις παισὶν ἄγειν τοὺς συγγενεῖς τῶν θεμένων καὶ ἀπελευθέρους. Γαΐῳ δ' ἦν τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι πολλοί τε καὶ πλούσιοι, καὶ διὰ τόδ' ἴσως μάλιστα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ θέσει, κατὰ διαθήκας οἱ γενομένῃ, καὶ τῆσδε ἐδεήθη.

XIV

CAP. XIV 95. Νόμῳ δ' ἑτέρῳ ἀπέλυε μὴ εἶναι πολέμιον Δολοβέλλαν, καὶ εἶναι φόνου δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦσαν γραφαί, τῶν φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος γραφομένων τοὺς μὲν αὐτόχειρας, τοὺς δὲ συνεγ-

drachmas per man, and promised to give them the remainder. Then he took his departure from the city until the consuls should be chosen by the comitia. Having been elected himself, together with Quintus Pedius, the man whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own portion of his inheritance from Caesar, he entered the city again as consul. While he offered the sacrifices, twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices he caused his adoption by his father to be ratified again, according to the *lex curiata*,—(it is possible to have adoption ratified by the people)—for the parts into which the tribes, or local divisions, are divided are called *curiae*, just as, I suppose, the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriae*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the freedmen of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Caesar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavian wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Caesar's will.

CHAP. XIII

Octavian is elected consul with Pedius as his colleague

His adoption by Caesar is ratified by the people

XIV

95. Octavian caused a new law to be passed to repeal the one which declared Dolabella a public enemy, and also to punish the murder of Caesar. Indictments were found forthwith, the friends of

CHAP. XIV

CAP. XIV

νωκέναι μόνον. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἐπεγράφη, καί τισιν οὐδ' ἐπιδημήσασιν, ὅτε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκτείνετο. πᾶσι δ' ὁρισθείσης ὑπὸ κηρύγματι μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐς κρίσιν, ἐρήμην ἅπαντες ἑάλωσαν, ἐφορῶντος τὰ δικαστήρια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς τὴν ἀπολύουσαν φέροντος πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ὃς τότε μὲν οὐδ' αὐτός τι ἔπαθε, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅδε προυγράφη. ἔδοξε δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις Κόιντος Γάλλιος, ἀδελφὸς Μάρκου Γαλλίου συνόντος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὴν πολιτικὴν στρατηγίαν ἄρχων, αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν στρατηγίαν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ οὕτω τυχὼν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῷ Καίσαρι· καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν στρατηγίαν περιεῖλον οἱ σύναρχοι, τὴν δ' οἰκίαν διήρπασεν ὁ δῆμος, ἡ δὲ βουλὴ κατεγίνωσκε θάνατον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖ νεὼς ἐπιβὰς οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι φανῆναι.

96. Τοσάδε πράξας ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπενόει μὲν τὰς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον διαλύσεις, πυνθανόμενος ἤδη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴκοσι συνῆχθαι τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ χρῄζων ἐπ' αὐτὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐξῄει δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ σχολαίως ἀνεζεύγνυε, τὰ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιμένων· Πέδιος γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποστάντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔπειθε τὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους μὴ δυσίατα ποιουμένους συναλλαγῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ. οἱ δὲ προεώρων μὲν ὅτι μὴ σφίσι μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσὶν αἱ διαλλαγαί, ἀλλ' ἐς συμμαχίαν Καίσαρι κατὰ Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐπῄνουν δ' ὅμως καὶ συνετίθεντο ὑπ'

Caesar bringing accusations against some for the act and others for guilty knowledge. This last charge was even brought against some who were not in the city when Caesar was killed. One day was fixed by public proclamation for the trial of all, and judgment was taken against all by default, Octavian presiding over the court, and none of the judges voting for acquittal except one patrician, who then escaped with impunity, but a little later was included with the others in the proscription. It appears that about this time Quintus Gallius, a city praetor and brother of Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony, asked Octavian for the command of Africa, and having thus got his chance, plotted against Octavian. His colleagues stripped him of his praetorship, the people tore his house down, and the Senate condemned him to death. Octavian ordered him to depart to his brother, and it is said that he took ship and was never seen again.

CHAP. XIV

Indictment and trial of Caesar's murderers

96. These things accomplished, Octavian formed his plans for a reconciliation with Antony, for he had learned that Brutus and Cassius had already collected twenty legions of soldiers, and he needed Antony's help against them. He moved out of the city toward the Adriatic coast and proceeded in a leisurely way, waiting to see what the Senate would do. Pedius persuaded the senators, after Octavian had taken his departure, not to make their differences with each other irremediable, but to be reconciled to Lepidus and Antony. Although they foresaw that such a reconciliation would not be for their advantage or for that of the country, but would be merely an assistance to Octavian against Brutus and Cassius, nevertheless, they gave their approval and assent to

The Senate rescinds its decrees against Antony and Lepidus

CAP. XIV

ἀνάγκης. καὶ τὰ πολέμια δόγματα Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Λεπίδου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς στρατῶν κατελύετο, εἰρηναῖα δὲ ἕτερα αὐτοῖς ἐπέμπετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς συνήδετο γράφων, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ Δέκμου ὑπισχνεῖτο ἥξειν, εἰ δέοιτο. οἱ δὲ ἀντεφιλοφρονοῦντο μὲν αὐτὸν ἄφνω καὶ ἐπῄνουν, ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἔγραφεν αὐτὸς ἀποτίσεσθαι Δέκμον τε ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος καὶ Πλάγκον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συμμίξειν Καίσαρι.

97. Τοσάδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐπέστειλαν, διώκοντι δὲ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Δέκμον προσγίγνεται Πολλίων Ἀσίνιος ἄγων δύο τέλη. καὶ Πλάγκῳ μὲν Ἀσίνιος ἔπραξε διαλλαγάς, καὶ ὁ Πλάγκος σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μεθίστατο ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὥστε ἤδη βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως ἦρχεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος· Δέκμῳ δὲ ἦν τέλη δέκα, ὧν τέσσαρα μὲν τὰ ἐμπειροπολεμώτατα ὑπὸ λιμοῦ διέφθαρτο καὶ ἐνόσει ἔτι, τὰ νεοστράτευτα δὲ ἦν ἕξ, ἀταλαίπωρα ἔτι καὶ πόνων ἄπειρα. ἀπογνοὺς οὖν μάχεσθαι, φεύγειν ἔκρινε πρὸς Βροῦτον ἐς Μακεδονίαν. ἔφευγε δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδε τῶν Ἄλπεων, ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἢ Ἀκυληίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὧδευε ταύτῃ, ἄλλην μακροτέραν ὁδὸν καὶ δύσπορον ἐπενόει, τόν τε Ῥῆνον περᾶσαι καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτερα τῶν βαρβάρων ὑπερελθεῖν· ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὑπό τε τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ τοῦ καμάτου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ νεοστράτευτοι καταλιπόντες ἐς Καίσαρα ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα τέσσαρα ἐς Ἀντώνιον καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ἤδη χωρὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἱππέων Κελτῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιτρέψας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα σφῶν ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαδοὺς ἐκ

it as a matter of necessity. So the decrees declaring Antony and Lepidus, and the soldiers under them, public enemies, were repealed, and others of a peaceful nature was sent to them. Thereupon Octavian wrote and congratulated them, and he promised to lend assistance to Antony against Decimus Brutus if he needed it. They replied to him at once in a friendly spirit and eulogized him. Antony wrote that he would himself punish Decimus on Caesar's account and Plancus on his own, and that then he would join forces with Octavian. CHAP. XIV

97. Such were the letters which they exchanged with each other. While pursuing Decimus, Antony was joined by Asinius Pollio with two legions. Asinius also brought about an arrangement with Plancus, by virtue of which Plancus passed over to Antony with three legions, so that Antony now had much the strongest force. Decimus had ten legions, of whom four, the most experienced in war, had suffered severely from famine and were still enfeebled; while the other six were new levies, still untrained and unaccustomed to their labours, so, as he despaired of fighting, he decided to flee to Marcus Brutus in Macedonia. He retreated not by this side of the Appenines, but toward Ravenna and Aquileia. But since Octavian was travelling by this route, Decimus proposed another longer and more difficult one—to cross the Rhine and traverse the wild country of barbarian tribes. Thereupon the new levies, bewildered and fatigued, were the first to desert him and join Octavian; after them the four older legions joined Antony, and the auxiliaries did the same, except a body-guard of Gallic horse. Then Decimus allowed those who wished to do so to return to their own

Flight of Decimus Brutus

CAP. XIV

τοῦ παρόντος ἔτι χρυσίου, μετὰ τριακοσίων τῶν παραμεινάντων μόνων ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον ἐφέρετο. δυσπόρου δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ περᾶν σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἀπελείφθη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶνδε πλὴν δέκα μόνων. ἤλλαξε δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐς τὸ Κελτικόν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνήν, καὶ διεδίδρασκε σὺν ἐκείνοις οἱά τις Κελτός, οὐ τὴν μακροτέραν ἔτι περιών, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Ἀκυληίας, λήσεσθαι νομίζων διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα.

98. Ἁλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ δεθείς, ἤρετο μὲν ὅτου Κελτῶν δυνάστου τὸ ἔθνος εἴη, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι Καμίλου, πολλὰ πεποιηκὼς εὖ τὸν Κάμιλον, ἄγειν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν Κάμιλον ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἀχθέντα ἰδὼν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο μὲν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν καὶ τοῖς δήσασιν ἐπεμέμφετο ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐνυβρίσασιν ἀνδρὶ τοσῷδε, κρύφα δ' ἐπέστελλεν Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιός τι παθὼν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ οὐχ ὑπέστη τὸν ἄνδρα ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσε τῷ Καμίλῳ κτείναντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψαι· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς παροῦσι θάψαι. τοῦτο Δέκμῳ τέλος ἦν, ἱππάρχῃ τε Καίσαρος γενομένῳ καὶ ἄρξαντι τῆς παλαιᾶς Κελτικῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔτος

homes, and, after distributing among them the gold he had with him, proceeded toward the Rhine with 300 followers, the only ones who remained. As it was difficult to cross the river with so few, he was now abandoned by these also except ten. He put on Gallic clothing, and, as he was acquainted with the language, he proceeded on his journey with these, passing himself off as a Gaul. He no longer followed the longer route, but went toward Aquileia, thinking that he should escape notice by reason of the smallness of his force.[1] CHAP. XIV

98. Having been captured by robbers and bound, he asked them who was the chief of this Gallic tribe. He was informed that it was Camilus, a man to whom he had done many favours; so he told them to bring him to Camilus. When the latter saw him led in, he greeted him in a friendly way in public, and scolded those who had bound him for putting an indignity on so great a man through ignorance; but secretly he sent word to Antony. Antony was somewhat touched by this change of fortune, and was not willing to see Decimus, but he ordered Camilus to kill him and send his head to himself. When he saw the head he ordered his attendants to bury it. Such was the end of Decimus, who had been Caesar's praefect of horse and had governed Narbonensian Gaul under him and had been designated by him for the consul- He is captured and put death

[1] Appian's geography is much in need of amendment. It is impossible to trace the route taken by Decimus from this description.

CAP. XIV ὑπατεύειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεχειροτονημένῳ καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας Κελτικῆς ἄρχειν. καὶ δεύτερος τῶν σφαγέων οὗτος ἐπὶ Τρεβωνίῳ δίκην ἐδίδου μετ' ἐνιαυτόν που καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Μινούκιος Βάσιλος, σφαγεὺς καὶ ὅδε Καίσαρος, ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἀνῃρέθη, εὐνουχίζων τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ.

ship the coming year and for the governorship of the other Gaul. He was the next of the murderers after Trebonius to meet punishment, within a year and a half of the assassination. About the same time Minucius Basilus, another of Caesar's murderers, was killed by his slaves, some of whom he was mutilating by way of punishment.

CHAP. XIV

BOOK IV

Δ′

I

CAP. 1

1. Δύο μὲν δὴ Γαΐου Καίσαρος φονεῖς οὕτω δίκην, ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν στρατηγίαις ἐκπολεμηθέντες, ἐδεδώκεσαν, Τρεβώνιος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Δέκμος ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ· ὅπως δὲ ἔδοσαν Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος, οἳ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἦρξαν, καὶ γῆς ἐκράτουν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν ἁπάσης, καὶ στρατὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς πολύς, ἱππικός τε καὶ ναυτικὸς καὶ ὁπλιτῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι τέλη, καὶ νῆες ὁμοῦ καὶ χρήματα, ἡ τετάρτη τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἥδε ὑποδείκνυσιν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐγίγνοντο αἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφέντων ἔρευναί τε καὶ εὑρέσεις καὶ παθήματα πάμπαν ἐπαχθῆ, οἷα οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμοις οὔτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνου Σύλλα τοῦ πρώτου τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς θάνατον προγράψαντος. Μάριος μὲν γὰρ ἐζήτει καὶ ἐκόλαζεν, οὓς εὗρον· Σύλλας δὲ ὑπὸ μισθοῖς τε μεγάλοις καὶ κολάσεσι τῶν ἐπικρυψάντων ὁμοίαις τὸν ἐντυχόντα κτείνειν προέγραφεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ Μάριόν τε καὶ Σύλλαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων προείρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς οὕτως ἐγένετο.

BOOK IV

I

CHAP I

Outline of this Book

1. Thus was punishment visited upon two of Caesar's murderers, who were conquered in their own provinces, Trebonius in Asia and Decimus Brutus in Gaul. How vengeance overtook Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the principal leaders in the conspiracy against Caesar, and who controlled the territory from Syria to Macedonia, and had large forces of cavalry and sailors, and more than twenty legions of infantry, together with ships and money, this fourth book of the Civil Wars will show. During the progress of these events came the pursuit and capture of the proscribed in Rome and the sufferings consequent thereon, the like of which cannot be recalled among the civil commotions or wars of the Greeks, or those of the Romans themselves save only in the time of Sulla, who was the first to put his enemies on a proscription list. For Marius searched for his and punished those whom he found, but Sulla proclaimed large rewards to persons who should kill the proscribed and severe punishment to those who should conceal them. But what took place in the time of Marius and Sulla I have previously narrated in the history relating to them. The sequel to my previous book is as follows.

CAP. 1

2. Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιος ἐς φιλίαν ἀπ' ἔχθρας συνῆσαν ἀμφὶ Μουτίνην πόλιν, ἐς νησῖδα τοῦ Λαβινίου ποταμοῦ βραχεῖάν τε καὶ ὑπτίαν, ἔχων ἑκάτερος ὁπλιτῶν τέλη πέντε· καὶ τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθιστάντες ἐχώρουν σὺν τριακοσίοις ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτὸς προελθὼν διηρεύνα τὴν νῆσον καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι κατέσειεν ἥκειν ἑκάτερον. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρῶν τοὺς τριακοσίους μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀπολιπόντες ἐς τὸ μέσον ἦσαν ἐν περιόπτῳ, καὶ συνήδρευον οἱ τρεῖς, Καίσαρος ἐν μέσῳ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προκαθίσαντος. δύο δὲ ἡμέραις ἔωθεν ἐς ἑσπέραν συνιόντες τάδε ἔκριναν· ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν Καίσαρα καὶ Οὐεντίδιον αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους μεταλαβεῖν, καινὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἐς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐμφυλίων νομοθετηθῆναι Λεπίδῳ τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι, ἢν ἐπὶ πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἄρχειν, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις· ὧδε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀντὶ δικτατόρων ὀνομάσαι, διὰ τὸ δόγμα ἴσως τὸ Ἀντωνίου κωλῦον ἔτι γίγνεσθαι δικτάτορα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποφῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἐς τὰ ἐτήσια ἐπὶ τὴν πενταετίαν, τὰς δὲ ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐθνῶν νειμαμένους, ἔχειν Ἀντώνιον μὲν τὴν Κελτικὴν ἅπασαν ἄνευ τῆς συναφοῦς τοῖς Πυρηναίοις ὄρεσιν, ἣν παλαιὰν ἐκάλουν Κελτικήν· ταύτης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ ταύτῃ· Καίσαρι δὲ εἶναι Λιβύην καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη νῆσος ἐνταῦθα.

3. Ὧδε μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν οἱ τρεῖς ἐνείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, τὰ πέραν ἄρα τοῦ Ἰονίου μόνα ὑπερθέμενοι διὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον

CHAP. I

Reconciliation of Octavian and Antony, who are joined by Lepidus

2. Octavian and Antony composed their differences on a small, depressed islet in the river Lavinius, near the city of Mutina. Each had five legions of soldiers whom they stationed opposite each other, after which each proceeded with 300 men to the bridges over the river. Lepidus by himself went before them, searched the island, and waved his military cloak as a signal to them to come. Then each left his three hundred in charge of friends on the bridges and advanced to the middle of the island in plain sight, and there the three sat together in council, Octavian in the centre because he was consul. They were in conference from morning till night for two days, and came to these decisions: that Octavian should resign the consulship and that Ventidius should take it for the remainder of the year; that a new magistracy for quieting the civil dissensions should be created by law, which Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian should hold for five years with consular power (for this name seemed preferable to that of dictator, perhaps because of Antony's decree abolishing the dictatorship); that these three should at once designate the yearly magistrates of the city for the five years; that a distribution of the provinces should be made, giving to Antony the whole of Gaul except the part bordering the Pyrenees Mountains, which was called Old Gaul; this, together with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus; while Octavian was to have Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, and the other islands in the vicinity thereof.

Their mutual understanding

3. Thus was the dominion of the Romans divided by the triumvirate among themselves. Only the assignment of the parts beyond the Adriatic was

CAP. I κρατοῦντας ἔτι αὐτῶν, Κασσίῳ δὲ καὶ Βρούτῳ πολεμεῖν Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρα· Λέπιδον γὰρ ὑπατεύειν ἐς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ χρείας ὑπομένειν, ἡγεμονεύοντα τῆς Ἰβηρίας δι' ἑτέρων· τοῦ δὲ Λεπίδου στρατοῦ τρία μὲν αὐτὸν Λέπιδον ἔχειν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἑπτὰ δὲ τέλη νείμασθαι Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον, τρία μὲν Καίσαρα, τέσσαρα δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἂν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῶν ἑκάτερος εἴκοσιν ἄγοι. ἐπελπίσαι δὲ ἤδη τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ πολέμου, ἄλλαις τε δωρεαῖς καὶ ἐς κατοικίαν δόσεσι τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πόλεων ὀκτωκαίδεκα, αἳ καὶ περιουσίᾳ καὶ ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις εἰς κάλλος διαφέρουσαι ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς ἐδάφεσι καὶ οἴκοις αὐτῷ διανεμήσεσθαι, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῆς πολεμίας δορίληπτοι γενόμεναι. καὶ ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις ἄλλαι τε καὶ αἱ περιφανέσταται μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καπύη καὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Οὐενουσία καὶ Βενεβεντὸς καὶ Νουκερία καὶ Ἀρίμινον καὶ Ἱππώνιον. οὕτω μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ στρατῷ διέγραφον, ἔδοξε δὲ σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς προανελεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτοῖς τάδε καθισταμένοις καὶ πολεμοῦσι πόλεμον ἔκδημον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔδοξε, καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο· καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ὕπατος ἀνέγνω τοῖς στρατοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ χωρὶς τῶν ἀποθανουμένων. οἱ δ' ἀκούσαντες ἐπαιώνισάν τε καὶ ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ.

4. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολλὰ καὶ φοβερὰ ἦν. κύνες τε γὰρ ὠρύοντο ὁμαλῶς οἷα λύκοι, σύμβολον ἀηδές, καὶ λύκοι τὴν ἀγορὰν διέθεον, οὐκ ἐπιχωριάζον ἐν

postponed, since these were still under the control of Brutus and Cassius, against whom Antony and Octavian were to wage war. Lepidus was to be consul the following year and to remain in the city to do what was needful there, meanwhile governing Spain by proxy. He was to retain three of his legions to guard the city, and to divide the other seven between Octavian and Antony, three to the former and four to the latter, so that each of them might lead twenty legions to the war. To encourage the army with expectation of booty they promised them, beside other gifts, eighteen cities of Italy as colonies—cities which excelled in wealth, in the splendour of their estates and houses, and which were to be divided among them (land, buildings, and all), just as though they had been captured from an enemy in war. The most renowned among these were Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibo. Thus were the most beautiful parts of Italy marked out for the soldiers. But they decided to destroy their personal enemies beforehand, so that the latter should not interfere with their arrangements while they were carrying on war abroad. Having come to these decisions, they reduced them to writing, and Octavian as consul communicated them to the soldiers, all except the list of proscriptions. When the soldiers heard them they applauded and embraced each other in token of mutual reconciliation. CHAP. I

4. While these transactions were taking place many fearful prodigies and portents were observed at Rome. Dogs howled continuously like wolves—a fearful sign. Wolves darted through the forum—an animal unused to the city. Cattle uttered a Fearful prodigies at Rome

CAP. 1 πόλει ζῷον, βοῦς τε φωνὴν ἀφῆκεν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βρέφος ἀρτίτοκον ἐφθέγξατο, καὶ τῶν ξοάνων τὰ μὲν ἵδρυ, τὰ δὲ καὶ αἷμα ἵδρυ, ἀνδρῶν τε μεγάλαι βοαὶ καὶ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ δρόμος ἵππων οὐχ ὁρωμένων ἠκούετο. ἀμφί τε τὸν ἥλιον ἀηδῆ σημεῖα πολλά, καὶ λιθώδεις ἐγίγνοντο ὑετοί, καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔπιπτον. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ μὲν βουλὴ θύτας καὶ μάντεις συνῆγεν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν, τὰς πάλαι βασιλείας ἐπανήξειν εἰπών, καὶ δουλεύσειν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, τὸ στόμα κατέσχε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἕως ἀπέθανεν.

II

CAP. II 5. Οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀποθανουμένους συνέγραφον, τούς τε δυνατοὺς ὑφορώμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς καταλέγοντες, οἰκείους τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ἢ φίλους ἐς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀντιδιδοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τότε καὶ ὕστερον. προσκατελέγοντο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι μεθ' ἑτέρους, οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἔχθρας, οἱ δὲ μόνου προσκρούματος ἢ φιλίας ἐχθρῶν ἢ φίλων ἔχθρας ἢ πλούτου διαφέροντος. ἐδέοντο γὰρ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον χρημάτων πολλῶν, Βρούτῳ μὲν καὶ Κασσίῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας φόρων δεδομένων τε καὶ προσοδευομένων ἔτι καὶ βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν συμφερόντων, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Ἰταλίας πολέμοις τε καὶ εἰσφοραῖς τετρυμένης

human voice. A newly born infant spoke. Sweat issued from statues; some even sweated blood. Loud voices of men were heard and the clashing of arms and the tramp of horses where none could be seen. Many fearful signs were observed around the sun, there were showers of stones, and continuous lightning fell upon the sacred temples and images; and in consequence of these things the Senate sent for diviners and soothsayers from Etruria. The oldest of them said that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except only himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead. CHAP. I

II

5. As soon as the triumvirs were by themselves they joined in making a list of those who were to be put to death. They put on the list those whom they suspected because of their power, and also their personal enemies, and they exchanged their own relatives and friends with each other for death, both then and later. For they made additions to the catalogue from time to time, in some cases on the ground of enmity, in others for a grudge merely, or because the victims were friends of their enemies or enemies of their friends, or on account of their wealth, for the triumvirs needed a great deal of money to carry on the war, since the revenue from Asia had been paid to Brutus and Cassius, who were still collecting it, and the kings and satraps were contributing. So the triumvirs were short of money because Europe, and especially Italy, was exhausted CHAP. II

Proscription decreed by the triumvirs

CAP. II

ἀποροῦντες· δι' ἃ καὶ τοῖς δημόταις καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λήγοντες ἐπέγραψαν εἰσφορὰς βαρυτάτας, καὶ τέλη πράσεων καὶ μισθώσεων ἐπενόησαν. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ διὰ κάλλος ἐπαύλεως καὶ οἰκίας προεγράφη. καὶ ἐγένοντο πάντες οἱ θανάτου τε καὶ δημεύσεως κατεγνωσμένοι ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἐς δισχιλίους. καὶ ἦσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοί τε καὶ θεῖοι τῶν προγραφόντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνων, ὅσοι τι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι προσεκεκρούκεσαν.

6. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου διελθόντες ἐς Ῥώμην προγράψειν ἔμελλον, δυώδεκα δὲ ἄνδρας, ἤ, ὡς ἕτεροι λέγουσιν, ἑπτακαίδεκα, τοὺς μάλιστα δυνατούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κικέρων, ἔδοξε προανελεῖν ἐπιπέμψαντας ἄφνω. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν τέσσαρες αὐτίκα ἀνῃρέθησαν ἐν ἑστιάσεσί τε καὶ ὑπαντήσεσι· ζητουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐρευνωμένων νεών τε καὶ οἰκιῶν, ἄφνω θόρυβος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὡς ἐν ἁλισκομένῃ πόλει. τῷ γὰρ ἐγνῶσθαι μὲν ἀνδρολήψια γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προεγράφθαι δὲ μηδένα τῶν προκατεγνωσμένων, πᾶς τις αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ζητεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν περιθεόντων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογινώσκοντες αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ἴδια, οἱ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ ἐμπρήσειν ἔμελλον, δρᾶσαί τι δεινὸν ἀλόγως αἱρούμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασαν, εἰ μὴ Πέδιος αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπατος μετὰ κηρύκων περιθέων ἐπήλπιζε περιμείναντας

by wars and exactions; for which reason they levied very heavy contributions from the plebeians and finally even from women, and contemplated taxes on sales and rents. By now, too, some were proscribed because they had handsome villas or city residences. The number of senators who were sentenced to death and confiscation was about 300, and of the knights about 2000. There were brothers and uncles of the triumvirs in the list of the proscribed, and also some of the officers serving under them who had had some difficulty with the leaders, or with their fellow-officers. CHAP. II

First massacre

6. As they left the conference to proceed to Rome they postponed the proscription of the greater number of victims, but they decided to send executioners in advance and without warning to kill twelve, or, as some say, seventeen, of the most important ones, among whom was Cicero. Four of these were slain immediately, either at banquets or as they were met on the streets; and when search was made for the others in temples and houses, there was a sudden panic which lasted through the night, and a running to and fro with cries and lamentation as in a captured city. When it was known that men were being seized and massacred, although there was no list of those who had been previously sentenced, every man thought that he was the one whom the pursuers were in search of. Thus in despair some were on the point of burning their own houses, and others the public buildings, or of choosing some terrible deed in their frenzied state before the blow should fall upon them; and they would perhaps have done so had not the consul Pedius hurried around with heralds and encouraged them, telling them to wait till daylight

CAP. II ἐς ἕω τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μαθεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν προύγραφεν ὁ Πέδιος τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα ὡς μόνους τε αἰτίους δόξαντας εἶναι τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν καὶ μόνους κατεγνωσμένους, πίστεις τε τοῖς ἄλλοις δημοσίας ἐποιεῖτο, ἀγνοῶν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα.

Καὶ Πέδιος μὲν ἐκ καμάτου τῆς νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, 7. ἐσῆεσαν δ' οἱ τρεῖς τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀνὰ μέρος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὁ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος, σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι τάξεσι καὶ ὁπλιτῶν ἕκαστος ἐνὶ τέλει. ὡς δὲ ἐσῆλθον, αὐτίκα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλήρης ὅπλων τε καὶ σημείων διατεταγμένων ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἦγετο ἐκκλησία, καὶ δήμαρχος Πούπλιος Τίτιος ἐνομοθέτει καινὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν παρόντων ἐς πενταετὲς εἶναι τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, Λεπίδου τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος, ἴσον ἰσχύουσαν ὑπάτοις, (ἣν ἄν τις Ἑλλήνων ἁρμοστὰς ὀνομάσειεν, ὃ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ἄρτι καθισταμένοις τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐτίθεντο ὄνομα,) οὔτε διαστήματος ἐς δοκιμασίαν οὔτε κυρίας ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἡμέρας προτεθείσης· ἀλλ' αὐτίκα ἐκυροῦτο ὁ νόμος. καὶ νυκτὸς ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑπτακαίδεκα, τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν προγραφαὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως προυτίθεντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. καί τις προσετίθετο τοῖς πίναξιν αἰεὶ τῶν προσκαταγινωσκομένων ἢ τῶν προανῃρημένων ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, ἐς δόξαν τοῦ δικαίως ἀνῃρῆσθαι. διετέτακτό τε πάντων τὰς κεφαλὰς

and get more accurate information. When morning came Pedius, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs, published the list of seventeen as being deemed the sole authors of the civil strife and the only ones condemned. To the rest he pledged the public faith, being ignorant of the determinations of the triumvirs. CHAP. II

Pedius died in consequence of fatigue the following night, 7. and the triumvirs entered the city separately on three successive days, Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, each with his praetorian cohort and one legion. As they arrived, the city was speedily filled with arms and military standards, disposed in the most advantageous places. A public assembly was forthwith convened in the midst of these armed men, and a tribune, Publius Titius, proposed a law providing for a new magistracy for settling the present disorders, to consist of three men to hold office for five years, namely, Lepidus, Antony, and Octavian, with the same power as consuls. (Among the Greeks these would be called harmosts, which is the name the Lacedaemonians gave to those whom they appointed over their subject states.) No time was given for scrutiny of this measure, nor was a fixed day appointed for voting on it, but it was passed forthwith. That same night, the proscription of 130 men in addition to the seventeen was proclaimed in various parts of the city, and a little later 150 more, and additions to the lists were constantly made of those who were condemned later or previously killed by mistake, so that they might seem to have perished justly. It was ordered that the heads of all the victims should be brought to the triumvirs at a fixed reward, which to a free person was payable in

The triumvirs enter the city

CAP. 11 ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ῥητῷ κέρδει φέρεσθαι· καὶ ἦν τὸ κέρδος ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, θεράποντι δὲ ἐλευθερία τε καὶ ἀργύριον. παρέχειν δὲ ἐς ἔρευναν πάντας τὰ ἴδια. καὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον ἢ κρύψαντα ἢ τὴν ἔρευναν οὐ παρασχόντα τοῖς ἴσοις ἐνέχεσθαι. μηνύειν δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις κέρδεσι.

8. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως ἡ προγραφή· "Μᾶρκος Λέπιδος, Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, Ὀκτάουιος Καῖσαρ, οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἁρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινά, οὕτως λέγουσιν· εἰ μὴ δι' ἀπιστίαν οἱ πονηροὶ δεόμενοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐλεεινοί, τυχόντες δὲ ἐγίγνοντο τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐχθροί, εἶτα ἐπίβουλοι, οὔτ' ἂν Γάιον Καίσαρα ἀνηρήκεσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος δορὶ λαβὼν ἔσωσεν ἐλέῳ καὶ φίλους θέμενος ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δωρεὰς προήγαγεν ἀθρόως, οὔτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐνυβρίσασι καὶ πολεμίους ἀναγράψασιν ἡμᾶς ὧδε ἀθρόως ἠναγκαζόμεθα χρῆσθαι. νῦν δέ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπιβεβουλεύμεθα καὶ ἐξ ὧν Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἔπαθεν, ἀτιθάσευτον ὁρῶντες τὴν κακίαν ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας, προλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἢ παθεῖν αἱρούμεθα. μὴ δή τις τὸ ἔργον ἄδικον ἢ ὠμὸν ἢ ἄμετρον ἡγείσθω, ἔς τε Γάιον καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς οἷα πεπόνθαμεν ὁρῶν. Γάιον μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ὄντα καὶ ἄρχοντα ἱερῶν, καὶ τὰ φοβερώτατα Ῥωμαίοις καθελόντα τε ἔθνη καὶ κτησάμενον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείους ὅρους ἀπλώτου θαλάσσης ἀποπειράσαντα,

money and to a slave in both money and freedom. All were required to afford opportunity for searching their houses. Those who received fugitives, or concealed them, or refused to allow search to be made, were liable to the same penalties as the proscribed, and those who informed against concealers were allowed the same rewards [as those who killed the proscribed]. CHAP. II

8. The proscription was in the following words: "Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen by the people to set in order and regulate the republic, do declare that, had not perfidious traitors begged for mercy and when they obtained it become the enemies of their benefactors and conspired against them, neither would Gaius Caesar have been slain by those whom he saved by his clemency after capturing them in war, whom he admitted to his friendship and upon whom he heaped offices, honours, and gifts; nor should we have been compelled to use this wide-spread severity against those who have insulted us and declared us public enemies. Now, seeing that the malice of those who have conspired against us and by whose hands Gaius Caesar suffered, cannot be mollified by kindness, we prefer to anticipate our enemies rather than suffer at their hands. Let no one who sees what both Caesar and ourselves have suffered consider our action unjust, cruel, or immoderate. Although Caesar was clothed with supreme power, although he was pontifex maximus, although he had overthrown and added to our sway the nations most formidable to the Romans, although he was the first man to attempt the untried sea beyond the pillars of Hercules and was the discoverer of a country hitherto unknown to the Text of the proscription

CAP. II καὶ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν ἄγνωστον εὑρόντα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἱερῷ λεγομένῳ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὑπὸ ὄψεσι θεῶν, κατέκανον εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ σφαγαῖς ἐνυβρίσαντες, οἱ πολέμῳ ληφθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ περισωθέντες κληρονόμοι τέ τινες αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἐγγραφέντες εἶναι· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ μύσει τῷδε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἀντὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐξέπεμψαν, αἷς ἐκεῖνοι χρώμενοι τά τε κοινὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἥρπασαν, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀγείρουσι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἕτερον αἰτοῦσι παρὰ βαρβάρων ἀεὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμίων, τάς τε ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις τὰς μὲν οὐ πείθοντες ἐνέπρησαν ἢ κατέσκαψαν ἢ κατήρειψαν, τὰς δὲ καταπλήξαντες ἐπάγουσι τῇ πατρίδι καθ' ἡμῶν.

9. "Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοῦ συνεπιλαμβάνοντος αὐτίκα δίκην διδόντας ὄψεσθε. τῶν δὲ μεγίστων ἡμῖν ἠνυσμένων καὶ ὑπὸ χερσὶν ὄντων, Ἰβηρίας τε καὶ Κελτικῆς καὶ τῶνδε τῶν οἴκοι, ἓν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἔτι ἔργον, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέραν θαλάσσης αὐτόχειρας Γαΐου. μέλλουσι δὴ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔκδημον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἐς τὰ ὑμέτερα εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχθροὺς ὀπίσω καταλιπεῖν, ἐπιβησομένους ταῖς ἀπουσίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῦ πολέμου καιροφυλακήσοντας, οὐδ' αὖ βραδύνειν διὰ τούσδε ἐν ἐπείξει τοσῇδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκποδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀθρόως ποιήσασθαι, ἄρξαντάς γε τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου, ὅτε πολεμίους ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῖν στρατοὺς ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι.

10. "Κἀκεῖνοι μὲν τοσάσδε πολιτῶν μυριάδας

Romans, this man was slain in the midst of the senate-house, which is designated as sacred, under the eyes of the gods, with twenty-three dastardly wounds, by men whom he had taken prisoners in war and had spared, while some of them he had named as co-heirs of his wealth. After this execrable crime, instead of arresting the guilty wretches, the rest sent them forth as commanders and governors, in which capacity they seized upon the public money, with which they are collecting an army against us and are seeking reinforcements from barbarians ever hostile to Roman rule. Cities subject to Rome that would not obey them they have burned, or ravaged, or levelled to the ground; other cities they have forced by terror to bear arms against the country and against us. CHAP. II

9. "Some of them we have punished already; and by the aid of divine providence you shall presently see the rest punished. Although the chief part of this work has been finished by us or is well under control, namely the settlement of Spain and Gaul as well as matters here in Italy, one task still remains, and that is to march against Caesar's assassins beyond the sea. On the eve of undertaking this foreign war for you, we do not consider it safe, either for you or for us, to leave other enemies behind to take advantage of our absence and watch for opportunities during the war; nor again do we think that there should be delay on their account, but that we ought rather to sweep them out of our pathway, once for all, seeing that they began the war against us when they voted us and the armies under us public enemies.

10. "What vast numbers of citizens have they, on

CAP. II

ἡμῖν συναπώλλυον, οὔτε θεῶν νέμεσιν οὔτε φθόνον ἀνθρώπων ὑφορώμενοι· ἡμεῖς δὲ πλήθει μὲν οὐδενὶ χαλεπαινοῦμεν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιλεξόμεθα πάντας, ὅσοι διηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκ πλούτου πάντως ἢ περιουσίας ἢ ἀξιώσεως οὐδ' ὅσους ἕτερος πρὸ ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ ἔκτεινε, τὴν πόλιν κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καθιστάμενος, ὃν Εὐτυχῆ προσείπατε δι' εὐπραξίαν, καίπερ ἀνάγκης οὔσης τρισὶ πλέονας ἐχθροὺς ἢ ἑνὶ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μόνους δὴ τοὺς φαυλοτάτους τε καὶ πάντων αἰτιωτάτους ἀμυνούμεθα. καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἧσσον ἡμῶν· ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν διαφερομένων ὑμᾶς πάντας ἐν μέσῳ δεινὰ πάσχειν, ἀνάγκη δέ τι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι παραμύθιον ὑβρισμένῳ τε καὶ παρωξυμμένῳ καὶ πολεμίῳ πρὸς τῶν κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναγεγραμμένῳ. δυνηθέντες δ' ἄν, οὓς ἔγνωμεν, ἐξ ἐφόδου συλλαβεῖν, αἱρούμεθα προγράψαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγνοοῦντας ἔτι συλλαβεῖν· καὶ τόδε δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις ᾖ διωργισμένοις πλεονάζειν ἐς τοὺς ἀνευθύνους, ἀλλὰ ἀπηριθμημένους καὶ ὡρισμένους ἔχοντες ὀνομαστὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἀπέχωνται.

11. "Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοίνυν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων τῷδε τῷ διαγράμματι μηδεὶς δεχέσθω μηδένα μηδὲ κρυπτέτω μηδὲ ἐκπεμπέτω ποι μηδὲ πειθέσθω χρήμασι. ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ σώσας ἢ ἐπικουρήσας ἢ συνειδὼς φανῇ, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς, οὐδεμίαν ὑπολογισάμενοι πρόφασιν ἢ συγγνώμην, ἐν τοῖς

their part, doomed to destruction with us, disregarding the vengeance of the gods and the reprobation of mankind! We shall not deal harshly with any multitude of men, nor shall we count as enemies all who have opposed us or plotted against us, or those distinguished for their riches merely, their abundance, or their high position; nor shall we slay as many as another man who held the supreme power before us, when he, too, was regulating the commonwealth in civil convulsions, and whom you named the Fortunate on account of his success; and yet necessarily three persons will have more enemies than one. We shall take vengeance only on the worst and most guilty. This we shall do for your interest no less than for our own, for while we keep up our conflicts you will all be involved necessarily in great dangers, and it is necessary for us also to do something to quiet the army, which has been insulted, irritated, and decreed a public enemy by our common foes. Although we might arrest on the spot whomsoever we had determined on, we prefer to proscribe rather than seize them unawares; and this, too, on your account, so that it may not be in the power of enraged soldiers to exceed their orders against persons not responsible, but that they may be restricted to a certain number designated by name, and spare the others according to order. CHAP. II

11. "So be it then![1] Let no one harbour any one of those whose names are hereto appended, or conceal them, or send them away, or be corrupted by their money. Whoever shall be detected in saving, or aiding, or conniving with them we will put on the list of the proscribed without allowing

[1] A pious formula like the Latin *quod felix faustumque sit.*

CAP. II προγεγραμμένοις τιθέμεθα. ἀναφερόντων δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ κτείναντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ μὲν ἐλεύθερος ἐπὶ δισμυρίαις δραχμαῖς Ἀττικαῖς καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης, ὁ δὲ δοῦλος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ μυρίαις Ἀττικαῖς καὶ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου πολιτείᾳ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς μηνύουσιν ἔσται. καὶ τῶν λαμβανόντων οὐδεὶς ἐγγεγράψεται τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ κατάδηλος ᾖ". ὧδε μὲν εἶχεν ἡ προγραφὴ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ Λατίνης μεταβαλεῖν.

III

CAP. III 12. Πρῶτος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς προγράφουσι Λέπιδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς προγραφομένοις ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ Λεπίδου Παῦλος, καὶ δεύτερος ἦν τῶν προγραφόντων Ἀντώνιος καὶ δεύτερος τῶν προγραφομένων ὁ θεῖος ὁ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος, οἵδε μέν, ὅτι πρῶτοι πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἐψηφίσαντο. τρίτος δὲ καὶ τέταρτος ἦν τῶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ πίνακι προκειμένων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων Πλάγκου μὲν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πλώτιος, Ἀσινίου δὲ ὁ πενθερὸς Κοΐντιος. καὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἄρα μόνην οἵδε τῶν ἄλλων προύκειντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς θάμβος καὶ δυσελπιστίαν, μηδένα ῥύσεσθαί τινα προσδοκᾶν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Θωράνιος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις, λεγόμενος ὑπό τινων ἐπιτροπεῦσαι Καίσαρος. ἅμα δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς αἵ τε πύλαι κατείχοντο καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδοί τε καὶ λιμένες ἢ ἕλη καὶ τέλματα ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς φυγὴν ὕποπτον ἦν ἢ ἐς λαθραίους καταφυγάς· τήν τε χώραν

any excuse or pardon. Let those who kill the proscribed bring us their heads and receive the following rewards: to a free man 25,000 Attic drachmas per head; to a slave his freedom and 10,000 Attic drachmas and his master's right of citizenship. Informers shall receive the same rewards. In order that they may remain unknown the names of those who receive the rewards shall not be inscribed in our registers." Such was the language of the proscription of the triumvirate as nearly as it can be rendered from Latin into Greek. CHAP. II

III

12. Lepidus was the first to begin the work of proscription, and his brother Paulus was the first on the list of the proscribed. Antony came next, and the second name on the list was that of his uncle, Lucius Caesar. These two men had been the first to vote Lepidus and Antony public enemies. The third and fourth victims were relatives of the consuls-elect for the coming year, namely, Plotius, the brother of Plancus, and Quintus, the father-in-law of Asinius. These four were placed at the head of the list, not only on account of their dignity as to produce terror and despair, so that none of the proscribed might hope to escape. Among the proscribed was Thoranius, who was said by some to have been a tutor of Octavius. When the lists were published, the gates and all the other exits from the city, the harbour, the marshes, the pools, and every other place that was suspected as adapted to flight or concealment, were occupied by soldiers; the centurions were charged to scour the CHAP. III

The triumvirs proscribe their own relatives

CAP. III

ἐπετέτραπτο τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐρευνᾶν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐγίγνετο πάντα ὁμοῦ.

13. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἦν ἀνά τε τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ συνελαμβάνετο, ἀνδρολήψια αἰφνίδια πολλὰ καὶ τρόποι τῶν φόνων ποικίλοι τῶν τε κεφαλῶν ἀποτομαὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ χάριν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν φυγαί τε ἀπρεπεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἄτοπα ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν περιφανοῦς. κατέδυνον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐς φρέατα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς ὑπονόμους τάφρους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, οἱ δὲ ἐς καπνώδεις ὑπωροφίας ἢ τῶν τεγῶν ταῖς κεραμίσι βυομέναις ὑπεκάθηντο μετὰ σιγῆς βαθυτάτης. ἐδεδοίκεσαν γὰρ οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν σφαγέων οἱ μὲν γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας οὐκ εὐμενῶς σφίσιν ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐξελευθέρους τε καὶ θεράποντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ δανεισμάτων χρήστας ἢ χωρίων γείτονας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν χωρίων. ἐπανάστασις γὰρ δὴ πάντων, ὅσα τέως ὕπουλα ἦν, ἀθρόα τότε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀθέμιστος μεταβολὴ βουλευτῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ δημάρχων, ἔτι τάσδε τὰς ἀρχὰς μετιόντων ἢ ἐν αὐταῖς γεγονότων, ἐς πόδας ἰδίου θεράποντος ῥιπτουμένων σὺν ὀλοφύρσεσι καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον τὸν οἰκέτην τιθεμένων. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἦν, ὅτε καὶ ταῦτα ὑποστάντες οὐκ ἐλεηθεῖεν.

14. Ἰδέα τε πᾶσα κακῶν ἦν, οὐχ ὡς ἐν στάσεσιν ἢ πολέμου καταλήψεσιν· οὐ γάρ, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις, τὸν μὲν ἀντιστασιώτην ἢ πολέμιον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τοῖς δ' οἰκείοις σφᾶς ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούσδε τῶν σφαγέων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ στάσει δεδιότας, σφίσι δὲ αὐτίκα γιγνομένους ἐξ οἰκείων

surrounding country. All these things took place simultaneously. CHAP. III

13. Straightway, throughout city and country, wherever each one happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murder in various forms, decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the head should be shown, and undignified flights in disguises which strangely contrasted with former splendour. Some descended into wells, others into filthy sewers. Some took refuge in chimneys. Others crouched in the deepest silence under the thickly-packed tiles of their roofs. For some were not less fearful of their wives and ill-disposed children than of the murderers, while others feared their freedmen and their slaves; creditors feared their debtors and neighbours feared neighbours who coveted their lands. There was a sudden outburst of previously smouldering hates and a shocking change in the condition of senators, consulars, praetors, tribunes (men who were about to enter upon those offices, or who had already held them), who threw themselves with lamentations at the feet of their own slaves, giving to the servant the character of saviour and master. But the most lamentable thing was that even after this humiliation they did not obtain pity. Terrible panic in the city

14. Every kind of calamity was rife, but not as in ordinary sedition or military occupation: for in those cases the people had to fear only the members of the opposite faction, or the enemy, but could rely on their own households; but now they were more afraid of these than of the assassins, for as the former had nothing to fear on their own account, as in ordinary seditions or wars, they were suddenly transformed from domestics into enemies, either Domestic servants as informers and assassins

CAP. III πολεμίους, ἢ δι' ὕπουλον ἔχθραν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπικεκηρυγμένων σφίσι γερῶν ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον. ἄπιστος γὰρ δὴ διὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόως ἕκαστος ἐς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὸ σφέτερον κέρδος τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλέου προυτίθει· ὁ δὲ πιστὸς ἢ εὔνους ἐδεδίει βοηθεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἢ συνειδέναι δι' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἐπιτιμίων. ἔς τε τὸ ἔμπαλιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πρώτου τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀνδρῶν δέους περιέστη. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐ προγραφέντος οὐδενός, ἀλλά τινων ἄφνω συλλαμβανομένων πάντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὅμοια καὶ συνήσπιζον ἀλλήλοις· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἔκδοτοι γεγένηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀμερίμνῳ περὶ σφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ κέρδει γενόμενοι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἐκυνηγέτουν. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ὅμιλος, οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας τῶν ἀναιρουμένων διήρπαζον, καὶ τὸ κέρδος αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνέσεως τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐψυχαγώγει· οἱ δὲ ἐμφρονέστεροί τε καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἐτεθήπεσαν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς παραλογώτερον, ὅτε μάλιστα ἐνθυμηθεῖεν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλυμήναντο στάσεις καὶ περιέσωσαν ὁμόνοιαι, τὴν δὲ καὶ αἱ στάσεις τῶν ἀρχόντων προαπώλεσαν καὶ ἡ ὁμόνοια τοιάδε ἐργάζεται.

15. Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμυνόμενοι ὡς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἀδικούμενοι, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς λιμῷ τε ἑκουσίῳ δαπανῶντες καὶ βρόχοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταποντοῦντες ἢ ῥιπτοῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ ἐς πῦρ ἐναλλόμενοι ἢ τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν

from some concealed hatred, or in order to obtain published rewards, or to possess themselves of the gold and silver in their masters' houses. For these reasons each one became treacherous to his master, preferring his own gain to compassion for him, and those who were faithful and well-disposed feared to aid, or conceal, or connive at the escape of the victims, because such acts made them liable to the very same punishments. This was quite different from the peril that befell the seventeen men first condemned. Then there was no proscription, but certain persons were arrested unexpectedly, and as all feared similar treatment all sheltered each other; but in the proscriptions some immediately became the prey of all, others, being free from danger themselves and eager for gain, became bloodhounds for the murderers for the sake of the rewards; while of the general throng, some plundered houses of the slain, and their private gains turned their thoughts away from the public calamities; others, more prudent and upright, were palsied with consternation. It seemed most astounding to them, when they reflected upon it, that while other states afflicted by civil strife had been rescued by harmonizing the factions, in this case the dissensions of the leaders had wrought ruin in the first instance and their agreement with each other had had like consequences afterwards. CHAP. III

15. Some died defending themselves against their slayers. Others made no resistance, considering the assailants not to blame. Some starved, or hanged, or drowned themselves, or flung themselves from their roofs or into the fire. Some offered themselves to the murderers or sent for them when they Scenes of agony and horror

CAP. III

ὑπίσχοντες ἢ καὶ μεταπεμπόμενοι βραδύνοντας, ἕτεροι δὲ κρυπτόμενοι καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπρεπῶς ἢ διωθούμενοι τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὠνούμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἢ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν, ἀπώλλυντο. καὶ δῆλος ἦν ὁ μὴ προγραφεὶς νέκυς, ὅτε οἱ προσκέοιτο ἡ κεφαλή· τῶν γὰρ δὴ προγεγραμμένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτίθεντο παρὰ τοῖς βήμασιν, ἔνθα ἔδει κομίσαντας ἀντιλαβεῖν τὰ ἀγαθά. ἴση δ' ἦν ἑτέρων σπουδὴ καὶ ἀρετή, γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδίων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεραπόντων, περισῳζόντων τε καὶ συμμηχανωμένων πολλὰ καὶ συναποθνῃσκόντων, ὅτε μὴ τύχοιεν ὧν ἐπενόουν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπανήρουν σφᾶς ἀνῃρημένοις. τῶν δὲ ἐκφυγόντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ ναυαγίων ἀπώλλυντο, ἐς πάντα σφίσι τῆς τύχης ἐπιβαρούσης, οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν ἐκ παραλόγων ἐπί τε ἀρχὰς τῆς πόλεως καὶ στρατηγίας πολέμων καὶ θριάμβους. οὕτως ὁ καιρὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐπίδειξις παραδοξολογίας.

16. Καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο οὐκ ἐν ἰδιώτιδι πόλει οὐδὲ ἐν ἀσθενεῖ καὶ σμικρῷ βασιλείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δυνατωτάτην καὶ τοσούτων ἐθνῶν καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἡγεμονίδα διέσειεν ὁ θεός, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄρα ἐς τὴν νῦν καθιστάμενος εὐταξίαν. ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν τοιάδε ἕτερα ἐν αὐτῇ κατά τε Σύλλαν καὶ ἔτι πρὸ ἐκείνου Γάιον Μάριον, ὧν ὁμοίως τὰ γνωρ·μώτατα τῶν κακῶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνελεξάμην, καὶ προσῆν ἐκείνοις ἀταφία· ταῦτα δὲ ἀξιώσει τε τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἀρετῇ καὶ τύχῃ, τὴν ἀρχὴν

delayed. Others concealed themselves and made abject entreaties, or tried to thrust aside the danger, or to buy themselves off. Some were killed by mistake, or by private malice, contrary to the intention of the triumvirs. It was evident that a corpse was not one of the proscribed if the head was still attached to it, for the heads of the proscribed were displayed on the rostra in the forum, where it was necessary to bring them in order to get the rewards. Equally conspicuous were the fidelity and courage of others — of wives, of children, of brothers, of slaves, who rescued the proscribed or planned for them in various ways, and died with them when they did not succeed in their designs. Some even killed themselves on the bodies of the slain. Of those who made their escape some perished by shipwreck, ill luck pursuing them to the last. Others were preserved, contrary to expectation, to become city magistrates, commanders in war, and even to enjoy the honours of a triumph. Such a display of paradoxes did this time afford. CHAP. III.

16. These things took place not in an ordinary city, not in a weak and petty kingdom; but the evil deity thus shook the most powerful mistress of so many nations and of land and sea, and so brought about after a long period of time the present well ordered condition. Other like events had taken place in the time of Sulla and even before him in that of Caius Marius. The most notable of these calamities I have narrated in my history of those times, in which was the added horror that the dead were cast away unburied. The matters we are now considering are the more remarkable by reason of the dignity of the triumvirs and especially the character Some remarkable cases

CAP. III

συστησαμένου τε ἐς ἕδραν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ γένος καὶ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἄρχον ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπόντος, ἐπιφανέστερα. ὧν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ τὰ χείρω γενόμενα ἐν μνήμῃ τε μᾶλλον ὄντα, ὅτι καὶ τελευταῖα γέγονεν, ἐπελεύσομαι νῦν, οὐ πάντα (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιαφήγητον ἀναίρεσις ἁπλῆ καὶ φυγὴ ἢ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τισι συγγνόντων ὕστερον ἐπάνοδος ἢ ἐπανελθόντων ἀφανὴς καταβίωσις), ἀλλ' ὅσα παραλογώτατα ὄντα μάλιστα ἂν ἐκπλήξειε καὶ πιστεύειν ποιήσειε τοῖς προλεγομένοις. πολλὰ δέ ἐστι, καὶ πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν πολλαῖς βίβλοις αὐτὰ συνέγραψαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὀλίγα δὲ ἐγὼ καθ' ἑκάστην ἰδέαν, ἐς πίστιν ἑκάστης καὶ ἐς εὐδαιμόνισμα τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου διὰ τὸ μῆκος ἀναγράψω.

IV

CAP. IV

17. Ἤρξατο μὲν δὴ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ συντυχίας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἔτι ὄντων, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνηρέθη δημαρχῶν Σάλουιος. ἱερὰ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἄσυλος ἐκ τῶν νόμων καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἴσχυεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τινὰς ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς ἐμβαλεῖν. καὶ ἦν ὅδε ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ κεκωλυκὼς εἶναι πολέμιον, ὕστερον δὲ συμπεπραχὼς ἐς πάντα Κικέρωνι. πυθόμενος δὲ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τε συμφρονήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπείξεως τοὺς οἰκείους εἱστία ὡς

and good fortune of one of them, who established the government on a firm foundation, and left his lineage and the name which is now supreme after him. I shall now go over the most remarkable as well as the most shocking of these events, which are all the better to be remembered because they were the last of the kind. I shall not speak of all, however, because the mere killing, or flight, or subsequent return of those who were pardoned by the triumvirs at a later period and passed undistinguished lives at home, is not worthy of mention. I shall refer only to those which are most calculated to astonish by their extraordinary nature or to confirm what has already been said. These events are many, and they have been written in many books by many Roman historians successively. By way of summary, and to shorten my narrative, I shall record a few of each kind in order to confirm the truth of each and to illustrate the happiness of the present time. CHAP. III

IV

17. The massacre began, as it happened, among those who were still in office, and the first one slain was the tribune Salvius. His office was, according to the laws, sacred and inviolable, endowed with the greatest powers, so that tribunes have even imprisoned consuls. Salvius, too, was the tribune who had at first prevented the Senate from declaring Antony a public enemy, but later he had cooperated with Cicero in everything. When he heard of the agreement of the triumvirs, and of their hastening to the city, he gave a banquet to his CHAP. IV

The tribune Salvius slain at a banquet

CAP. IV οὐ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἔτι συνεσόμενος· ἐσδραμόντων δὲ ἐς τὸ συμπόσιον τῶν ὁπλιτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξανίσταντο σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ δέει, ὁ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευεν ἠρεμεῖν κατακλιθέντας, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὡς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπάσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἐς ὅσον ἔχρῃζε, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον αὖθις ἐκέλευεν ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἔχουσι, μὴ θορύβου γενομένου πάθοιεν ὅμοια. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ οἰχομένου τοῦ λοχαγοῦ τεθηπότες ἄναυδοι μέχρι βαθυτάτης νυκτός, τῷ λοιπῷ τοῦ δημάρχου σώματι συγκατέκειντο. δεύτερος δ' ἀνὴρ ἔθνησκε στρατηγὸς Μινούκιος, ἀρχαιρεσιάζων μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ· πυθόμενος δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ περιθέων ἔτι καὶ ἐννοούμενος, ὅποι διαλάθοι, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐνήλλασσεν ἔς τι τῶν ἐργαστηρίων ἐσδραμών, τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἀποπέμψας. οἱ δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ ἐλέῳ παραμένοντες εὐμαρέστερον ἄκοντες ἐποίησαν τοῖς σφαγεῦσι τὸν στρατηγὸν εὑρεῖν.

18. Ἀννᾶλιν ἕτερον στρατηγόν, τῷ παιδὶ μετιόντι ταμιείαν συμπεριθέοντα καὶ τοὺς ψηφιουμένους παρακαλοῦντα, οἵ τε συνόντες φίλοι καὶ οἱ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς φέροντες ἀπεδίδρασκον, πυθόμενοι προσγεγράφθαι τοῖς πίναξι τὸν Ἀννᾶλιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς πελάτην ἑαυτοῦ τινα φυγών, ᾧ βραχὺ καὶ εὐτελὲς ἦν τέγος ἐν προαστείῳ καὶ διὰ πάντα εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἐκρύπτετο ἀσφαλῶς, μέχρι τοὺς σφαγέας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, τὴν φυγὴν ἐς τὸν πελάτην ὑποτοπήσας, ὡδήγησεν ὑπὸ τὸ τέγος,

friends, believing that he should not have many more opportunities for doing so. Soldiers burst in while the feast was going on, some of the guests started up in tumultuous alarm, but the centurion in command ordered them to resume their places and remain quiet. Then, seizing Salvius by the hair, just as he was, the centurion drew him as far as need be across the table, cut off his head, and ordered the guests to stay where they were and make no disturbance, unless they wished to suffer a like fate. So they remained even after the centurion's departure, stupefied and speechless, till the most silent watches of the night, reclining by the tribune's headless body. The second one slain was the praetor Minucius, who was holding the comitia in the forum. Learning that the soldiers were seeking him, he leapt up, and while he was still running about looking for a hiding-place he changed his clothes, and then darted into a shop, sending away his attendants and the insignia of his office. The attendants, moved by shame and pity, lingered near the place, and thus unintentionally made the discovery of the praetor more easy to his slayers. CHAP. IV

18. Annalis, another praetor, was going around with his son, who was a candidate for the quaestorship, and soliciting votes for him. Some friends who accompanied Annalis, and those who bore his insignia of office, when they heard that he was on the list of the proscribed, ran away from him. Annalis took refuge with one of his clients, who had in the suburbs a small, mean apartment in every way despicable, where he remained safely concealed until his son, suspecting that he had fled to this client, guided the murderers to the place. The

Annalis and Thuranius betrayed by their sons

CAP. IV καὶ παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν τήν τε οὐσίαν ἔλαβε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐς ἀγορανομίαν ἠρέθη. ἀναλύοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ μέθης στρατιῶταί τι προσκρούσαντες ἔκτειναν, οἳ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀνῃρήκεσαν.

Θουράνιος δὲ οὐ στρατηγῶν μὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐστρατηγηκώς, πατὴρ δὲ νεανίου τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀκολάστου, δυναστεύοντος δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίῳ, τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἠξίου τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπισχεῖν οἱ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ἕστε αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρ' Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δ' ἐπιγελάσαντες "ἤτησεν," εἶπον, "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θάτερα." καὶ συνεὶς ὁ πρεσβύτης ἕτερον αὐτίκα βραχύτατον ἤτει διάστημα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα ἴδοι· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκέλευε μὴ μετασχεῖν τῶν πατρῴων, μὴ κἀκείνην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αἰτήσαιτο παρὰ Ἀντωνίου. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τῷδε τὴν οὐσίαν ἐς αἰσχρὰ δαπανῆσαι καὶ κλοπῆς ἁλόντι φυγεῖν ἐκ καταδίκης.

19. Κικέρων δέ, ὃς μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἴσχυσεν, ὅση γένοιτο ἂν δημαγωγοῦ μοναρχία, κατέγνωστο μὲν ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν οἰκείοις τε καὶ στασιώταις καὶ φίλοις· φυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ σκάφους οὐκ ἔφερε τὴν ἀηδίαν τοῦ κλύδωνος, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον, ἀμφὶ Καιήτην πόλιν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καταχθεὶς ἠρέμει. πλησιαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἐρευνωμένων (τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ φιλοτιμότατα πάντων Ἀντώνιός τε ἐζήτει καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντες) ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ κόρακες ἐσπτάντες ἔκλαζον, ἐπεγείροντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου,

triumvirs gave him his father's fortune and raised him to the aedileship. As he was returning home drunk he fell into a quarrel about something, and was killed by the same soldiers who had killed his father. CHAP. IV

Thuranius, who was not then praetor but had been, and who was the father of a young man who was a scapegrace generally, but had great influence with Antony, asked the centurions to postpone his death for a short time, till his son could appeal to Antony for him. They laughed at him, and said, "He has already appealed, but on the other side." When the old man knew this he asked for another very short interval until he could see his daughter, and when he saw her he told her not to claim her share of the inheritance lest her brother should ask for her death also from Antony. It happened that this man too, after squandering his fortune in disgraceful ways, in the end was convicted of theft and sentenced to banishment.

Flight and pursuit of Cicero

19. Cicero, who had held supreme power after Caesar's death, as much as a public speaker could, was proscribed, together with his son, his brother, and his brother's son and all his household, his faction, and his friends. He fled in a small boat, but as he could not endure the sea-sickness, he landed and went to a country place of his own near Caieta, a town of Italy, which I visited to gain knowledge of this lamentable affair, and here he remained quiet. While the searchers were approaching (for of all others Antony sought for him most eagerly and the rest did so for Antony's sake), ravens flew into his chamber and awakened him from sleep by their croaking, and pulled off his

CAP. IV καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀπέσυρον ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως οἱ θεράποντες, σημηνάμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι σύμβολον ἔκ του θεῶν, ἐς φορεῖον ἐσθέμενοι τὸν Κικέρωνα αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἦγον διὰ λόχμης βαθείας λανθάνοντες. πολλῶν δὲ ἀνὰ μέρη διαθεόντων τε καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ που Κικέρων ὁραθείη, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ καὶ ἐλέῳ πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐξαναχθέντα ἔλεγον ἤδη, σκυτοτόμος δὲ πελάτης Κλωδίου, πικροτάτου τῷ Κικέρωνι ἐχθροῦ γεγονότος, Λαίνᾳ τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν ὀλίγοις ὄντι τὴν ἀτραπὸν ἔδειξεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέδραμέ τε καὶ θεράποντας ἰδὼν πολὺ πλείους τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῶντας ἐς ἄμυναν, στρατηγικῶς μάλα ἀνεβόησεν· "ἐσελθέτωσαν ἐς τὸ χωρίον οἱ περὶ οὐρὰν λοχαγοί."

Τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεράποντες ὡς ἐλευσομένων πλεόνων κατεπλάγησαν, 20. ὁ δὲ Λαίνας, καὶ δίκην τινὰ διὰ τοῦ Κικέρωνός ποτε κατωρθωκώς, ἐκ τοῦ φορείου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπισπάσας ἀπέτεμνεν, ἐς τρὶς ἐπιπλήσσων καὶ ἐκδιαπρίζων ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας· ἀπέτεμε δὲ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, ᾗ τοὺς κατὰ Ἀντωνίου λόγους οἷα τυράννου συγγράφων, ἐς μίμημα τῶν Δημοσθένους, Φιλιππικοὺς ἐπέγραφεν. ἔθεον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν, αὐτίκα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Ἀντωνίῳ διαφέροντες· καὶ ὁ Λαίνας ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μακρόθεν ἀνέσειεν ἐπιδεικνύς. ὁ δὲ ἥσθη μάλιστα καὶ τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ πλέοσι τῶν ἄθλων ἐδωρήσατο πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάσιν Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν ὡς μέγιστον δὴ τόνδε πάντων ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμιώτατόν οἱ

bed-covering, until his servants, divining that this was a warning from one of the gods, put him in a litter and again conveyed him toward the sea, going cautiously through a dense thicket. Many soldiers were hurrying around in squads inquiring if Cicero had been seen anywhere. Some people, moved by good-will and pity, said that he had already put to sea; but a shoemaker, a client of Clodius, who had been a most bitter enemy of Cicero, pointed out the path to Laena, the centurion, who was pursuing with a small force. The latter ran after him, and seeing slaves mustering for the defence in much larger number than the force under his own command, he called out by way of stratagem, "Centurions in the rear, to the front!" CHAP. IV

Thereupon the slaves, thinking that more soldiers were coming, were terror-stricken, 20. and Laena, although he had been once saved by Cicero when under trial, drew his head out of the litter and cut it off, striking it three times, or rather sawing it off by reason of his inexperience. He also cut off the hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against Antony as a tyrant, which he had entitled Philippics in imitation of those of Demosthenes. Then some of the soldiers hastened on horseback and others on shipboard to convey the good news quickly to Antony. The latter was sitting in front of the tribunal in the forum when Laena, a long distance off, shewed him the head and hand by lifting them up and shaking them. Antony was delighted beyond measure. He crowned the centurion and gave him 250,000 Attic drachmas in addition to the stipulated reward for killing the man who had been his greatest and most bitter enemy. He is cruelly killed

CAP. IV γενόμενον ἀνελόντα. ἡ κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Κικέρωνος καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ τοῦ βήματος ἀπεκρέμαντο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἔνθα πρότερον ὁ Κικέρων ἐδημηγόρει· καὶ πλείους ὀψόμενοι συνέθεον ἢ ἀκροώμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κικέρωνος θέσθαι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης, μέχρι κόρον ἔσχε τῆς θέας τοῦ κακοῦ.

Ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κικέρων, ἐπί τε λόγοις ἀοίδιμος ἐς ἔτι νῦν ἀνήρ, καὶ ὅτε ἦρχε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχήν, ἐς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ πατρίδι γεγονὼς χρήσιμος, ἀνῄρητο καὶ ἀνῃρημένος ἐνυβρίζετο· ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα προαπέσταλτο ἐς Βροῦτον. Κόιντος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀδελφός, ἅμα τῷ παιδὶ καταληφθεὶς ἐδεῖτο τῶν σφαγέων πρὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἱκετεύοντος, οἱ σφαγεῖς ἔφασαν ἀμφοτέροις διαιτήσειν καὶ διαλαβόντες ἕτερον ἕτεροι κατὰ σύνθημα φονεῖς ἀνεῖλον ὁμοῦ.

21. Ἐγνάτιοι δέ, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, συμφυέντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ μιᾶς πληγῆς ἀπέθανον· καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ κεφαλαὶ μὲν ἀπετέτμηντο, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σώματα ἔτι συνεπέπλεκτο. Βάλβος τὸν υἱόν, ἵνα μὴ βαδίζοντες ὁμοῦ φανεροὶ γένοιντο, προύπεμψεν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἵπετο ἐκ διαστήματος. ἐξαγγείλαντος δέ τινος, εἴτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἴθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, τὸν υἱὸν συνειλῆφθαι, ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας μετεπέμψατο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀπολέσθαι ναναγίῳ· οὕτω ταῖς τότε συμφοραῖς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπέκειτο. Ἀρρούντιος τὸν υἱόν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενον φεύγειν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, μόλις ἔπεισεν ὡς νέον περισῴζειν ἑαυτόν.

The head and hand of Cicero were suspended for a long time from the rostra in the forum where formerly he had been accustomed to make public speeches, and more people came together to behold this spectacle than had previously come to listen to him. It is said that even at his meals Antony placed the head of Cicero before his table, until he became satiated with the horrid sight. CHAP. IV His head and hand suspended from the rostra

Thus was Cicero, a man famous even yet for his eloquence, and one who had rendered the greatest service to his country when he held the office of consul, slain, and insulted after his death. His son had been sent in advance to Brutus in Greece. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was captured, together with his son. He begged the murderers to kill him before his son, and the son prayed that he might be killed before his father. The murderers said that they would grant both requests, and, dividing themselves into two parties, each taking one, killed them at the same time at a given signal.

21. The Egnatii, father and son, while embracing each other, died by one blow, and their heads were cut off while the remainder of their bodies was still locked together. Balbus sent his son in advance of himself in flight toward the sea in order that they might not be too conspicuous travelling together, and he followed at a short interval. Somebody told him, either by design or by mistake, that his son had been captured. He went back and delivered himself to the murderers. It happened, too, that his son perished by shipwreck. Thus did evil destiny increase the calamities of the time. Aruntius had a son who was not willing to fly without his father. The latter with difficulty persuaded him to The Egnatii, Balbus, and Aruntius

CAP IV καὶ τόνδε μὲν ἡ μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας προύπεμψε καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν, ἵνα ἀνηρημένον τὸν ἄνδρα θάψειε· πυθομένη δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης διεφθάρθαι λιμῷ διεχρήσατο ἑαυτήν.

Λίδε μὲν δὴ παίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν ἔστων εἰκόνες· 22. ἀδελφοὶ δὲ δύο ὁμοῦ προγραφέντες, οἷς ὄνομα ἦν Λιγάριοι, ἐκρύπτοντο ὑπὸ ἰπνῷ, μέχρι τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοὺς ἀνευρόντων ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνῃρέθη, ὁ δὲ ἐκφυγών, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔγνω διεφθαρμένον, ἔρριψεν αὑτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἁλιέων περισχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐναλάμενον, ἀλλὰ πεπτωκότα, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἐφιλονίκει καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐώθει, ἡσσώμενος δὲ τῶν ἁλιέων περιεγίγνετο καὶ "οὐκ ἐμέ," ἔφη, "περισῴζετε, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοὶ προγεγραμμένῳ συναπόλλυτε." οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν οἰκτείραντες περιέσῳζον, μέχρι τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἳ τὴν γέφυραν ἐτήρουν, ἰδόντες ἐπέδραμόν τε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμον. ἑτέρων δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔρριψε κατὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος, καὶ θεράπων αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἀνεζήτει μέχρι πέμπτης ἡμέρας, εὑρὼν δὲ ἔτι γνωρίζεσθαι δυναμένου, τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ ἆθλον ἀπέκοψε· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν κοπρῶνι κρυπτόμενον ἕτερος ἐμήνυσε θεράπων, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς εἰσελθεῖν μὲν ἀπηξίωσαν, δόρασι δὲ περικεντοῦντες ἐξήγαγον καί, ὡς εἶχε, τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐδὲ ἀπονίψαντες ἀπέκοψαν. ἕτερος δέ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, προσδραμὼν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅμα ἐκείνῳ προγεγράφθαι, "ἐμέ," ἔφη, "κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου."

seek his safety because he was young. His mother accompanied him to the city gates and returned only to bury her slain husband. When she learned that her son also had perished at sea she starved herself to death. CHAP. IV

Let these serve as examples of sons good and bad. 22. As for brothers, two of the name of Ligarius, being proscribed together, hid themselves in an oven till their slaves found them, when one of them was killed and the other fled; when he learned that his brother had perished he threw himself from the bridge into the Tiber. Some fishermen seized him thinking that he had fallen into the water instead of leaping in. He stoutly resisted rescue and tried to throw himself into the river again; but when he was overcome by the fishermen he exclaimed "You are not saving me, but ruining yourselves by helping one who is proscribed." Nevertheless they had pity on him and saved him until some soldiers who were guarding the bridge saw him, ran to him, and cut off his head. One of two other brothers threw himself into the river and one of his slaves searched for the body five days. At last he found it, and as it was still possible to recognize it, he cut off the head for the sake of the reward. The other brother had concealed himself in a dung-heap and another slave betrayed him. The murderers disdained to go into the heap, but thrust their spears into him and dragged him out, and then cut off his head, just as he was, without even washing it. Another one seeing his brother arrested ran up to him, not knowing that he was himself proscribed also, and said, "Kill me The two Ligarii

CAP. IV καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἔχων τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνάγραπτον, "εἰκότα ἀξιοῖς," ἔφη· "σὺ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου γέγραψαι," καὶ εἰπὼν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔκτεινεν ἄμφω.

23. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀδελφῶν δείγματα· Λιγάριον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ κρύπτουσα μίαν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἐπηγάγετο θεράπαιναν, προδοθεῖσα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἵπετο τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φερομένῃ βοῶσα· "ἐγὼ τοῦτον ὑπεδεξάμην, τὰ δ' ὅμοια τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτίμια." καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὴν οὔτε ἀναιροῦντος οὔτε μηνύοντος, αὐτάγγελος ἐς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε καθ' ἑαυτῆς, κἀκείνων αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν φιλανδρίαν ὑπεριδόντων, ἑαυτὴν ἀπέκτεινε λιμῷ. καὶ τῆσδε μὲν ἐνθάδε ἐπεμνήσθην, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα περισῴζουσα ἀπετύγχανέ τε καὶ συνεξήγαγεν ἑαυτήν· ὅσαι δὲ ἐπέτυχον τῆς φιλανδρίας, ἐν τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράψω. ἕτεραι δὲ ἀθεμίστως ἐπεβούλευσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐστιν, ἡ Σεπτιμίῳ μὲν ἐγεγάμητο, ὑπὸ δέ τινος Ἀντωνίῳ φίλου διεφθείρετο· ἐπειγομένη δὲ ἐκ μοιχείας ἐς γάμον ἐδεήθη διὰ τοῦ μοιχεύοντος αὐτὴν Ἀντωνίου, καὶ ὁ Σεπτίμιος αὐτίκα τοῖς πίναξι προσετέθη. καὶ μαθὼν ἐς τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν οἴκοι κακῶν ἔφευγεν. ἡ δὲ ὡς φιλοφρονουμένη τὰς θύρας ἐπέκλεισε καὶ ἐτήρει τὸν ἄνδρα, ἕως οἱ σφαγεῖς παρεγένοντο· καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἀνῄρουν, ἡ δὲ ἔθυε γάμους.

before him." [1] The centurion, having the proscription list at hand, said, "Your request is a proper one, for your name comes before his." And so saying, he killed both of them in due order. CHAP. IV

23. The above may serve as examples in the case of brothers. Ligarius was concealed by his wife, who communicated the secret to only one female slave. Having been betrayed by the latter, she followed her husband's head as it was carried away, crying out, "I sheltered him; those who give shelter are to share the punishment." As nobody killed her or informed of her, she came to the triumvirs and accused herself before them. Being moved by her love for her husband they pretended not to see her, so she starved herself to death. I have mentioned her in this place, because she failed to save her husband and would not survive him. I shall refer to those who were successful in their devotion to their husbands when I speak of the men who escaped. Other women betrayed their husbands infamously. Among these was the wife of Septimius, who had an amour with a certain friend of Antony. Being impatient to exchange this illicit connection for matrimony, she besought Antony through her paramour to rid her of her husband. Septimius was at once put on the list of the proscribed. When he learned this, in ignorance of this domestic treachery he fled to his wife's house. She, as though with loving anxiety, closed the doors, and kept him until the murderers came. The same day that her husband was killed she celebrated her new nuptials. Septimus betrayed by his wife

[1] ἐμὲ κτείνατε πρὸ τούτου. This may mean, "kill me before him," or "kill me instead of him." The latter was the meaning intended, but the centurion interpreted it the other way for the sake of the jest.

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24. Σάλασσος δὲ ἐκφυγών τε καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἦκε μὲν ἐς πόλιν νυκτός, ὅτε μάλιστα ἔδοξεν ἀμβλύνεσθαι τὸ δεινόν, πεπραμένης δὲ τῆς οἰκίας μόνος αὐτὸν ὁ θυρωρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ συμπεπραμένος ἐπέγνω καὶ ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ οἴκημα ὑπεδέχετο καὶ κρύψειν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ θρέψειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐδύνατο. ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκά οἱ καλέσαι προσέταξεν ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκίας. ἡ δ' ὑποκριναμένη μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐπείγεσθαι, δεδιέναι δ' ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ θεραπαίναις τὸ ὕποπτον, μεθ' ἡμέραν ἥξειν ἔφη. καὶ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ μὲν τοὺς σφαγέας μετῄει, καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς αὐτὴν ὡς βραδύνουσαν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπέτρεχεν ἐπείξων· ὁ δὲ Σάλασσος, οἰχομένου τοῦ θυρωροῦ δείσας ὡς ἐς ἐνέδραν ἀπιόντος, ἐς τὸ τέγος ἀναδραμὼν ἐκαραδόκει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἰδὼν δὲ οὐ τὸν θυρωρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ἡγουμένην ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους. Φούλβιον δὲ ἐς θεραπαίνης φυγόντα παλλακευθείσης τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηλευθερωμένης καὶ προῖκα ἐς γάμον ἐπιλαβούσης, ἡ τοσάδε εὖ παθοῦσα προύδωκε ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς μεθ' ἑαυτὴν τῷ Φουλβίῳ γεγαμημένης.

Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν ὑποδείγματα γεγράφθω· 25. Στάτιος δὲ ὁ Σαυνίτης, πολλὰ Σαυνίταις ἐν τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ κατειργασμένος, διὰ δὲ περιφάνειαν ἔργων καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ γένος ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον ἀνακεκλημένος, ὀγδοηκοντούτης ὢν ἤδη καὶ διὰ πλοῦτον προγεγραμμένος, ἀνεπέτασε τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐκφορεῖν, ὅσα θέλοιεν,

CHAP IV

Other depraved women

24. Salassus escaped, and, not knowing what to do with himself, came back to the city by night, thinking that the danger had mostly passed away. His house had been sold. The janitor, who had been sold with the house, was the only one who recognized him, and he received him in his room, promising to conceal him and feed him as well as he could. Salassus told the janitor to call his wife from her own house. She pretended to be very desirous to come, but to be fearful of the night and distrustful of her servants, and said that she would come at daybreak. When daylight came she went for the murderers, and the janitor, because she was delaying, ran to her house to hasten her coming, and Salassus, when he had gone out, feared that he had gone to lay a plot against him, and went up to the roof to watch what would happen. Seeing not the janitor but his wife bringing the murderers, he precipitated himself from the roof. Fulvius fled to the house of a female servant, who had been his mistress, and to whom he had given freedom and a dowry on her marriage. Although she had been so well treated by him she betrayed him on account of jealousy of the woman whom Fulvius had married after his relations with her.

Statius, Capito, and Vetulinus

Let the above suffice as examples of depraved women. 25. Statius, the Samnite, who had had great influence with the Samnites during the social war and who had been raised to the rank of a Roman senator for his noble deeds, his wealth, and his lineage, and who was now eighty years of age, was proscribed on account of his riches. He threw open his house to the people and to his own slaves to carry away whatever they pleased. He also scattered

CAP. IV τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διερρίπτει, μέχρι κεκενωμένης ἐπικλείσας ἐνέπρησε καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄλλα ἐπενείματο. Καπίτων δὲ ἐς πολὺ τὰς θύρας ὑπανοίγων τοὺς ἐσβιαζομένους καθ' ἕνα ἀνῄρει, ὑπὸ δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιβρισάντων εἷς ἀπέθανε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας. Οὐετουλῖνος δὲ χεῖρα ἤθροισε πολλὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον αὐτῶν τε τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅσοι συνέφευγον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων, αἳ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπινίκια ἐπηγγελμέναι πάνυ ἐδυσχέραινον. τούσδε οὖν ἔχων ὁ Οὐετουλῖνος ἀνῄρει τῶν λοχαγῶν τοὺς διαθέοντας, μέχρι πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ πλέονος οὐδ' ὡς ἔληξεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Σικελίαν πρὸς Πομπήιον, κρατοῦντά τε αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὑποδεχόμενον, ἐπέρασεν. εἶτα ἐπολέμει καρτερῶς, μέχρι πολλαῖς μάχαις ἡσσώμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἄλλοι συνῆσαν, ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, ὡς εἶδε πορθμευόμενον ἤδη τὸ σκάφος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατεκόπη.

26. Νάσων δὲ ὑπὸ ἐξελευθέρου, παιδικῶν οἱ γενομένου, προδοθεὶς ἥρπασε παρά του τῶν στρατιωτῶν ξίφος καὶ τὸν προδότην μόνον ἀποκτείνας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπέσχε. φιλοδέσποτος δὲ οἰκέτης τὸν κεκτημένον ἐπὶ λόφου ἐκάθισε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἦει μισθωσόμενος αὐτῷ σκάφος. ἐπανιὼν δὲ κτεινόμενόν τε εἶδε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀποψύχοντος ἤδη μέγα βοῶν "ἐπίμεινον ἐς βραχύ, ὦ δέσποτα," εἶπε καὶ κτείνει τὸν λοχαγὸν ἐμπεσὼν ἄφνω. μετὰ δὲ

his property around with his own hand. When at last the house was empty he closed the doors, set fire to it, and perished, and the fire spread to many other parts of the city. Capito, through his half-opened door, for a long time resisted those who had been sent against him, killing them one by one. Finally, he was overpowered by numbers and slain after killing single-handed many of his assailants. Vetulinus assembled around Rhegium a large force of the proscribed and those who had fled with them, and others from the eighteen cities which had been promised as rewards of victory to the soldiers and who were indignant at such treatment. With these men Vetulinus slew the centurions who were scouting thereabouts, until a larger force was sent against him, and even then he did not desist, but passed over to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius, who was master of that island and who received the fugitives. There he fought bravely until he was defeated in several engagements. Then he sent his son and the remainder of the proscribed who were with him to Messana, and when he saw that their boat was passing the straits he dashed upon the enemy and was cut in pieces.

Servants and their masters

26. Naso, having been betrayed by a freedman who had been his favourite, snatched a sword from one of the soldiers, and, having killed his betrayer with it, surrendered himself to the murderers. A slave who was devoted to his master left the latter on a hill while he went to the sea-shore to hire a boat. On his return he saw his master being killed, and while he was breathing his last the slave called out to him, "Wait a moment, my master," whereupon he fell suddenly upon the

CAP. IV

ἐκεῖνον ἑαυτὸν ἐπαναιρῶν εἶπε τῷ δεσπότῃ· "παραμύθιον ἔχεις." Λεύκιος δὲ δύο πιστοτάτοις ἀπελευθέροις χρυσίον δοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ᾔει, διαδράντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέστρεψε καταγινώσκων τοῦ βίου καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσε τοῖς σφαγεῦσι. Λαβιηνὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Σύλλα προγραφαῖς πολλοὺς τῶν τότε συλλαβών τε καὶ κτείνας ἠδόξησεν ἄρα, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅμοια γενναίως ἐνέγκοι, καὶ προελθὼν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ θρόνου τοὺς σφαγέας περιμένων. Κέστιος δὲ ἐν χωρίοις παρὰ εὐνόοις θεράπουσιν ἐκρύπτετο, λοχαγῶν δ' αἰεὶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἢ κεφαλαῖς διαθεόντων οὐκ ἔφερε τὸ μῆκος τοῦ φόβου, ἀλλ' ἔπεισε τοὺς θεράποντας ἅψαι πυράν, ἵνα ἔχοιεν λέγειν, ὅτι Κέστιον ἀποθανόντα θάπτοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεδρευθέντες ἦψαν, ὁ δὲ ἐσήλατο ἐς αὐτήν. Ἀπώνιος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπικρύψας οὐκ ἤνεγκε τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς διαίτης, ἀλλὰ προήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγήν. ἄλλος ἐν φανερῷ καθῆστο ἑκὼν καὶ βραδυνόντων τῶν σφαγέων ἀπήγξατο ἐν μέσῳ.

27. Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ Ἀσινίου τοῦ ὑπατεύοντος τότε πενθερός, φεύγων διὰ θαλάσσης, οὐ φέρων τοῦ χειμῶνος τὴν ἀηδίαν ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. Καισέννιον δὲ οἱ διώκοντες, ὑποφεύγοντά τε καὶ βοῶντα οὐ προγεγράφθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν πίνακα ἀγαγόντες ἀναγινώσκειν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκέλευον καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα ἔκτειναν.

centurion and slew him. Then he killed himself, CHAP. IV
saying to his master, "Now you have consolation." Lucius put money in the hands of his two most faithful freedmen and started for the sea-shore. They ran away with it, and he turned around, despairing of his life, and gave himself up to the murderers. Labienus, who had captured and killed many persons in the time of the proscription of Sulla, thought that he would be disgraced if he did not bear a like fate bravely. So he went to his front door, seated himself in a chair, and waited for the murderers. Cestius concealed himself in the fields among faithful slaves. When he saw centurions running hither and thither with weapons and the heads of the proscribed he could not endure the prolonged fear. He persuaded the slaves to light a funeral pyre, so that they might say that they were paying the last rites to the dead Cestius. They were deceived by him and lighted the pyre accordingly, whereupon he leaped into it. Aponius concealed himself securely, but, as he could not endure the meanness of his mode of existence, he came forth and delivered himself to slaughter. Another proscript voluntarily seated himself in full view, and, as the murderers delayed their coming, he strangled himself in public.

27. Lucius, the father-in-law of Asinius, who was then consul, fled by sea, but, as he could not bear the anguish of the tempest he leaped overboard. Caesennius fled from his pursuers, exclaiming that he was not proscribed, but that they had conspired against him on account of his money. They brought him to the proscription list and told him to read his name on it, and while he was reading killed him.

CAP. IV Αἰμίλιος δὲ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι προγέγραπται, διωκόμενον ἄλλον ἰδὼν ἤρετο τὸν λοχαγὸν τὸν διώκοντα, τίς ὁ προγεγραμμένος εἴη· καὶ ὁ λοχαγὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον γνωρίσας "σὺ κἀκεῖνος" εἶπε καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀπέκτεινε. Κίλλων δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου προϊὼν καὶ Δέκιος, ἐπεὶ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐπύθοντο σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα προσγεγράφθαι, οὔπω τινὸς ἐπιόντος αὐτοῖς, ἔφευγον ἀκόσμως διὰ πυλῶν, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δρόμος ἐμήνυσεν.

Ἰκέλιος δέ, ὃς ἐπὶ Βρούτῳ τε καὶ Κασσίῳ δικάζων, Καίσαρος τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐφεστῶτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν κρύφα τὴν καταδικάζουσαν φερόντων, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερῶς, ἐκλαθόμενος τῆς μεγαλόφρονος ἐλευθεριότητος, νεκρὸν σῶμα ἐκκομιζόμενον ὑποστὰς τοῖς φέρουσι συνεβάσταζε τὸ λέχος. ἰδόντων δὲ τῶν φρουρούντων τὰς πύλας, ὅτι πλεονάζουσιν οἱ νεκροφόροι παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες ἑνὶ ἀνδρί, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φέροντας οὐχ ὑπονοούντων, τὸ δὲ λέχος ἐρευνωμένων, μὴ νεκρόν τις ὑποκρίνοιτο, οἱ νεκροφόροι τὸν Ἰκέλιον ἤλεγχον οὐχ ὁμότεχνον σφίσιν ὄντα, ἐπιγνωσθέντα τε οἱ σφαγεῖς ἀπέκτειναν.

28. Οὐᾶρος δ' ἀπελευθέρου προδιδόντος αὐτὸν ἀπέδρα, καὶ ὄρος ἐξ ὄρους ἀμείβων ἐς τὸ Μιντουρναίων ἕλος ἐνέπεσεν, ἔνθα ἑαυτὸν διαναπαύων ἡσύχαζε. τῶν δὲ Μιντουρναίων ἐπὶ ζητήσει λῃστηρίου τὸ ἕλος περιθεόντων, ἥ τε κόμη τοῦ δόνακος σαλευθεῖσα ἐνέφηνε τὸν Οὐᾶρον, καὶ

Aemilius, not knowing that he was proscribed and seeing another man pursued, asked the pursuing centurion who the proscribed man was. The centurion, recognizing Aemilius, replied, "You and he," and killed them both. Cillo and Decius were going out of the senate-house when they learned that their names had been added to the list of the proscribed, but no one had yet gone in pursuit of them. They fled incontinently through the city gates, and their running betrayed them to the centurions whom they met on the road. CHAP. IV

Icelius, who was one of the judges in the trial of Brutus and Cassius, when Octavian was supervising the tribunal with his army, and who, when all the other judges deposited secret ballots of condemnation, alone publicly deposited one of acquittal, now unmindful of his former magnanimity and independence, put his shoulder under a dead body that was being conveyed to burial, and took a place among the carriers of the bier. The guards at the city gates noticed that the number of corpse-bearers was greater by one man than usual, but they did not suspect the bearers. They only searched the bier to make sure that it was not somebody counterfeiting a corpse, but, as the bearers convicted Icelius as not being a member of their trade, he was recognized by the murderers and killed.

28. Varus, who was betrayed by a freedman, ran away, and after wandering from mountain to mountain came to the marsh at Minturnae, where he stopped to take rest. The inhabitants of Minturnae were scouring this marsh in search of robbers, and the agitation of the reeds revealed the hiding-place of Varus. He was captured and The cases of Varus and Largus

CAP. IV ληφθεὶς ἔλεγεν εἶναι ληστὴς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε θανάτῳ καταδικαζόμενος ἠνείχετο. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ βασανιεῖν ἐς τοὺς συνεγνωκότας, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἤδη τοῦτο ὡς ἀπρεπέστερον, "ἀπαγορεύω," φησίν, "ὑμῖν, ὦ Μιντουρναῖοι, ὕπατόν με γεγενημένον, καί, ὃ τοῖς νῦν ἄρχουσι τιμιώτερόν ἐστι, προγεγραμμένον μήτε βασανίζειν μήτε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι μοι διαφυγεῖν, ἄμεινον ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοτίμων παθεῖν." ἀπιστούντων δὲ τῶν Μιντουρναίων καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπονοούντων λοχαγὸς ἐπέγνω διαθέων καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τοῖς Μιντουρναίοις κατέλιπε.

Λάργον ἕτεροι συνελάμβανον ἐν χωρίοις, οὐ Λάργον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον διώκοντες· οἰκτείραντες δ', ὅτι μὴ ζητούμενος ἁλοίη, φεύγειν μεθῆκαν ἀνὰ τὴν ὕλην. ὁ δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρων διωκόμενος δρόμῳ τοὺς προτέρους κατέλαβε καί "ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "με κτείνατε μᾶλλον, οἱ ἐλεήσαντες, ἵνα τὸν μισθὸν ἀντὶ τούτων ὑμεῖς φέρησθε."

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἔδωκεν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποθνήσκων φιλανθρωπίας, 29. Ῥοῦφος δὲ ἔχων συνοικίαν περικαλλῆ, γείτονα Φουλβίας τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, πάλαι μὲν ἀξιούσῃ τῇ Φουλβίᾳ πρίασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ συνεχώρει, τότε δὲ καὶ δωρούμενος προεγράφη. καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιός οἱ προσφερομένην οὐχ ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν εἰπὼν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἡ δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς συνοικίας προτεθῆναι. ἔπαυλιν ἕτερος εἶχε περικαλλῆ καὶ σύσκιον,

said that he was a robber. He was condemned to death on this ground and resigned himself, but as they were preparing to subject him to torture to compel him to reveal his accomplices, he could not bear such an indignity. "I forbid you, citizens of Minturnae," he said, "either to torture or to kill one who has been a consul and—what is more important in the eyes of our present rulers—also proscribed! If it is not permitted me to escape, I prefer to suffer at the hands of my equals." The Minturnians did not believe him. They discredited his story until a centurion, who was scouting in that neighbourhood, recognized him, and cut off his head, leaving the remainder of his body to the Minturnians. CHAP. IV

Largus was captured in the fields by soldiers who were pursuing another man. They took pity on him because he had been captured when they were not seeking him, and allowed him to escape in the forest. Being pursued by others, he ran back to his first captors, saying, "I would rather that you, who had compassion on me, should kill me, so that you may have the reward instead of those men."

Thus Largus recompensed them with his death for their kindness to him. 29. As for Rufus, he possessed a handsome mansion near that of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, which she had wanted to buy, but he would not sell it, and although he now offered it to her as a free gift, he was proscribed. His head was brought to Antony, who said it did not concern him and sent it to his wife. She ordered that it be fastened to the front of his own house instead of the rostra. Another man had a very handsome and well-shaded country-place

Rufus proscribed for the sake of his house

CAP. IV

ἄντρον τε καλὸν ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βαθύ, καὶ τάχα διὰ ταῦτα καὶ προυγράφη. ἔτυχε δὲ ἀναψύχων κατὰ τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν σφαγέων ἔτι μακρόθεν ἐπιθεόντων θεράπων αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ ἄντρου προπέμψας ἐνέδυ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου χιτωνίσκον καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο ἐκεῖνος εἶναι καὶ δεδιέναι· καὶ τάχα ἂν ἐπέτυχεν ἀναιρεθείς, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὁμοδούλων τις ἐνέφηνε τὴν ἐνέδραν. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ ὧδε τοῦ δεσπότου, ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, μέχρι τὸν μὲν ἐνδείξαντα κρεμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ περισώσαντα ἐλευθερῶσαι ἐποίησεν. Ἀτέριον δὲ κρυπτόμενον θεράπων ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἐλεύθερος αὐτίκα γενόμενος ἀντωνεῖτο τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνύβριζεν ἐπαχθῶς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ πανταχῇ μετὰ σιγῆς εἵποντο κλαίοντες, ἕως ὁ δῆμος ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς αὐτόν, ὡς πλεονάσαντα τῆς χρείας, ἀνεδούλωσαν τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου.

V

CAP. V

30. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, ἤψατο δὲ καὶ ὀρφανῶν διὰ πλοῦτον ἡ τότε τύχη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτῶν αὐτῷ παιδαγωγῷ συναρπρέθη, τὸν παῖδα περισχομένῳ τε καὶ οὐ μεθιέντι· Ἀτίλιος δὲ ἄρτι τὴν τῶν τελείων περιθέμενος στολὴν ᾔει μέν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστί, σὺν πομπῇ φίλων ἐπὶ θυσίας ἐς τὰ ἱερά, ἄφνω δὲ

in which was a beautiful and deep grotto, on account of which probably he was proscribed. He was taking the air in this grotto when the murderers were observed by a slave, as they were coming toward him, but still some distance off. The slave conveyed him to the innermost recess of the grotto, dressed himself in his master's short tunic, pretended that he was the man and simulated alarm, and would have been killed on the spot had not one of his fellow-slaves exposed the trick. In this way the master was killed, but the people were so indignant that they gave the triumvirs no rest until they had obtained from them the crucifixion of the slave who had betrayed his master, and the freedom of the one who had tried to save him. CHAP. IV

A slave revealed the hiding-place of Haterius and obtained his freedom in consequence. He bid against the sons at the sale of the dead man's property, and insulted them grossly. They followed him everywhere with silent tears till the people became exasperated, and the triumvirs made him again the slave of the sons of the proscript, for overdoing his part.

V

30. Such were the miseries of grown men, but the calamity extended to orphan children on account of their wealth. One of these, who was going to school, was killed, together with his attendant, who threw his arms around the boy and would not give him up. Atilius, who was just assuming the man's toga, went, as was customary, with a procession of friends to sacrifice in the temples. CHAP. V

Children proscribed for their wealth

CAP. V

ἐγγραφέντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πίναξιν οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ θεράποντες διεδίδρασκον. ὁ δὲ μόνος καὶ ἔρημος ἐκ δαψιλοῦς παραπομπῆς ἐς τὴν μητέρα ἐχώρει· οὐ δεξαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ δέους, οὐκ ἀξιώσας ἔτι ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν ἑτέρου μετὰ μητέρα, ἐς ὄρος ἔφυγεν· ὅθεν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἐς τὰ πεδινὰ κατελθὼν ἐλήφθη πρὸς ἀνδρὸς λῃστεύειν τοὺς παροδεύοντας καὶ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ καταδεῖν εἰθισμένου. οἷα δὲ παῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὸν πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμαξιτὸν αὐταῖς χοινικίσι διέδρα καὶ παροδεύουσι λοχαγοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐμήνυσέ τε καὶ ἀνῃρέθη.

31. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων Λέπιδος ἐπὶ Ἴβηρσιν ἐθριάμβευε, καὶ προυτέθη διάγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον· "ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ προειρήσθω πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν παροῦσαν· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ φαίνηται ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἔσται." ὁ μὲν δὴ τὸν θρίαμβον ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀνῆγε, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἁπάντων μετὰ σχήματος ἱλαροῦ καὶ γνώμης δυσμενοῦς· τῶν δὲ προγεγραμμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διεφορεῖτο, καὶ οὐ πολὺς ἦν ὁ τὰ χωρία ὠνούμενος, οἱ μὲν ἐπιβαρεῖν τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσιν αἰδούμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐν αἰσίῳ σφίσι τὰ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες οὐδὲ ἀσφαλὲς ὅλως χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἔχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικτήσεις νῦν ἀκινδύνους, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄντα ἐπικίνδυνα. μόνοι δὲ οἱ διὰ θρασύτητα προσιόντες, ἅτε μόνοι, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὠνοῦντο. ὅθεν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐλπίσασιν

His name being put on the proscription list unexpectedly, his friends and servants ran away. Left alone, and bereft of his fine escort, he went to his mother. She was afraid to receive him. As he did not consider it safe to ask help from anybody else after his mother had failed him, he fled to a mountain. Hunger drove him down to the plain, where he was captured by a highwayman, accustomed to rob passers-by and set them to work in factories. The delicate boy, unable to endure the toil, escaped to the high roads with his fetters, revealed himself to some passing centurions, and was killed. CHAP. V

31. While these events were taking place Lepidus enjoyed a triumph for his exploits in Spain, and an edict was displayed in the following terms: "May Fortune favour us. Let it be proclaimed to all men and women that they celebrate this day with sacrifices and feasting. Whoever shall fail to do so shall be put on the list of the proscribed." Lepidus led the triumphal procession to the Capitol, accompanied by all the citizens, who showed the external appearance of joy, but were sad at heart. The houses of the proscribed were looted, but there were not many buyers of their lands, since some were ashamed to add to the burden of the unfortunate. Others thought that such property would bring them bad luck, or that it would not be at all safe for them to be seen with gold and silver in their possession, or that, as they were not free from danger with their present holdings, it would be an additional risk to increase them. Only the boldest spirits came forward and purchased at the lowest prices, because they were the only buyers. Thus it came to pass that the triumvirs, who had

Sales of confiscated property

CAP. V

ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς τάδε ἀρκέσειν, ἐνέδει μυριάδων ἔτι δισμυρίων.

32. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντες προύγραφον χιλίας καὶ τετρακοσίας γυναῖκας, αἳ μάλιστα πλούτῳ διέφερον· καὶ αὐτὰς ἔδει, τὰ ὄντα τιμωμένας, ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας, ὅσον ἑκάστην οἱ τρεῖς δοκιμάσειαν. ἐπέκειτό τε ταῖς ἀποκρυψαμέναις τι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τιμησαμέναις κακῶς ἐπιτίμια καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα μηνύουσιν ἐλευθέροις τε καὶ δούλοις μήνυτρα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἔκριναν τῶν προσηκουσῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι γυναικῶν δεηθῆναι. τῆς μὲν δὴ Καίσαρος ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἀπετύγχανον, οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀντωνίου· Φουλβίας δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀντωνίου, τῶν θυρῶν ἀπωθούμεναι χαλεπῶς τὴν ὕβριν ἤνεγκαν, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠσάμεναι, διισταμένων τοῦ τε δήμου καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων, ἔλεγον, Ὀρτησίας ἐς τοῦτο προκεχειρισμένης· "ὃ μὲν ἥρμοζε δεομέναις ὑμῶν γυναιξὶ τοιαῖσδε, ἐπὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν κατεφύγομεν· ὃ δὲ οὐχ ἥρμοζεν, ὑπὸ Φουλβίας παθοῦσαι, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν συνεώσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς ἀφείλεσθε μὲν ἤδη γονέας τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἠδίκησθε· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσαφέλοισθε, περιστήσετε ἐς ἀπρέπειαν ἀναξίαν γένους καὶ τρόπων καὶ φύσεως γυναικείας. εἰ μὲν δή τι καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, οἷον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἠδικῆσθαί φατε, προγράψατε καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκείνους. εἰ δὲ οὐδένα ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες οὔτε πολέμιον ἐψηφισάμεθα οὔτε καθεί-

hoped to realize a sufficient sum for their preparations for the war, were still short by 200,000,000 drachmas. CHAP V

32. The triumvirs addressed the people on this subject and published an edict requiring 1400 of the richest women to make a valuation of their property, and to furnish for the service of the war such portion as the triumvirs should require from each. It was provided further that if any should conceal their property or make a false valuation they should be fined, and that rewards should be given to informers, whether free persons or slaves. The women resolved to beseech the women-folk of the triumvirs. With the sister of Octavian and the mother of Antony they did not fail, but they were repulsed from the doors of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, whose rudeness they could scarce endure. They then forced their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs in the forum, the people and the guards dividing to let them pass. There, through the mouth of Hortensia, whom they had selected to speak, they spoke as follows: "As befitted women of our rank addressing a petition to you, we had recourse to the ladies of your households; but having been treated as did not befit us, at the hands of Fulvia, we have been driven by her to the forum. You have already deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you; if you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. But if we women have not voted any of you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your

Taxes imposed upon women

Protest of Hortensia

CAP. V

λομεν οἰκίαν ἢ στρατὸν διεφθείραμεν ἢ ἐπηγάγομεν ἕτερον ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς τυχεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν, τί κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν κολάσεων αἱ τῶν ἀδικημάτων οὐ μετασχοῦσαι;

33. "Τί δὲ ἐσφέρωμεν αἱ μήτε ἀρχῆς μήτε τιμῆς μήτε στρατηγίας μήτε τῆς πολιτείας ὅλως, τῆς ὑμῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη κακοῦ περιμαχήτου, μετέχουσαι; ὅτι φατὲ πόλεμον εἶναι; καὶ πότε οὐ γεγόνασι πόλεμοι; καὶ πότε γυναῖκες συνεισήνεγκαν; ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἀπολύει παρὰ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, αἱ δὲ μητέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν ἐσήνεγκάν ποτε ἅπαξ, ὅτε ἐκινδυνεύετε περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ πάσῃ καὶ περὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, Καρχηδονίων ἐνοχλούντων. καὶ τότε δὲ ἐσήνεγκαν ἑκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς ἢ χωρίων ἢ προικὸς ἢ οἰκιῶν, ὧν χωρὶς ἀβίωτόν ἐστιν ἐλευθέραις, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν οἴκοι κόσμων, οὐδὲ τούτων τιμωμένων οὐδὲ ὑπὸ μηνυταῖς ἢ κατηγόροις οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἢ βίαν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐβούλοντο αὐταί. τίς οὖν καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος φόβος; ἴτω τοίνυν ἢ Κελτῶν πόλεμος ἢ Παρθυαίων, καὶ οὐ χείρους ἐς σωτηρίαν ἐσόμεθα τῶν μητέρων. ἐς δὲ ἐμφυλίους πολέμους μήτε ἐσενέγκαιμέν ποτε μήτε συμπράξαιμεν ὑμῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ Καίσαρος ἢ Πομπηίου συνεφέρομεν, οὐδὲ Μάριος ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ Κίννας ἠνάγκασεν οὐδὲ Σύλλας, ὁ τυραννήσας τῆς πατρίδος· ὑμεῖς δέ φατε καὶ καθίστασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν."

34. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀρτησίας λεγούσης, οἱ τρεῖς ἠγανάκτουν, εἰ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχαζόντων

army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours,— why do we share the penalty when we did not share the guilt? CHAP. V

33. "Why should we pay taxes when we have no part in the honours, the commands, the state-craft, for which you contend against each other with such harmful results? 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all mankind? Our mothers did once rise superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and even these not according to fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. What alarm is there now for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls or the Parthians come, and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other! We did not contribute to Caesar or to Pompey. Neither Marius nor Cinna imposed taxes upon us. Nor did Sulla, who held despotic power in the state, do so, whereas you say that you are re-establishing the commonwealth."

34. While Hortensia thus spoke the triumvirs were angry that women should dare to hold a public

CAP. V

θρασυνοῦνται τε καὶ ἐκκλησιάσουσι, καὶ τὰ δρώμενα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐξετάσουσι, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν στρατευομένων αὐταὶ οὐδὲ χρήματα ἐσοίσουσιν· ἐκέλευόν τε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἐξωθεῖν αὐτὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, μέχρι βοῆς ἔξωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης οἵ τε ὑπηρέται τὸ ἔργον ἐπέσχον καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἔφασαν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀνατίθεσθαι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τετρακοσίας μὲν ἀντὶ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων προύγραφον ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὸν ἔχοντα πλείους δέκα μυριάδων, ἀστὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένον καὶ ἀπελεύθερον καὶ ἱερέα καὶ πανταεθνῆ, μηδενὸς ἀφιεμένου, καὶ τούσδε μεθ' ὁμοίου φόβου τῶν ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ὑπὸ μηνύμασιν ὁμοίοις, ἵνα πεντηκοστὴν μὲν τῶν ὄντων αὐτίκα δανείσαιεν αὐτοῖς, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ φόρον ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσενέγκαιεν.

35. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῶν προσταγμάτων τοιαῦτα Ῥωμαίους ἐπεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς σὺν καταφρονήσει χείρονα ἐποίουν. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐχόντων, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἠτοῦντο τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκίαν ἢ ἀγρὸν ἢ ἔπαυλιν ἢ ὅλον κλῆρον, οἱ δ' αὖ παῖδας ἀνδράσι θετοὺς γενέσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἕτερα ἕδρων, κτιννύντες τε τοὺς οὐ προγεγραμμένους καὶ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὑπαιτίων διαφοροῦντες. ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας προγράψαι τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιστροφήν τινα ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσταγμα γιγνομένων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν

meeting when the men were silent ; that they should demand from magistrates the reasons for their acts, and themselves not so much as furnish money while the men were serving in the army. They ordered the lictors to drive them away from the tribunal, which they proceeded to do until cries were raised by the multitude outside, when the lictors desisted and the triumvirs said they would postpone till the next day the consideration of the matter. On the following day they reduced the number of women, who were to present a valuation of their property, from 1400 to 400, and decreed that all men who possessed more than 100,000 drachmas, both citizens and strangers, freedmen and priests, and men of all nationalities without a single exception, should (under the same dread of penalty and also of informers) lend them at interest a fiftieth part of their property and contribute one year's income to the war expenses.

CHAP. V

The triumvirs relax the impost

35. Such calamities befell the Romans from the orders of the triumvirs ; but even worse ones were visited upon them by the soldiers in disregard of orders. Believing that they alone enabled the triumvirs to do what they were doing with impunity, some of them asked for the confiscated houses, or fields, or villas, or entire property of the proscribed. Others demanded that they should be made the adopted sons of [rich] men. Others, of their own motion, killed men who had not been proscribed, and plundered the houses of those who were not under accusation, so that the triumvirs were obliged to publish an edict that one of the consuls should put a restraint upon those who were exceeding their orders. The consul did not dare to touch the

Outrages committed by soldiers

CAP. V ἔδεισεν ἅψασθαι, μὴ σφᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν παροξύνῃ, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων τινάς, οἳ σχήματι στρατιωτῶν συνεξημάρτανον ἐκείνοις, λαβὼν ἐκρέμασε.

VI

CAP. VI 36. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τέλος τῶν συμφορῶν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπαντῶντα τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· ὅσα δὲ ἐκ παραλόγου τισὶν ἐγίγνετο ἔς τε τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτίκα καὶ ἐς ἀξίωσιν ὕστερον, ἐμοί τε ἥδιον εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὠφελιμώτερον ἐς μηδὲν ἀποκάμνοντας ἐλπίζειν περιέσεσθαι. αἱ μὲν οὖν φυγαὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις ἦσαν ἐς Κάσσιον ἢ Βροῦτον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κορνιφίκιον, καὶ τόνδε τῆς δημοκρατίας μεταποιούμενον· ὁ δὲ πολὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ᾔει, γειτονεύουσαν τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πομπηίου σφᾶς προθύμως ὑποδεχομένου. λαμπροτάτην γὰρ δὴ σπουδὴν ἐς τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν καιρῷ τότε ἔδειξε, κήρυκάς τε περιπέμπων, οἳ πάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν, καὶ τοῖς περισῴζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ θεράπουσι προλέγων διπλάσια τῶν διδομένων τοῖς αἱροῦσι· λέμβοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρογγύλα ὑπήντα τοῖς πλέουσι, καὶ τριήρεις τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐπέπλεον, σημεῖά τε ἀνίσχουσαι τοῖς ἁλωμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα περισῳζουσαι. αὐτός τε τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις ἀπήντα καὶ ἐσθῆτος αὐτίκα καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐμερίζετο· τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις καὶ ἐς στρατηγίας ἢ ναυαρχίας ἐχρῆτο. σπονδῶν τέ οἱ πρὸς τοὺς τρεῖς γιγνομένων ὕστερον, οὐ συνέθετο, πρὶν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν

soldiers lest he should excite their rage against himself, but he seized and crucified certain slaves who were masquerading as soldiers and committing outrages in company with them. CHAP. V

VI

36. Such are examples of the extreme misfortunes that befell the proscribed. Instances where some were unexpectedly saved and at a later period raised to positions of honour are more agreeable to me to relate, and will be more useful to my readers, as showing that they should never fall into despair, but that hope will always remain to them. Some, who were able to do so, fled to Cassius, or to Brutus, or to Africa, where Cornificius upheld the republican cause. The greater number, however, went to Sicily because of its nearness to Italy, where Sextus Pompeius received them gladly. The latter showed the most admirable and timely zeal in behalf of the unfortunate, sending heralds who invited all to come to him, and offered to those who should save the proscribed, both slaves and free persons, double the rewards that had been offered for killing them. His small boats and merchant ships met those who were escaping by sea, and his war-ships sailed along the shore and made signals to those wandering there and saved such as they found. Pompeius himself met the newcomers and provided them at once with clothing and other necessaries. To those who were worthy he assigned commands in his military and naval forces. When, at a later period, he entered into negotiations with the triumvirs, he would not conclude a treaty without embracing in its terms CHAP. VI

Examples of escape among the proscribed

CAP. VI διαφυγόντας ἐς ταύτας περιλαβεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ χρησιμώτατος οὕτως ἀτυχούσῃ τῇ πατρίδι ἐγίγνετο, καὶ δόξαν ἐκ τοῦδε ἀγαθήν, ἴδιον ἐπὶ τῇ πατρῴᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἧσσονα τήνδε ἐκείνης, προσελάμβανεν· ἕτεροι δὲ ἑτέρως φυγόντες ἢ κρυπτόμενοι μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐν χωρίοις ἢ τάφοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει, σὺν ἐπινοίαις οἰκτραῖς διεγένοντο. φιλανδρίαι τε παράδοξοι γυναικῶν ὤφθησαν καὶ παίδων ἐς πατέρας εὔνοιαι καὶ θεραπόντων ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐς δεσπότας. καὶ τῶνδε ὅσα παραδοξότατα, ἀναγράψω.

37. Παῦλος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λεπίδου, τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδελφὸν αὐτοκράτορος αἰδουμένων, ἐπὶ ἀδείας ἐξέπλευσεν ἐς Βροῦτον καὶ ἐς Μίλητον μετὰ Βροῦτον· ὅθεν οὐδὲ εἰρήνης ὕστερον γενομένης καλούμενος ἐπανελθεῖν ἠξίωσε. Λεύκιον δέ, τὸν Ἀντωνίου θεῖον, ἡ Ἀντωνίου μήτηρ ἀδελφὸν ὄντα εἶχεν οὐδ' ἐπικρύπτουσα, αἰδουμένων ἐς πολὺ καὶ τήνδε τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς μητέρα αὐτοκράτορος. βιαζομένων δ' ὕστερον ἐξέθορεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ προκαθημένῳ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τῶν συνάρχων ἔφη· "ἐμαυτήν, ὦ αὐτοκράτορ, μηνύω σοι Λεύκιον ὑποδεδέχθαι τε καὶ ἔχειν ἔτι καὶ ἔξειν, ἕως ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁμοῦ κατακάνῃς· τὰ γὰρ ὅμοια καὶ τοῖς ὑποδεδεγμένοις ἐπικεκήρυκται." ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιμεμψάμενος ὡς ἀδελφὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν, μητέρα δὲ οὐκ εὐγνώμονα (οὐ γὰρ νῦν χρῆναι περισῴζειν Λεύκιον, ἀλλὰ κωλύειν, ὅτε σου τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι

those who had taken refuge with him. In this way he rendered to his unfortunate country the greatest service, from which he gained a high reputation of his own in addition to that which he had inherited from his father, and not less than that. Others escaped by concealing themselves in various ways, some in the fields or in the tombs, others in the city itself, undergoing cruel anxiety until peace was restored. Remarkable examples were shown of the love of wives for their husbands, of sons for their fathers, and of slaves, quite beyond nature, for their masters. Some of the most remarkable of these I shall now relate. CHAP. VI

37. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, made his escape to Brutus by the connivance of the centurions who respected him as the brother of a triumvir. After the death of Brutus he went to Miletus, which he refused to leave after peace was restored, although he was invited to return. The mother of Antony gave shelter to her brother Lucius, Antony's uncle, without concealment, and the centurions had respect for her for a long time as the mother of a triumvir. When, later, they attempted to take him by force, she hurried into the forum where Antony was seated with his colleagues, and exclaimed, "I denounce myself to you, triumvir, for having received Lucius under my roof and for still keeping him, and I shall keep him till you kill us both together, for it is decreed that those who give shelter shall suffer the same punishment." Antony reproached her for being an unreasonable mother, although a good sister, saying that she ought to have prevented Lucius in the first place from voting her son a public enemy instead of seeking to save him now. The brother of Lepidus allowed to escape

CAP. VI πολέμιον ἐψηφίζετο), παρεσκεύασεν ὅμως Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα κάθοδον τῷ Λευκίῳ ψηφίσασθαι.

38. Μεσσάλας δὲ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ νέος ἐς Βροῦτον ἔφυγε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δείσαντες οἱ τρεῖς τὸ φρόνημα προύγραψαν οὕτως· "ἐπεὶ Μεσσάλαν ἀπέφηναν ἡμῖν οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ μηδὲ ἐπιδημεῖν, ὅτε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρεῖτο, ἐξῃρήσθω τῶν προγραφέντων ὁ Μεσσάλας." ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐδέξατο, Βρούτου δὲ καὶ Κασσίου περὶ Θρᾴκην πεσόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ τε ἔτι ὄντος καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἄρχειν σφῶν τὸν Μεσσάλαν αἱρουμένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας ἐπιβαρούσῃ τῇ τύχῃ μεταστρατεύσασθαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον. οἰκειότερος δὲ ὢν Ἀντωνίῳ συνῆν, μέχρι κρατούσης Ἀντωνίου Κλεοπάτρας ἐπιμεμψάμενος ἐς Καίσαρα μετῆλθεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὕπατόν τε ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ἀποχειροτονηθέντος, ὅτε αὖθις ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολέμιος, καὶ περὶ Ἄκτιον ναυαρχήσαντα κατὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ νικήσαντι ἔδωκε θριαμβεῦσαι.

Βύβλος δὲ ἐσπείσατο ἅμα τῷ Μεσσάλᾳ καὶ ἐναυάρχησεν Ἀντωνίῳ διαλλαγάς τε πολλάκις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπόρθμευσε καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ στρατηγῶν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

39. Ἀκίλιος δὲ ἔφευγε μὲν τῆς πόλεως λαθών, οἰκέτου δ' αὐτὸν ἐμφήναντος ὁπλίταις, τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔπεισεν ἐλπίδι χρημάτων πλεόν-

Nevertheless, he procured from the consul Plancus a decree restoring Lucius to citizenship. CHAP. VI

38. Messala, a young man of distinction, fled to Brutus. The triumvirs, fearing his high spirit, published the following edict: "Since the relatives of Messala have made it clear to us that he was not in the city when Gaius Caesar was slain, let his name be removed from the list of the proscribed." He would not accept pardon, but, after Brutus and Cassius had fallen in Thrace, although there was a considerable army left, as well as ships and money, and although strong hopes of success still existed, Messala would not accept the command when it was offered to him, but persuaded his associates to yield to overpowering fate and join forces with Antony. He became intimate with Antony and adhered to him until the latter became the slave of Cleopatra. Then he heaped reproaches upon him and joined himself to Octavian, who made him consul in place of Antony himself when the latter was deposed and again voted a public enemy. After the battle of Actium, where he held a naval command against Antony, Octavian sent him as a general against the revolted Celts and awarded him a triumph for his victory over them. Messala and Bibulus

Bibulus was received into favour at the same time with Messala, and was given a naval command by Antony, and often served as an intermediary in the negotiations between Octavian and Antony. He was appointed governor of Syria by Antony and died while serving in that capacity.

39. Acilius fled from the city secretly. His hiding-place was disclosed by a slave to the soldiers, but he prevailed upon them, by the hope of a larger Acilius and Lentulus

CAP. VI ων πέμψαι τινὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ συμβόλων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐδίδου. ἡ δὲ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προθεῖσα ἔφη διδόναι μὲν ὡς ἀντιδώσουσιν, ἃ ὑπέσχοντο, οὐκ εἰδέναι δέ, εἰ ἀντιδώσουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἐψεύσθη τῆς φιλανδρίας· οἱ γὰρ ὁπλῖται καὶ ναῦν ἐμίσθωσαν τῷ Ἀκιλίῳ καὶ προύπεμψαν ἐς Σικελίαν. Λέντλος δέ, ἀξιούσης αὐτῷ συμφεύγειν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπιτηρούσης, οὐκ ἐθέλων αὐτὴν συγκινδυνεύειν ἑαυτῷ, λαθὼν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν, στρατηγὸς δὲ ἀποδειχθεὶς ὑπὸ Πομπηίου ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι σῴζοιτο καὶ στρατηγοίη. ἡ δ', ὅποι γῆς ἐστιν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν μητέρα φυλάσσουσαν ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἦδε σὺν θεράπουσι δύο· μεθ' ὧν ὤδευεν ἐπιμόχθως καὶ εὐτελῶς οἷα θεράπαινα, μέχρι διέπλευσεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου περὶ ἑσπέραν. καὶ οὐ δυσχερῶς τὴν στρατηγίδα σκηνὴν μαθοῦσα, εὗρε τὸν Λέντλον οὐχ οἷα στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἐν χαμευνίῳ καὶ κόμῃ καὶ διαίτῃ πονηρᾷ πόθῳ τῆς γυναικός.

40. Ἀπουληίῳ δὲ ἠπείλησεν ἡ γυνὴ καταμηνύσειν αὐτόν, εἰ μόνος φεύγοι· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων αὐτὴν ἐπήγετο, συνήνεγκε δὲ ἐς τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον, ἅμα γυναικὶ καὶ θεράπουσι καὶ θεραπαίναις ὁδεύοντι φανερῶς. Ἄντιον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στρωματοδέσμῳ κατείλησε καὶ ἐπέθηκε τοῖς μισθοῦ φέρουσι καὶ διήνεγκεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ

reward, to send some of their number to his wife with a private token that he gave them. When they came she gave them all of her jewellery, saying that she gave it in return for what they had promised, although she did not know whether they would keep their agreement. But her fidelity to her husband was not disappointed, for the soldiers hired a ship for Acilius and saw him off to Sicily. The wife of Lentulus asked that she might accompany him in his flight and kept watch upon his movements for that purpose, but he was not willing that she should share his danger, and fled secretly to Sicily. Being appointed praetor there by Pompeius he sent word to her that he was saved and elevated to office. When she learned in what part of the earth her husband was she escaped with two slaves from her mother, who was keeping watch over her. With these she travelled in the guise of a slave, with great hardship and the meanest fare, until she was able to make the passage from Rhegium to Messana about nightfall. She learned without difficulty where the praetor's tent was, and there she found Lentulus, not in the attitude of a praetor, but on a low pallet with unkempt hair and wretched food, mourning for his wife.

Escape of Apuleius and Rheginus

40. The wife of Apuleius threatened that if he should fly without her, she would give information against him. So he took her with him unwillingly, and he succeeded in avoiding suspicion in his flight by travelling with his wife and his male and female slaves in a public manner. The wife of Antius wrapped him up in a clothes-bag and gave the bundle to some porters to carry from the house to the sea-shore, whence he made his escape to

CAP. VI θάλασσαν, ὅθεν ἔφυγεν ἐς Σικελίαν. Ῥηγῖνον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ νυκτὸς ἐς ὑπόνομον λυμάτων καθῆκεν, ἐς ὃν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὑποστάντων ἐμβῆναι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν διὰ δυσοδμίαν, νυκτὸς ἄλλης εἰς ἀνθρακέα ἐσκεύασε καὶ ὄνον ἄνθρακας φέροντα ἐλαύνειν ἔδωκεν· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκ βραχέος διαστήματος ἡγεῖτο φορείῳ φερομένη. τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας ὁπλιτῶν τινος τὸ φορεῖον ὑπονοήσαντός τε καὶ ἐρευνωμένου, δείσας ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐπέδραμε καὶ ὡς ὁδῷ χρώμενος ἠξίου τὸν ὁπλίτην φείδεσθαι γυναικῶν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνθρακέα μετ' ὀργῆς ἀμειβόμενος ἐγνώρισεν (ἐστράτευτο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ποτε ἐν Συρίᾳ) καὶ "ἄπιθι χαίρων," εἶπεν, "αὐτοκράτορ· τοῦτο γάρ μοι προσήκει καὶ νῦν καλεῖν σε." Κοπώνιον δὲ τὸ γύναιον ᾔτησε παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, σώφρων μὲν οὖσα τέως, ἀτυχήματι δὲ τὸ ἀτύχημα ἰωμένη.

41. Γέταν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔδοξε καίειν ὡς ἀπαγξάμενον καὶ λαθὼν ἐν ἀγρῷ νεωνήτῳ κατέλιπεν, ἔνθα ὁ πρεσβύτης μεταμορφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδήσατο διφθέραν ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων ἔλυσε τὴν διφθέραν, καὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀργίας δεδαπάνητο. Ὄππιον δὲ ὁ υἱός, ὑπὸ γήρως ἀσθενεστάτου μένειν ἐθέλοντα, ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἕως ἐξήγαγέ τε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μέχρι Σικελίας ἄγων ἢ φέρων ἐκόμισεν, οὐδενὸς ἄρα τὸ σχῆμα ὑπονοήσαντος ἢ ἐνυβρίσαντος, οἷόν που καὶ τὸν Λίνειαν γράφουσιν

Sicily. The wife of Rheginus concealed him by night in a sewer, into which the soldiers were not willing to enter in the daytime, on account of the foul odour. The next night she disguised him as a charcoal dealer, and furnished him an ass to drive, carrying coals. She led the way at a short distance, borne in a litter. One of the soldiers at the city gates suspected the litter and searched it. Rheginus was alarmed and hastened his steps, and as if he were a passer-by admonished the soldier not to give trouble to women. The latter, who took him for a charcoal dealer, answered him angrily, but suddenly recognizing him (for he had served under him in Syria), said, "Go on your way rejoicing, general, for such I ought still to call you." The wife of Coponius purchased his safety from Antony, although she had previously been chaste, thus curing one evil with another. CHAP. VI

41. The son of Geta pretended to burn his father's remains in the courtyard of his house, making people believe that he had strangled himself. Then he conveyed him secretly to a newly bought field and left him. There the old man changed his appearance by putting a bandage over one of his eyes. After the return of peace he took off the bandage and found that he had lost the sight of that eye by disuse. Oppius, by reason of the infirmities of age, was unwilling to fly, but his son carried him on his shoulder till he had brought him outside the gates. The remainder of the journey as far as Sicily he accomplished partly by leading and partly by carrying him, nobody suspecting his appearance and nobody mocking him. In like manner they say that Aeneas was respected Oppius saved by his son

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αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα. καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δῆμος ἐπαινῶν ὕστερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀγορανόμον· δεδημευμένης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἔχοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ δαπάνημα οἵ τε χειροτέχναι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἁμισθὶ συνειργάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θεωμένων ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ὅσον ἐβούλετο νόμισμα ἐρρίπτει, ἕως τὸν ἄνδρα κατεπλούτισαν. Ἀρριανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο ἐκ διαθηκῶν· "τὸν ἐνθάδε κείμενον υἱὸς οὐ προγραφεὶς προγραφέντα ἔκρυψέ τε καὶ συνέφυγε καὶ περιέσωσε."

42. Μετέλλω δὲ ἦστην υἱός τε καὶ πατήρ· καὶ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν πατὴρ στρατηγῶν Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον αἰχμάλωτος ἑάλω καὶ ἠγνοεῖτο, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστρατεύετο καὶ ἐστρατηγήκει καὶ ὅδε περὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον. ἐν δὲ Σάμῳ διακρίνοντι τῷ Καίσαρι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὁ μὲν παῖς συνήδρευεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἤγετο κόμης τε ἔμπλεως καὶ δύης καὶ ῥύπου καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶνδε μεταμορφώσεως. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος ἀνεκλήθη, ἀνέθορεν ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ μόλις ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἠσπάζετο σὺν οἰμωγῇ· ἐπισχὼν δέ ποτε τοῦ θρήνου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἔφη· "οὗτος μέν σοι πολέμιος γέγονεν, ὦ Καῖσαρ, ἐγὼ δὲ σύμμαχος· καὶ χρὴ τοῦτον μέν σοι δοῦναι δίκην, ἐμὲ δὲ γέρας εὑρέσθαι. αἰτῶ δή σε τὸν πατέρα σῴζειν δι' ἐμὲ ἢ

even by his enemies when carrying his father. In admiration of his piety the people in later days elected the young man to the aedileship, and since his property had been confiscated and he could not defray the expenses of the office,[1] the artisans performed the work appertaining thereto without pay, and each of the spectators tossed such money as he could afford to give into the orchestra, so that he became a rich man. By the will of Arrianus the following inscription was engraved on the father's tomb: "Here lies one who, when proscribed, was concealed by his son, who had not been proscribed, but who fled with him, and saved him." CHAP. VI

42. There were two men named Metellus, father and son. The father held a command under Antony at the battle of Actium and was taken prisoner, but not recognized. The son fought on the side of Octavian and held a command under him at the same battle. When Octavian was classifying the prisoners at Samos the son was sitting with him. The old man was led forward covered with hair, misery, and dirt, and completely metamorphosed by them. When his name was called by the herald in the array of prisoners the son sprang from his seat, and, with difficulty recognizing his father, embraced him with a cry of anguish. Then restraining his lamentation he said to Octavian, "He was your enemy, I was your fellow-soldier. He has earned your punishment, I your reward. I ask you either to spare my father on my account, or to kill me The Metelli, father and son

[1] Aediles were involved in much expense by reason of the public games they were accustomed to give during their term of office.

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δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐμὲ συγκατακανεῖν." οἴκτου δὲ ἐξ ἁπάντων γενομένου μεθῆκε σῴζεσθαι τὸν Μέτελλον ὁ Καῖσαρ, καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ γενόμενον καὶ δωρεῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μεταθοῖτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπ' Ἀντωνίου, πολλάκις ὑπεριδόντα.

43. Μᾶρκον δὲ οἱ θεράποντες σὺν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τύχῃ πάντα τὸν τῆς προγραφῆς χρόνον διεφύλαξαν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μέχρι τῆς ἀδείας δοθείσης ὁ Μᾶρκος ἐξῄει τῆς οἰκίας ὡς ἀπὸ φυγῆς. Ἴρτιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκφυγὼν τῆς πόλεως διώδευε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐκλύων τε δεσμώτας καὶ συνάγων τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ πολίχνια δῃῶν, ὀλίγα πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ μείζω, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ Βρεττίων ἔθνος ἐχειρώσατο καί, στρατοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς Πομπήιον μεθ' ὅσων εἶχε διέπλευσε.

Ῥεστίωνι δὲ οἰομένῳ μόνῳ φεύγειν οἰκέτης εἵπετο λανθάνων, ἀνάθρεπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ Ῥεστίωνος καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον εὖ παθών, διὰ δὲ μοχθηρίαν ὕστερον ἐστιγμένος. ἀναπαυομένῳ δὲ ἐν ἕλει τῷ Ῥεστίωνι ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεράπων ἐξέπληξε μὲν αὐτίκα ὀφθείς, δεδοικότι δὲ ἔφη οὐ τῶν παρόντων στιγμάτων αἰσθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μνημονεύειν τῶν πρότερον εὐεργετημάτων. καὶ αὐτὸν εἴς τι σπήλαιον ἀναπαύσας εἰργάζετο καὶ τροφὰς αὐτῷ συνέλεγεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ὑπονοίας δέ τινος ἀμφὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τοῖς ἐγγὺς ὁπλίταις περὶ τοῦ Ῥεστίωνος γενομένης καὶ χωρούντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὁ οἰκέτης εἵπετο συνεὶς καί τινα πρεσβύτην προοδεύοντα προδραμὼν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ

at the same time on his account." There was much emotion on all sides, and Octavian spared Metellus, although he had been bitterly hostile to himself and had scorned many offers made to him to desert Antony. CHAP VI

43. The slaves of Marcus guarded him with fidelity and success within his own house during the whole period of the proscription until there was nothing more to fear, when Marcus came out of his house as though from exile. Hirtius escaped from the city with his household servants and traversed Italy releasing prisoners, collecting runaways, and ravaging small towns at first and afterward large ones, until he found himself possessed of sufficient force to master Bruttium. When an army was sent against him he crossed the straits with his forces and joined Pompeius. Marcus and Restio saved by slaves

When Restio fled, thinking that he was alone, he was followed secretly by a slave of his own rearing, who had been very well treated by him formerly, but had lately been branded for bad conduct. While Restio was stopping in a marsh the slave came up to him. He was startled at the sight, but the slave said that he did not feel the pain of the brand so much as he remembered the former kindness shown to him. Then he found a resting-place for his master in a cave, and by working procured such sustenance for him as he could. The soldiers in the neighbourhood of the cave had their suspicions aroused concerning Restio, and went to it. The slave observed their movements and followed them, and, seeing an old man walking in front of them, he ran up and killed him and cut off his head. The soldiers were astounded. They arrested him

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ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ὁδοιπόρου περισχόντων, "Ῥεστίωνα," ἔφη, "ἔκτεινα, τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ δεσπότην, τάδε μοι τὰ στίγματα ἐγχαράξαντα." οἱ μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸν ἀφελόμενοι διὰ τὸ γέρας, ἠπείγοντο μάτην ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὁ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἀναστήσας διέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν.

44. Ἄππιον δὲ ἀναπαυόμενον ἐν ἐπαύλει, τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιθεόντων, οἰκέτης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθῆτα ἐνέδυσε, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν οἷα δεσπότης ἀνακλιθεὶς ἑκὼν ἀπέθανεν ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσπότου, παρεστῶτος ὡς οἰκέτου. Μενηνίου δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν καταλαβόντων ὁπλιτῶν, θεράπων ἐς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φορεῖον ἐνέβη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων συνεργούντων ἐξεφέρετο, ἕως ὅδε μὲν ὡς Μενήνιος ἑκὼν ἀνήρητο, Μενήνιος δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν διέφυγεν. Οὐίνιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ Οὐινίου, Φιλήμων, οἰκίαν κεκτημένος λαμπράν, ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἔκρυψεν ἐν λάρνακι, ἃς ἀπὸ σιδήρου ἐς χρημάτων ἢ βιβλίων ἔχουσι φυλακήν· καὶ νυκτὸς ἔτρεφε μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. ἕτερος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος, τάφον δεσπότου φυλάσσων, τὸν δεσπόσυνον προγραφέντα ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.

Λουκρήτιος ἁλώμενος σὺν δυσὶ θεράπουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν τροφῶν ἦει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, φορείῳ φερόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἷά τις ἄρρωστος, ἐς τὴν πόλιν. ἑνὸς δὲ τῶν φερόντων τὸ σκέλος συντρίβεντος τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιθεὶς ἦει. παρὰ δὲ ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος, ἔνθα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα προγραφεὶς ἐαλώκει, εἶδε λόχον ὁπλιτῶν ἐκτρέχοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ συγκύρημα τοῦ τύπου καταπλαγεὶς συνεκρύφθη

for a highwayman, but he said, "I have killed Restio, my master, the man who marked me with these scars." The soldiers took the head from him for the sake of the reward, and made haste to the city, to find their mistake. The slave brought his master away and conveyed him by ship to Sicily. CHAP. VI

44. Appius was resting at his country-place when the soldiers burst in. A slave put on his master's clothes and threw himself on his bed and voluntarily died for his master, who was standing beside him dressed as a slave. When the soldiers made a descent upon the house of Menenius, one of his slaves got into his master's litter and procured himself to be carried by his fellow-slaves, and in this way allowed himself to be killed for Menenius, who thereby escaped to Sicily. Vinius had a freedman named Philemon, the owner of a splendid mansion, who concealed him in the inmost recesses thereof, in an iron chest used for holding money or manuscripts, and gave him food in the night-time, until the return of peace. Another freedman, who had the custody of his master's tomb, guarded his master's son, who had been proscribed, in the tomb with his father. Faithful freedmen

Lucretius, who had been wandering about with two faithful slaves and had become destitute of food, set out to find his wife and was carried in a litter, in the guise of a sick man, by the two slaves to the city. One of the bearers broke his leg, so Lucretius walked leaning upon the other. When they reached the gate where the father of Lucretius, who had been proscribed by Sulla, had been captured, he saw a cohort of soldiers coming out. Being unnerved by the coincidence, he concealed himself with the slave

CAP. VI μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν τάφῳ. τυμβωρύχων δὲ τοὺς τάφους ἐρευνωμένων, ὁ θεράπων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τυμβωρύχοις παρέσχε περιδύειν, μέχρι Λουκρήτιον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας διαφυγεῖν. ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Λουκρήτιος περιμείνας τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερισάμενος ἐσθῆτος, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκρύπτετο ἐπὶ διπλῆς ὀροφῆς μεταξύ, μέχρι τινὲς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσαντο παρὰ τῶν προγραψάντων καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ εἰρήνης ὑπάτευσεν.

45. Σέργιος δὲ ἐκρύφθη παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, μέχρι Πλάγκον ὑπατεύοντα ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεισε κάθοδον αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὁ Σέργιος ὕστερον, ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στάσει, τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης εἶναι πολέμιον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, μόνος τὴν ἀπολύουσαν ἔφερε φανερῶς.

Καὶ οἵδε μὲν οὕτως ἐσῴζοντο, Πομπώνιος δὲ εἰς στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα κοσμήσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς ὑπηρέτας σκευάσας τὴν πόλιν ὡς στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ ῥαβδούχοις διῆλθεν, ἐπιθλιβόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ἵνα μὴ γνωσθείη πρὸς ἑτέρου, καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις ὀχημάτων τε δημοσίων ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διώδευεν, ἀποδεχομένων αὐτὸν καὶ παραπεμπόντων ἁπάντων οἷα στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ σπονδὰς ἐς Πομπήιον ἀπεσταλμένον, μέχρι καὶ δημοσίᾳ τριήρει διέπλευσε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

46. Ἀπουλήιος δὲ καὶ Ἀρρούντιος ὑποκριθέντες εἶναι λοχαγοὶ καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐς στρατιώτας σκευάσαντες, τὰς μὲν πύλας διέδραμον ὡς λοχαγοὶ διώκοντες ἑτέρους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ὁδὸν διελόμενοι τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξέλυον καὶ τοὺς

in a tomb. When some tomb-robbers came there searching for plunder, the slave offered himself to these robbers to be stripped till Lucretius could escape to the city gate. There Lucretius waited for him, shared his clothing with him, and then went to his wife, by whom he was concealed between the planks of a double roof until his friends got his name erased from the proscription. After the restoration of peace he was raised to the consulship. CHAP. VI

45. Sergius was concealed at the house of Antony himself until Antony persuaded the consul Plancus to procure a decree of amnesty for him. At a later period, when Octavian and Antony had fallen into disagreement, and when the Senate was voting Antony a public enemy, Sergius alone cast his vote openly in the negative.

Thus these all were saved. As for Pomponius, he arrayed himself in the garb of a praetor and disguised his slaves as his official attendants. He passed through the city as a praetor attended by lictors, his attendants pressing close to him lest he should be recognized. At the city gates he took possession of public carriages and traversed Italy in the character of a praetor sent by the triumvirs to conduct negotiations with Pompeius, all the people receiving him and sending him on as such, until he entered into a public ship and passed over to Pompeius. Daring exploit of Pomponius

46. Apuleius and Aruntius assumed the character of centurions, armed their slaves as soldiers, and passed through the gates pretending to be in pursuit of other persons, while for the remainder of their course they took different roads, releasing prisoners Strange battle between fugitives

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ἀποδράντας συνέλεγον, μέχρι χειρὸς ἱκανῆς ἑκατέρῳ γενομένης σημεῖά τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ὄψις στρατοῦ. χωρῶν δὲ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀμφί τινι λόφῳ σταθμεύουσι, μεγάλῳ δέει καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ περινεύοντες ἐκ τοῦ λόφου ἔδοξαν ἀλλήλους ἑκάτερος στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιπεμφθέντα εἶναι καὶ συμπλακέντες ἐμάχοντο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἔγνωσαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ὠλοφύροντο καὶ τὴν τύχην ὡς ἐπιβαροῦσάν σφισιν ἐς ἅπαντα ἐπεμέμφοντο. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς Βροῦτον, ὁ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον, ὁ μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ συγκατῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐστρατήγησε τῷ Βρούτῳ Βιθυνίας καὶ Βρούτου πεσόντος Ἀντωνίῳ παραδοὺς Βιθυνίαν κατήχθη. Οὐεντίδιον δὲ ἀπελεύθερος εὐθὺς μὲν προγραφέντα κατέδησεν ὡς παραδώσων τοῖς σφαγεῦσι, νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς θεράποντας ἔπεισε καὶ ἐσκεύασεν ὡς ὁπλίτας καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ὡς λοχαγὸν ἐξήγαγε· τήν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν μέχρι Σικελίας διώδευσαν καὶ συγκατέλυσαν πολλάκις ἑτέροις λοχαγοῖς ζητοῦσιν Οὐεντίδιον.

47. Ἕτερον ἐν τάφῳ κρύπτων ἀπελεύθερος, οὐ φέροντα φαντασίαν τάφου, μετήγαγεν ἐς φαῦλον οἴκημα μισθωτόν. στρατιώτου δ' αὐτῷ παρακατοικισθέντος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φέρων τὸν φόβον ἐς θαυμαστὴν τόλμαν ἐκ δειλίας μετέβαλε καὶ κειράμενος ἠγεῖτο ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥώμῃ διδασκαλείου

and collecting fugitives until a sufficient force was obtained by each to display the standards, the equipment, and the appearance of an army. When they each arrived separately at the sea-shore they took position on either side of a certain hill and contemplated each other with great apprehension. At daybreak the next morning, after reconnoitring each other from the hillside, each army took the other for an army sent against itself, and they actually came to blows and fought until they discovered their error, when they dropped their arms and broke into lamentations, blaming the hard fate that pursued them everywhere. Then they took ship, and one of them sailed to Brutus and the other to Pompeius. The latter was included in the reconciliation with Pompeius. The former took command of Bithynia for Brutus, and when Brutus fell he surrendered Bithynia to Antony and was restored to citizenship. When Ventidius was proscribed one of his freedman put fetters on him as though intending to deliver him to the murderers. But at night he gave instructions to some slaves, whom he armed as soldiers, and then he led his master forth in the character of a centurion, and they traversed the whole of Italy as far as Sicily, and often passed the night in company with other centurions who were in search of Ventidius. CHAP. VI

47. Another proscript was concealed by a freedman in a tomb, but as he could not endure the horror of the place he was transferred to a miserable hired hovel. A soldier was lodged near him, and as he could not endure this fear he changed from a feeling of cowardice to the most wonderful audacity. He cut off his hair and opened a school in Rome

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μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν. Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστὴν τῆς Ἴσιδος ἔχων ᾔτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδυ τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διῆλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπήιον. Σίττιον δὲ Καληνοί, πολίτην σφῶν ὄντα καὶ πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ περιουσίας δαψιλοῦς ἀναλώσαντα, ἐφύλασσον, σιδηροφοροῦντές τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπερύκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν, μέχρι μαραινομένου τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς τρεῖς ἐπρέσβευσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔτυχον Σίττιον τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας εἰργόμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μένειν. Σίττιος μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἢ μόνος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε τῆς ξένης ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, Οὐάρρων δὲ ἦν φιλόσοφός τε καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεύς, ἐστρατευμένος τε καλῶς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκώς, καὶ ἴσως διὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐχθρὸς μοναρχίας προυγράφη. φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καληνὸς ἐξενίκησε καὶ εἶχεν ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διοδεύοι, κατήγετο· καὶ τὸν Οὐάρρωνα οὐδεὶς ἔνδον ὄντα ἐνέφηνε θεράπων, οὔτε αὐτοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οὔτε Καληνοῦ.

48. Οὐεργίνιος δέ, ἀνὴρ ἤδὺς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι κτείναντες μὲν αὐτὸν δι' ὀλίγα χρήματα οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ μύσους τε πίμπλανται καὶ φόβων ἐς ὕστερον μεγάλων, περισώσαντες δὲ δόξης τε εὐσεβοῦς καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν καὶ χρημάτων ὕστερον πολὺ πλεόνων τε καὶ ἀσφαλεσ-

itself, which he taught until the return of peace. Volusius was proscribed while holding the office of aedile. He had a friend who was a priest of Isis, whose robe he begged. He clothed himself with this linen garment reaching to his feet, put on the dog's head and thus as a priest of Isis he made the journey to Pompeius. The inhabitants of Cales protected Sittius, one of their citizens who had made lavish expenditures from his own fortune for their benefit, and provided an armed guard for him. They silenced his slaves by threats and prevented the soldiers from approaching their walls until the troubles began to subside, when they sent envoys to the triumvirs on his behalf and obtained permission for Sittius that he might remain at home, but should be excluded from the rest of Italy. Sittius was thus the first or the only man who was ever an exile in his own country. Varro was a philosopher and a historian, a soldier and a distinguished general, and for these reasons perhaps was proscribed as hostile to the monarchy. His friends were eager to give him shelter and contended with each other for the honour of doing so. Calenus won the privilege and took him to his country house, where Antony was accustomed to stop when travelling. Yet no slave, either of Calenus or of Varro himself, revealed the fact that Varro was there.

CHAP. VI

How Varro the historian was saved

48. Virginius, an orator of distinction, told his slaves that if they should kill him for a small and uncertain reward they would be filled with remorse and terror afterward, while if they should save him they would enjoy an excellent reputation and good hopes, and, later, a much larger and more

Escape of Virginius the orator

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τέρων. οἱ μὲν δὴ συνέφευγον ὡς ὁμοδούλῳ καὶ γνωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀπεμάχοντο· ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐδίδασκε κἀκείνους, ὅτι κατὰ μὲν ἔχθραν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων οὕνεκα μόνων, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς εἴη δικαιότερα καὶ πλέονα λαβεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθοῦσιν, "ἔνθα μοι τὸ γύναιον," ἔφη, "ναῦν φέρουσα χρημάτων συνετάξατο." καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οἵδε πεισθέντες κατῄεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀφῖκτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἠιόνα κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον, βραδύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Οὐεργινίου, νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐς Πομπήιον προπεπλευκέναι ἀνήγετο, θεράποντα ὅμως ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος ἐξαγγέλλειν ὑπολιποῦσα. καὶ ὁ θεράπων τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἰδὼν ἀνέθορέ τε ὡς ἐς δεσπότην καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐδείκνυεν ὡς ὁρωμένην καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔφραζε καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ὅτῳ κατελείφθη. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον ἅπασιν ἤδη, καὶ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀξιοῦντα σφᾶς περιμένειν, ἔστε μετακληθείη τὸ γύναιον, ἢ συνελθεῖν οἱ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἐσβάντες ἐς σκάφος παρέπεμπον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐρέσσοντες φιλοπόνως· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχόν τε τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἔτι θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν μέχρι τῶν σπονδῶν.

Ῥέβιλον δὲ ναύκληρος ἐς τὴν ναῦν ὑποδεξάμενος ὡς διοίσων ἐς Σικελίαν ᾔτει χρήματα, μηνύσειν ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ὁ δέ, οἷόν τι καὶ

certain reward. So they fled, taking him with them in the guise of a fellow-slave, and when he was recognized on the road they fought against the soldiers. Being captured by the latter, he told them that they had no reason for killing him except for money, and that they would get a more honourable and larger reward by going with him to the sea-shore, "where," said he, "my wife has arranged to bring a ship with money." They followed his suggestion and went with him to the sea-shore. His wife had come to the rendezvous according to agreement, but as Virginius had been delayed, she thought that he had already sailed to Pompeius. So she had embarked, leaving a slave at the rendezvous, however, to tell him if he should come. When the slave saw Virginius he ran up as though to his master, and pointed out to him the ship which had just started, and told him about his wife and the money and why he (the slave) had been left behind. The soldiers now believed all that they heard, and when Virginius asked them to wait till his wife could be called back, or to go with him after her to obtain the money, they embarked in a small boat and conveyed him to Sicily, rowing with all their might. There they received what had been promised them, and they did not go back, but remained in his service until peace was declared. CHAP. VI

A ship captain received Rebilus in his vessel in order to convey him to Sicily and then demanded money, threatening to betray him if he did not get it. Rebilus followed the example of Themistocles when he fled. He threatened in turn that he would

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Θεμιστοκλῆς φεύγων ἐποίησεν, ἀντιπείλει μηνύσειν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν ἄγοι, μέχρι δείσας ὁ ναύκληρος διέσωσεν ἐς Πομπήιον.

49. Μᾶρκος δὲ Βρούτῳ στρατηγῶν προεγέγραπτο μὲν καὶ ὅδε διὰ τόδε, ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Βρούτου συλλαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο εἶναι θεράπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνήσατο Βαρβούλας. δεξιὸν δὲ ὁρῶν ἐπέστησε τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις καὶ χρήματα διοικεῖν ἔδωκεν· δεινὸν δὲ ἐν ἅπασι καὶ συνετὸν ὄντα ὑπὲρ θεράποντος φύσιν ὑπενόει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν, εἰ τῶν προγεγραμμένων τις εἴη, περισώσειν ὁμολογήσαντα. ἀπομαχόμενον δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ γένος ἀναπλίσσοντα καὶ ὄνομα καὶ προτέρους δεσπότας ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπήγετο, ἐλπίσας ὀκνήσειν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀφικέσθαι προγεγραμμένον. ὁ δὲ εἵπετο καὶ ὡς. περὶ δὲ τὰς πύλας τῶν ὑπαντώντων τις φίλων Βαρβούλα, θεασάμενος τὸν Μᾶρκον ὡς οἰκέτην αὐτῷ παρεστῶτα, κρύφα ἐμήνυσε τῷ Βαρβούλᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἐδεήθη Καίσαρος δι' Ἀγρίππα, καὶ ἀφείθη τῆς προγραφῆς ὁ Μᾶρκος, καὶ φίλος ἐγίγνετο Καίσαρι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ στρατηγὸς ἦν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ Ἄκτιον. ἐστρατήγει δὲ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Βαρβούλας, καὶ ἡ τύχη περιῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον ἀμφοτέροις· Βαρβούλας τε γὰρ ἡττηθέντος Ἀντωνίου λαμβανόμενος ὑπεκρίνατο οἰκέτης εἶναι, καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος αὐτὸν ὡς ἀγνοῶν ὠνήσατο, ἐκθέμενος δὲ ἅπαντα τῷ Καίσαρι ᾔτησέ τε καὶ ἔτυχε τοῖς ὁμοίοις τὸν Βαρβούλαν ἀμείψασθαι.

tell how the captain was helping him to escape for money. The captain was afraid, and he carried Rebilus over to Pompeius. CHAP. VI

49. Marcus was one of the lieutenants of Brutus and was proscribed for that reason. When Brutus was defeated he was captured. He pretended to be a slave and was bought by Barbula. The latter, perceiving that he was skilful, placed him over his fellow-slaves and gave him charge of his private disbursements. As he was clever in all respects and superior in intelligence to the condition of a slave, his master had suspicions and encouraged him to hope that if he would confess that he was one of the proscribed he (Barbula) would procure his pardon. He denied stoutly, and gave himself a feigned name and family and former masters. Barbula brought him to Rome, expecting that if he were proscribed he would show reluctance to come, but he followed all the same. One of Barbula's friends, who met him at the gates, saw Marcus standing by his side in the character of a slave, and privately told Barbula who he was, and he obtained from Octavian, through the intercession of Agrippa, the erasure of the name of Marcus from the proscription. The latter became a friend of Octavian, and some time later served as his lieutenant against Antony at the battle of Actium. Barbula was then serving with Antony, and the fortune of both of them was reversed. For when Antony was vanquished Barbula was taken prisoner and he pretended to be a slave, and Marcus bought him pretending not to know him. Then he laid the whole matter before Octavian and asked that he might compensate Barbula with a like service, and his request was granted. Adventures of Marcus Lollius

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Τοῖσδε μὲν οὖν ἡ συντυχία τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα παρέμεινεν· ἦρξαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν ἐν ἄστει οἱ δύο ὁμοῦ. 50. Βαλβίνῳ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ἰδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιᾶσδε ἀνάγκης παρέστη. Μαικήνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλεύσεως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδὶ συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικήνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, ἵνα μὴ ἄγοιτο οὖσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ᾔτει παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφίξεσθαι. οὐδενὸς δὲ τὴν ἐγγύην ὑφισταμένου, ὁ Λέπιδος ἀμφὶ τὰς Βαλβίνου θύρας ἐτρίβετο πολλάκις καὶ δικάζοντι παρίστατο καὶ διωθουμένων αὐτὸν ἐς πολὺ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν μόλις εἶπεν· "ἐμοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροι μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπιείκειαν, οὐδὲ γυναικί με ἢ παιδὶ συγγνῶναι λέγοντες· σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ μὲν προέγραψα, κάτω δέ εἰμι τῶν προγραφέντων. ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον τύχην ἀφορῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ σοὶ παρεστῶτα, χάρισαί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαντήσειν ἐς Καίσαρα ἐγγυωμένῳ ἢ μετ' ἐκείνης ἀπελθεῖν δεομένῳ." ταῦτα ἔτι τοῦ Λεπίδου λέγοντος, οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁ Βαλβῖνος ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἐγγύης τὴν γυναῖκα.

51. Κικέρων δὲ ὁ Κικέρωνος προαπέσταλτο μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοιάδε ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντος· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς Βροῦτον

This similarity of good fortune attended these two in after times, for they both held the chief magistracy in the city the same year. 50. Balbinus took refuge with Pompeius and was restored with him, and became consul not long afterward. Lepidus, who had meanwhile been deposed from the triumvirate by Octavian and reduced to private life, presented himself to Balbinus under the following stress. Maecenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for high treason against Octavian and also the young man's mother as knowing of the crime. Lepidus himself he overlooked as being a person of no consequence. Maecenas sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but in order to spare his mother the journey on account of her sex, he demanded that she should give bail to the consul for her appearance before Octavian. As nobody offered bail for her, Lepidus presented himself frequently at the door of Balbinus and also at his tribunal, and though the attendants long forced him away, he made himself heard with difficulty to this effect: "The accusers testify to my innocence, since they say that I was not an accomplice of my wife and son. I did not cause you to be proscribed, yet I am now inferior to the proscribed. Consider the mutability of human affairs and grant to one, who stands by your side, the favour of becoming security for my wife's appearance before Octavian, or let me go there with her." When Lepidus had thus spoken, Balbinus took pity on his reverse of fortune, and released his wife from bail altogether.

CHAP. VI

Balbinus and Lepidus

51. Cicero, the son of Cicero, had been sent away to Greece by his father, who anticipated these evils. From Greece he proceeded to join Brutus, and after

CAP. VI καὶ μετὰ Βροῦτον ἀποθανόντα ἐς Πομπήιον ἐλθὼν τιμῆς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ καὶ στρατηγίας ἠξιοῦτο. ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κικέρωνος ἐκδύσεως ἱερέα τε εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνε καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν· καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου περὶ Ἄκτιον συμφορὰν ἐπισταλεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ Κικέρων ὧδε ὑπατεύων ἀνέγνω τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ προύθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἔνθα πρότερον ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ προύκειτο κεφαλή. Ἅππιος δὲ διένειμε τοῖς θεράπουσιν τὰ ὄντα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει. χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπιλαβόντος ἐπιβουλεύοντες οἱ θεράποντες τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς σκάφος ἐνέθεντο τὸν Ἅππιον, ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐλπίδα μεταφέροντες. καὶ συνέβη τῷ μὲν ἐκ παραλόγου διαπλεῦσαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τῆς νεὼς διαλυθείσης. Πούπλιος δὲ ὁ ταμίας Βρούτου, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον αὐτὸν πειθόντων προδοῦναι Βροῦτον οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος, διὰ τόδε καὶ προεγράφη. καὶ κατήχθη καὶ Καίσαρι φίλος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐπιόντι ποτὲ τῷ Καίσαρι προύθηκεν εἰκόνας Βρούτου καὶ ἐπηνέθη καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

VII

CAP. VII Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ δόξαν τισὶ τῶν προγραφέντων εἴς τε κίνδυνον καὶ σωτηρίαν γενόμενα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι τοιάδε μάλιστα ἦν· 52. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια πάντα πολέμοις διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν ἐδονεῖτο· καὶ τῶν πολέμων οἱ μείζους ἦσαν ἀμφί τε Λιβύην

the latter's death he joined Pompeius, by both of whom he was honoured with a military command. Afterwards Octavian, by way of apology for his betrayal of Cicero, caused him to be appointed pontifex, and not long afterwards consul and then proconsul of Syria. When the news of the overthrow of Antony at Actium was forwarded by Octavian this same Cicero, as consul, announced it to the people and affixed it to the rostra where formerly his father's head had been exhibited. Appius distributed his goods among his slaves and then sailed with them to Sicily. Being overtaken by a storm, the slaves formed a plot to get possession of his money, and placed Appius in a small boat, pretending to transfer him to a safer place; but it turned out that he reached the port most unexpectedly, while their ship was wrecked and they all perished. Publius, quaestor of Brutus, was solicited by the party of Antony to betray his chief, but refused, and was for that reason proscribed. Afterward he was restored to citizenship and became a friend of Octavian. Once when Octavian came to visit him Publius displayed some images of Brutus, and Octavian praised him for doing so.

CHAP. VI

The son of Cicero escapes and is restored to favour

VII

The above are some of the most remarkable cases where the proscribed were lost or saved. Many others I have omitted. 52. In the meantime, while these transactions were taking place at Rome, all the outlying countries were torn by hostilities growing out of the same commotion. Chief among

CHAP. VII

The war in the provinces

CAP. VII

Κορνιφικίου πρὸς Σέξστιον καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ Κασσίου πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν καὶ περὶ Σικελίαν Πομπηίου. πάθη τε πολλὰ συνηνέχθη πόλεσιν ἐκ δοριαλωσίας, ὑπεριδόντι δὲ τῶν ἐλασσόνων τὰ μέγιστα δὴ καὶ δι' ἀξίωσιν τῶν ἄλλων περιφανέστατα Λαοδικεῦσι καὶ Ταρσεῦσι καὶ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Πατρεῦσι καὶ Ξανθίοις. καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ συναγαγόντι φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

53. Λιβύης Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἔτι καλοῦσι παλαιάν, ὅσην Καρχηδονίους ἀφείλοντο· ἣν δὲ Ἰόβας εἶχεν, ὕστερόν τε ἔλαβον ἐπὶ Γαΐου Καίσαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νέαν προσαγορεύουσι Λιβύην· εἴη δ' ἂν τῆς Νομαδικῆς. Σέξστιος οὖν ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς νέας ἡγούμενος ᾔτει Κορνιφίκιον ἐκστῆναί οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, ὡς Λιβύης ἁπάσης ἐν τῇ λήξει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν Καίσαρι νενεμημένης. ὁ δὲ οὔτε τὴν λῆξιν ἔφη γιγνώσκειν τῶν τριῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν πεποιημένων, οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς λαβὼν ἄλλῳ μεθήσειν χωρὶς αὐτῆς· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν, στρατὸν δὲ εἶχεν ὁ μὲν βαρύν τε καὶ πλείονα, ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος κουφότερόν τε καὶ ὀλιγώτερον, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεσόγαια τοῦ Κορνιφικίου περιὼν ἀφίστη καὶ Οὐεντίδιον, στρατηγὸν τοῦ Κορνιφικίου, μετὰ πλειόνων ἐπελθόντα ἀπεμάχετο πολιορκούμενος. ἐδήου δὲ καὶ Λαίλιος, ἕτερος τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατηγός, τὴν Σεξστίου Λιβύην καὶ Κίρταν περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει.

these wars was that in Africa between Cornificius and Sextius, that in Syria between Cassius and Dolabella, and that against Pompeius around Sicily. Many cities suffered the calamity of capture. I shall pass by the smaller ones and confine myself to the largest, and especially the very celebrated captures of Laodicea, Tarsus, Rhodes, Patara, and Xanthus. I shall relate briefly what took place at each of these. CHAP. VII

Cornificius and Sextius in Africa

53. That part of Africa which the Romans took from the Carthaginians they still call Old Africa. The part that belonged to King Juba, and which was taken by Gaius Caesar at a later period, they call for that reason New Africa; it might also be called Numidian Africa. Accordingly Sextius, who held the government of New Africa, being appointed by Octavian, summoned Cornificius to abandon Old Africa to him because the whole country had been assigned to Octavian in the allotment of the triumvirs. Cornificius replied that he did not know what allotment the triumvirs had made among themselves, and that since he had received the government from the Senate he would not surrender it to anybody else without the order of the Senate. This was the origin of hostilities between them. Cornificius had the heavier and more numerous army. That of Sextius was more nimble though inferior in number, by which means he was enabled to dash round and detach from Cornificius his inland districts until he was besieged by Ventidius, a lieutenant of Cornificius, who brought against him superior forces and whom he resisted valiantly. Laelius, another lieutenant of Cornificius, ravaged the province of Sextius, sat down before the city of Cirta, and laid siege to it.

CAP. VII 54. Καὶ πάντες ἐπρέσβευον περὶ συμμαχίας ἔς τε Ἀραβίωνα βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Σιττιανούς, οἳ ἀπὸ τοιᾶσδε συντυχίας οὕτως ὠνομάζοντο. Σίττιος ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίκην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστὰς ἔφυγε καὶ στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἔκ τε αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἰβηρίας ἐς Λιβύην διέπλευσε καὶ τοῖς Λιβύων βασιλεῦσι πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνὰ μέρος συνεμάχει. ἀεὶ δὲ οἷς προσθοῖτο νικώντων, ὁ Σίττιος ἐπὶ ὀνόματος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ γεγύμναστο λαμπρῶς. Γαΐῳ τε Καίσαρι διώκοντι τοὺς Πομπηιανοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ συνεμάχησε, καὶ Σαβόρραν, Ἰόβα στρατηγὸν διώνυμον, ἀνεῖλε καὶ γέρας τούτων ἔλαβε παρὰ Καίσαρος τὴν Μασανάσσου γῆν, οὐχ ἅπασαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κράτιστον αὐτῆς. Μασανάσσης δ' ἦν Ἀραβίωνος τοῦδε πατήρ, Ἰόβα σύμμαχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷδε τῷ Σιττίῳ καὶ Βόκχῳ, Μαυρουσίων βασιλεῖ, δεδώρητο· καὶ τὸ μέρος ὁ Σίττιος τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδιεῖλεν. Ἀραβίων δὲ τότε μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξέφυγε πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Πομπηίου, Γαΐου δὲ Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος ἐς Λιβύην ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ Λιβύων τινὰς ἀεὶ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Πομπηίῳ πέμπων ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ γεγυμνασμένους ἀπολαμβάνων Βόκχον ἀφῄρητο τὴν χώραν καὶ Σίττιον ἀνῃρήκει δόλῳ. εὔνους δὲ ὢν τοῖς Πομπηιανοῖς διὰ τάδε, κατεγίνωσκεν ἀεὶ τῆς μοίρας ὡς ἀτυχούσης ἀμειλίκτως καὶ Σεξστίῳ προσέθετο, εὐμενιζόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα. προσέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Σιττιανοί, κατ' εὔνοιαν οἵδε πατρῴαν τοῦ Καίσαρος.

55. Θαρρήσας οὖν ὁ Σέξστιος ἐξῆει τῆς πολιορκίας ἐς μάχην καὶ πεσόντος τοῦ Οὐεντιδίου καὶ

CHAP. VII

Adventures of Sittius

54. Both parties sent ambassadors to secure the alliance of King Arabio and of the so-called Sittians, who received their name from the following circumstance. A certain Sittius, who was under accusation at Rome, took flight in order to avoid trial. Collecting an army from Italy and Spain, he crossed over to Africa, where he allied himself now with one and now with another of the warring kings of that country. As those with whom he joined himself were always victorious, Sittius acquired a reputation and his army became wonderfully efficient. When Gaius Caesar pursued the Pompeians to Africa Sittius joined him and destroyed Juba's famous general, Saburra, and received from Caesar, as a reward for these services, the territory of Masinissa, not all, but the best part of it. Masinissa was the father of this Arabio and the ally of Juba. Caesar gave his territory to this Sittius, and to Bocchus, the king of Mauritania, and Sittius divided his own portion among his soldiers. Arabio at that time fled to the sons of Pompey in Spain, but returned to Africa after Caesar's death and kept sending to the younger Pompeius detachments of his men, whom he received back in a state of good training, and so expelled Bocchus from his territory and killed Sittius by stratagem. Although for these reasons he was friendly toward the Pompeians, he nevertheless decided against that party, because it was so extremely unlucky, and joined Sextius, through whom he acquired the favour of Octavian. The Sittians also joined him by reason of their friendship for the elder Caesar.

A battle at Utica

55. Thus encouraged Sextius made a sortie by which Ventidius was killed and his army put to

CAP. VII τοῦ στρατοῦ φεύγοντος ὑπ' ἀναρχίας, εἵπετο κτείνων τε καὶ ζωγρῶν. καὶ τάδε μαθὼν ὁ Λαίλιος διέλυε τὴν τῆς Κίρτης πολιορκίαν καὶ ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸν Κορνιφίκιον. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν Κορνιφίκιον ἐς Ἰτύκην ἤει καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μετὰ πλειόνων ὄντι. Λαίλιον δὲ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων πέμψαντος ἔς τινα κατάσκεψιν, ὁ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα ἔπεμψεν ἱππομαχεῖν τῷ Λαιλίῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ αὐτὸς ἤει μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ἱππομαχίας καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐθορύβει, μέχρι τὸν Λαίλιον οὐχ ἡσσημένον πω δεῖσαι περὶ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, μὴ ἀποκλεισθείη, καὶ λόφον ἐν μέσῳ καταλαβεῖν, Ἀραβίωνα δὲ ἀρτώμενον αὐτοῦ κτεῖναί τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν λόφον περικυκλῶσαι. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐξῄει τῷ πλέονι στρατῷ, βοηθήσων τῷ Λαιλίῳ· καὶ τοῦδε μὲν ὁ Σέξστιος ὄπισθεν γενόμενος ἐξήπτετο συντρέχων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἀπεμάχετο μάλα κακοπαθῶς.

56. Ὁ δὲ Ἀραβίων ἐν τούτῳ πετροβάταις ἀνδράσιν ἀνέρπουσι διὰ κρημνῶν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κορνιφικίου παρέδυ λαθών. καὶ Ῥώσκιος μὲν ὁ φύλαξ, τοῦ χάρακος ἁλισκομένου, τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τινι τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε καὶ ἀνῃρέθη, ὁ δὲ Κορνιφίκιος τῇ μάχῃ κάμνων μετεπήδα πρὸς Λαίλιον ἐς τὸν κολωνόν, οὐκ εἰδώς πω περὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· μεταπηδῶντα δ' αὐτὸν οἱ τοῦ Ἀραβίωνος ἱππέες ἐπιδραμόντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ γιγνόμενα ταῦτα ὁ Λαίλιος ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καθορῶν ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων

headlong flight. Sextius pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. When Laelius heard the news he raised the siege of Cirta and joined Cornificius. Sextius, elated by his success, advanced against Cornificius himself at Utica and encamped opposite him, although the latter had the superior force. Cornificius sent Laelius with his cavalry to make a reconnaissance, and Sextius ordered Arabio to engage him with his own cavalry in front, and Sextius himself with his light troops fell upon the enemy's flank and threw them into such confusion that Laelius, although not vanquished, feared lest his retreat should be cut off and took possession of a hill near by. Arabio hung upon his rear, killed many, and surrounded the hill. When Cornificius saw this he sallied out with the greater part of his force to assist Laelius. Sextius, who was in his rear, dashed up and attacked him, but Cornificius turned upon him and drove him back, although suffering severely. CHAP. VII

56. Meanwhile Arabio, with a band of men accustomed to climbing rocks, scaled a precipice to the camp of Cornificius and stole into it unobserved. When the camp was captured Roscius, the custodian, offered his throat to one of his assistants and was killed. Cornificius, overcome by the fatigue of the engagement, retired toward Laelius on the hill, not yet knowing what had happened to his camp. While he was retreating the cavalry of Arabio charged upon him and killed him, and when Laelius, looking down from the hill, saw what had happened he killed himself. When the leaders had fallen the

CAP. VII πεσόντων ὁ στρατὸς κατὰ μέρη διέφυγεν· καὶ ὅσοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἦσαν παρὰ τῷ Κορνιφικίῳ, οἱ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλεον, οἱ δ' ὅπῃ δύναιντο ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ Σέξστιος Ἀραβίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς Σιττιανοὺς ἐδωρεῖτο πολλοῖς λαφύροις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τῷ Καίσαρι καθίστατο, συγγινώσκων ἁπάσαις.

VIII

CAP. VIII Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῷ περὶ Λιβύην Σεξστίου καὶ Κορνιφικίου πολέμῳ, βραχεῖ διὰ ταχυεργίαν δόξαντι εἶναι· 57. τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναλαβόντι ἐς ὑπόμνημα, ἦν τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῄρητο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβον καὶ ψηφισθείσης αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστίας κατέβησαν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκομιδῇ τοῦ σώματος ἐν οἴκτῳ Καίσαρος γενόμενος ἐζήτει τοὺς φονέας περιθέων. οἱ δὲ τότε μὲν ἠμύνοντο αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν, εὐθὺς δὲ ἐξῄεσαν αὐτῶν, ὅσοι στρατηγεῖν ἐθνῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ κεχειροτόνηντο. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἔτι τῆς πόλεως, ᾔρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἵδε ὑπὸ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεῖσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βροῦτος. οὔτε δὲ ἄρχειν πω τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἄστει φόβον ὑπομένοντες ἐξῄεσαν ἔτι στρατηγοῦντες· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προσέταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. οἰχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν

soldiers fled in various directions. Of the proscribed who were with Cornificius, some crossed over to Sicily, others took refuge wherever they could. Sextius gave great spoils to Arabio and the Sittians, but the cities he brought into allegiance to Octavian and granted pardon to them all.

CHAP. VII

End of the War in Africa

VIII

This was the end of the war in Africa between Sextius and Cornificius, which seemed inconsiderable by reason of the rapidity with which it was prosecuted. 57. Resuming the narrative of Cassius and Brutus, I shall repeat some small part of what has already been said, in order to refresh the memory. When Caesar was assassinated his murderers took possession of the Capitol, and when amnesty was voted to them they came down. The people were greatly moved at Caesar's funeral and scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers. The latter defended themselves from the roofs of their houses, and those of them who had been appointed by Caesar himself as governors of provinces departed from the city forthwith. Cassius, however, and Brutus were still city praetors, though Cassius had been chosen by Caesar as governor of Syria and Brutus of Macedonia. As they could not enter at once upon these offices, and as they were afraid to remain in the city, they took their departure while still praetors, and the Senate, for the sake of appearances, gave them charge of the supply of corn, so that they might not seem to have taken flight in the interval. After they had gone,

CHAP. VIII

B.C. 44

Brutus and Cassius

CAP. VIII Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία εἰς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίζετο, τῆς βουλῆς πάνυ δυσχεραινούσης, ἀντεδόθη δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον Κυρήνη τε καὶ Κρήτη· ὧν ὑπεριδόντες ὡς βραχυτέρων ἐκεῖνοι στρατὸν καὶ χρήματα ἤγειρον ὡς ἐς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

58. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτοις, Τρεβώνιον δὲ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ κτείναντος Δολοβέλλα καὶ Δέκμον Ἀντωνίου πολιορκοῦντος ἐν Κελτοῖς, χαλεπαίνουσα ἡ βουλὴ Δολοβέλλαν μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι πολεμίους, Βροῦτον δὲ καὶ Κάσσιον ἐς τὰς προτέρας ἡγεμονίας ἐπανήγαγον καὶ Βρούτῳ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα προσέθεσαν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσαν, ὅσοι Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονεύουσιν ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὅ τι κελεύοι Κάσσιος ἢ Βροῦτος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Κάσσιος φθάνει Δολοβέλλαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνέσχε καὶ δυώδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατευόμενα καὶ γεγυμνασμένα προσέλαβεν ἀθρόως· οὗ τὸ μὲν ἓν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν Συρίᾳ καταλελοίπει, τὰ ἐς Παρθυαίους ἤδη διανοούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτέτραπτο μὲν Καικίλιος Βάσσος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα εἶχε νεανίας αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος συγγενής, Σέξστος Ἰούλιος. ἐκδιαιτώμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰούλιος τὸ τέλος ἐς τρυφὴν ἐπήγετο ἀσχημόνως καὶ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ τῷ Βάσσῳ ποτὲ ἐνύβρισε· καὶ καλῶν ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ βραδέως ὑπήκουεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν ἕλκοντας. θορύβου δὲ ἀσχήμονος καὶ πληγῶν ἐς τὸν Βάσσον γενομένων οὐκ

the provinces of Syria and Macedonia were transferred to the consuls Dolabella and Antony much against the will of the Senate. Nevertheless, Cyrene and Crete were given to Brutus and Cassius in exchange. These provinces they despised because of their insignificance, and, accordingly, they set about raising troops and money in order to invade Syria and Macedonia. CHAP. VIII

58. While they were thus engaged Dolabella put Trebonius to death in Asia and Antony besieged Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate in indignation voted both Dolabella and Antony public enemies, and restored both Brutus and Cassius to the former commands and added Illyria to that of Brutus. It also ordered all other persons holding commands of Roman provinces or armies, between the Adriatic and Syria, to obey the orders of Cassius and Brutus. Thereupon Cassius anticipated Dolabella by entering Syria, where he raised the standards of a governor and won over twelve legions of soldiers who had been enlisted and trained by Gaius Caesar long before. One of these Caesar had left in Syria when he was contemplating a war against the Parthians, and had placed it under the charge of Caecilius Bassus, but had given the nominal command to Sextus Julius, a young man who was his kinsman. This Julius was a fellow of loose habits who led the legion into shameful dissipations and once insulted Bassus when the latter remonstrated with him. Afterward he summoned Bassus to his presence, and when the latter delayed he ordered that he be dragged before him. There was a disgraceful tumult in consequence, and some blows were given to Bassus, the B.C. 43 Cassius raises an army in Syria

CAP. VIII ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν ἡ στρατιὰ τὸν Ἰούλιον συνηκόντισε. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν μετάνοια καὶ δέος ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος. συνομόσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλοις, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς συγγνώμη καὶ πίστις γένοιτο, διαγωνιεῖσθαι μέχρι θανάτου, τὸν Βάσσον ἐς ταὐτα συνηνάγκασαν. τέλος δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἕτερον, συνεγύμναζον ἄμφω καὶ Στάιον Μοῦρκον, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσιν ἐπιπεμφθέντα, γενναίως ἀπεμάχοντο. Μούρκῳ δ' ἦκεν ἐπίκουρος Μάρκιος Κρίσπος ἐκ Βιθυνίας μετὰ τριῶν τελῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὸν Βάσσον ἐπολιόρκουν ὁμοῦ πάντες ἓξ τέλεσιν ἤδη.

59. Κάσσιος οὖν τήνδε τὴν πολιορκίαν σπουδῇ καταλαβὼν τόν τε τοῦ Βάσσου στρατὸν αὐτίκα παρελάμβανεν ἑκόντα καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ Μούρκου τέλη καὶ Μαρκίου, κατά τε φιλίαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόντων καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῆς βουλῆς ἐς πάντα ὑπακουόντων. ἄρτι δὲ καὶ Ἀλλιηνός, ὑπὸ Δολοβέλλα πεμφθεὶς ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἐπανῆγεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα τέλη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἥσσης Πομπηίου τε καὶ Κράσσου διαρριφέντων ἢ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος Κλεοπάτρᾳ καταλελειμμένων· καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, τῶν ὄντων οὐ προπεπυσμένον, ἄφνω περιέλαβέ τε καὶ ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι οἱ καὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν στρατόν, δείσαντα τέσσαρσι τέλεσι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὀκτώ. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ παραδόξου δυώδεκα τελῶν ἀρίστων ἀθρόως ἐκράτει. καὶ αὐτῷ τινες καὶ Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξόται συνεμάχουν, δόξαν ἔχοντι παρὰ τοῖς Παρθυαίοις, ἐξ οὗ Κράσσῳ ταμιεύων ἐμφρονέστερος ἔδοξε τοῦ Κράσσου γενέσθαι.

sight of which the army resented, and Julius was shot down. This act was followed straightway by repentance and fear of Caesar, and so they bound each other by an oath that, unless they were granted pardon and reconciliation, they would fight to the death; and they compelled Bassus to take the same oath. They recruited another legion and both were drilled together. Caesar sent Staius Murcus against them with three legions, but they resisted bravely. Marcius Crispus was then sent from Bithynia to the aid of Murcus with three additional legions, and thus Bassus was besieged by six legions altogether. CHAP. VIII

59. Cassius speedily intervened in this siege and took command at once of the army of Bassus with its consent, and afterward of the legions of Murcus and Marcius, who surrendered them to him in a friendly way and in pursuance of the decree of the Senate obeyed him in all respects. About the same time Allienus, who had been sent to Egypt by Dolabella, brought from that country four legions composed of men who had been dispersed after the disasters of Pompey and Crassus, or who had been left with Cleopatra by Caesar. Cassius surrounded him in Palestine unexpectedly, while he was in ignorance of what had happened, and compelled him to come to terms and surrender his army, as he did not dare to fight with four legions against eight. Thus in a marvellous manner Cassius came into possession of twelve first-rate legions, to whom were added a certain number of Parthian mounted bowmen, who were attracted by the reputation he had acquired among them from the time when, as quaestor to Crassus, he had shown himself to be more skilful than that general. He gains four legions from Egypt

CAP. VIII

60. Δολοβέλλας δὲ διέτριψε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν, κτείνων Τρεβώνιον καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀγείρων ἐπὶ μισθῷ διὰ Λευκίου Φίγλου παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Παμφύλων καὶ ἐκ Κιλικίας· ὡς δέ οἱ τάδε ἕτοιμα ἦν· ἐπῄει τῇ Συρίᾳ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γῆν αὐτὸς μετὰ δύο τελῶν, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ Φίγλος. πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς Κασσίου στρατιᾶς ἐς Λαοδίκειαν οἰκείως ἔχουσάν οἱ παρῆλθεν, ἐπί τε χερρονήσου συνῳκισμένην καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὠχυρωμένην καὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἔχουσαν ὅρμον, ὅθεν ἔμελλεν εὐπορήσειν τε ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀδεῶς, ὅτε βούλοιτο, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. ὧν αἰσθανόμενος ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ δεδιώς, μὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Δολοβέλλας διαφύγοι, τόν τε ἰσθμὸν ἔχου διστάδιον ὄντα, λίθους καὶ πᾶσαν ὕλην ἐξ ἐπαύλεων καὶ προαστείων καὶ τάφων συμφέρων, καὶ ἐπὶ ναῦς περιέπεμπεν ἔς τε Φοινίκην καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Ῥόδον.

61. Ὑπερορώμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν Σιδωνίων ἐπανήχθη τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, καὶ κατέδυσαν μὲν ἑκατέρου νῆες ἱκαναί, πέντε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλεν Δολοβέλλας. καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἔπεμπεν ἐς τοὺς ὑπεριδόντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κλεοπάτραν, τὴν Λιγύπτου βασιλίδα, καὶ ἐς Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ στρατηγοῦντα. Τύριοι μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀράδιοι καὶ Σεραπίων, οὐδὲν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας προμαθών, ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ ναῦς, ὅσας εἶχον· ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ Κασσίῳ μὲν προύφερε λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμὸν ἐνοχλοῦντα τότε Λιγύπτῳ, διὰ δὲ οἰκειότητα τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος συνέπρασσε τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. καὶ ἀπὸ

CHAP. VIII
Cassius marches against Dolabella

60. Dolabella was spending his time in Ionia, where he put Trebonius to death, levied tribute on the towns, and hired a naval force, by means of Lucius Figulus, from the Rhodians, Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians. When all was in readiness he advanced toward Syria, leading two legions by land himself, while Figulus proceeded by sea. After he had learned of the forces of Cassius he passed on to Laodicea, a city friendly to himself, situated on a peninsula, fortified on the landward side and having a roadstead in the sea, so that supplies might be easily obtained by water and he might sail away securely whenever he wished. When Cassius learned this, fearing lest Dolabella should escape him, he threw up a mound across the isthmus, two stades in length, composed of stones and all sorts of material brought together from suburban houses and tombs, and at the same time sent to Phoenicia, Lycia, and Rhodes for ships.

61. Being ignored by all except the Sidonians, he came to a naval engagement with Dolabella, in which a number of ships were sunk on both sides and Dolabella captured five with their crews. Then Cassius again sent to those who had rejected his application, and also to Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and to Serapio, her viceroy in Cyprus. The Tyrians, the Aradii, and Serapio, not waiting to consult Cleopatra, sent Cassius what ships they had. The queen excused herself on the ground that Egypt was at that time suffering from famine and pestilence, but she was really co-operating with Dolabella on account of her relations with the elder Caesar. This

CAP. VIII

τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα τέλη προπεπόμφει δι' Ἀλλιηνοῦ καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἕτοιμον εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν, ἄνεμοι δὲ ἐπεῖχον. Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Λύκιοι οὔτε Κασσίῳ οὔτε Βρούτῳ συμμαχήσειν ἔφασκον ἐς ἐμφύλια, ἐπεὶ καὶ Δολοβέλλᾳ δοῦναι ναῦς προπομπούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰδέναι συμμαχούσας.

62. Ἑτοιμασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος αὖθις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπανήγετο δὶς τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς ναυμαχίᾳ ἡσσᾶτο ὁ Δολοβέλλας, καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αἱρομένου τοῦ χώματος ἔκοπτεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη καὶ ἐσάλευεν. τόν τε νυκτοφύλακα αὐτοῦ Μάρσον οὐ δυνηθεὶς διαφθεῖραι διέφθειρε τοὺς ἡμεροφυλακοῦντας αὐτῷ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ἀναπαυομένου τοῦ Μάρσου μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθεισῶν αὐτῷ πυλίδων κατὰ μέρη πολλῶν. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ μὲν Δολοβέλλας προύτεινε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ σωματοφύλακι αὐτοῦ καὶ τεμόντα προσέταξε φέρειν Κασσίῳ σῶστρον ἴδιον· ὁ δὲ τεμὼν ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, διεχρήσατο δὲ καὶ Μάρσος ἑαυτόν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν μὲν τοῦ Δολοβέλλα στρατιὰν ἐς ἑαυτὸν μεθώρκου, Λαοδικέων δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἐσύλα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκόλαζε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐσφοραῖς βαρυτάταις ἐξέτρυχε, μέχρι τὴν πόλιν περιήνεγκεν ἐς ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

63. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδίκειαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὥρμα, πυνθανόμενος μὲν Κλεοπάτραν βαρεῖ στόλῳ διαπλευσεῖσθαι πρός τε Καίσαρα καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπινοῶν δὲ κωλῦσαί τε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ

was the reason why she had sent him the four legions by Allienus, and had another fleet ready to assist him, which was kept back by adverse winds. The Rhodians and the Lycians said that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil wars, and that when they supplied ships to Dolabella they furnished them as an escort, not knowing that they were to be used as allies in war.

He captures Laodicea

62. When Cassius had again made such preparations as he could with the forces in hand he engaged Dolabella a second time. The first battle was doubtful, but in the next one Dolabella was beaten on the sea. Then Cassius completed his mound and battered Dolabella's walls till they trembled. He tried unsuccessfully to bribe Marsus, the captain of the night-watch, but he bribed the centurions of the day force, and while Marsus was taking his rest, effected an entrance by daylight through a number of small gates that were secretly opened to him one after another. When the city was taken Dolabella offered his head to his private sentry and told him to cut it off and carry it to Cassius in order to secure his own safety. The guard cut it off, but he killed himself also and Marsus took his own life. Cassius swore Dolabella's army into his own service. He plundered the temples and the treasury of Laodicea, punished the chief citizens, and exacted very heavy contributions from the rest, so that the city was reduced to the extremest misery.

Dolabella killed

63. After the capture of Laodicea Cassius turned his attention to Egypt. Having learned that Cleopatra was about to join Octavian and Antony with a strong fleet, he proposed to prevent its

CAP. VIII τίσασθαι τῆς γνώμης τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ πρὸ τῶνδε αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐνθυμιζόμενος μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ, τετρυμένην τε ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν στρατὸν οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσαν, ἄρτι τῶν Ἀλλιηνοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποστάντων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμῆς καὶ ἐλπίδος ἔχοντα καὶ καιροῦ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς ἤδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόνιον περώντων. ἄκων μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων μεθίει καὶ τοὺς Παρθυαίων ἱπποτοξότας ἀπέπεμπε τιμήσας καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἔστελλε περὶ μείζονος συμμαχίας, ἣ μετὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀφικνουμένη Συρίαν τε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγγὺς ἐθνῶν μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπέδραμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κάσσιος τὸν μὲν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐν Συρίᾳ μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους ἀπέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προύπεμψεν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, οἳ Ἀριοβαρζάνην τε ἄφνω κατέκανον ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίῳ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ τὰ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπανήγαγον.

64. Ταρσέων δ' ἐς στάσιν διῃρημένων οἱ μὲν τὸν Κάσσιον ἐστεφανώκεσαν ἐλθόντα πρότερον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐπελθόντα· ἀμφότεροι δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως σχήματι ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. καὶ παραλλὰξ αὐτῶν προτιμώντων ἑκάτερον, ὡς εὐμεταβόλῳ πόλει χαλεπῶς ἐχρῶντο ἑκάτεροι· Κάσσιος δὲ νικήσας Δολοβέλλαν καὶ ἐσφορὰν ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα. οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντές τε καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων ἀπαιτούμενοι σὺν ὕβρει, τά τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα

sailing and to punish the queen for her intention. He had before this thought that the condition of Egypt was especially favourable for these designs, because it was wasted by famine and had no considerable foreign army, now that the forces of Allienus had taken their departure. In the midst of his eagerness, his hopes, and his opportunity came a hasty summons from Brutus telling him that Octavian and Antony were crossing the Adriatic. Cassius reluctantly gave up his hopes in respect of Egypt. He also sent back his Parthian mounted bowmen with presents, and with them ambassadors to their king asking for a larger force of auxiliaries. This force arrived after the decisive battle, ravaged Syria and many of the neighbouring provinces as far as Ionia, and then returned home. Cassius left his nephew in Syria with one legion and sent his cavalry in advance into Cappadocia, who presently killed Ariobarzanes for plotting against Cassius. Then they seized his large treasures and other military supplies and brought them to Cassius.

CHAP. VIII

Brutus informs Cassius that Octavian and Antony are crossing the Adriatic

64. The people of Tarsus were divided into factions. One of these factions had crowned Cassius, who was the first to arrive. The other had done the same for Dolabella, who came later. Both had acted thus in the name of the city. As the inhabitants bestowed their honours upon each alternately, each of them treated it despitefully as a fickle-minded place. After Cassius had overcome Dolabella he levied a contribution on it of 1500 talents. Being unable to find the money, and being pressed for payment with violence by the soldiers, the people sold all their public property and after that they coined all the sacred articles used in religious processions

Cassius captures Tarsus

CAP. VIII εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. οὐδενὸς δὲ μέρους οὐδ' ὡς ἀνυομένου, ἐπώλουν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τὰ ἐλεύθερα· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἦν παρθένοι τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναῖκές τε καὶ γέροντες ἐλεεινοί, βραχυτάτου πάμπαν ὤνιοι, μετὰ δὲ οἱ νέοι. καὶ διεχρῶντο οἱ πλέονες ἑαυτούς, ἕως ὧδε ἔχοντας ὁ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας ἐπανιὼν ᾠκτειρέ τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐσφορῶν ἀπέλυσε.

IX

CAP. IX 65. Τάρσος μὲν δὴ καὶ Λαοδίκεια τοιάδε ἐπεπόνθεσαν, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος συμβολήσαντες ἀλλήλοιν, Βρούτῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὴν στρατιὰν ἁλίσαντε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἐς Μακεδονίαν· τέλη τε γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα εἶναι στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν διεληλυθέναι τὸν Ἰόνιον ὀκτώ· Κασσίῳ δὲ ἐδόκει τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἔτι περιορᾶν ὡς τριφθησομένων ἐν σφίσιν ἐξ ἀπορίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Λυκίους ἐξελεῖν, εὔνους τε ὄντας ἐκείνοις καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔχοντας, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ νώτου σφίσι γίγνωνται παρὰ τὸ ἔργον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ὧδε, ἐχώρουν Βροῦτος μὲν ἐπὶ Λυκίους, Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥοδίους, τεθραμμένος τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὰ Ἑλληνικά. ὡς δὲ κρατίστοις τὰ ναυτικὰ ἀνδράσι συνοισόμενος ἐς μάχην, τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἀνεπλήρου καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐν Μύνδῳ.

66. Ῥοδίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν λόγῳ μᾶλλον ὄντες ἐδεδοίκεσαν Ῥωμαίοις μέλλοντες ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὁ

and the temple offerings into money. As this was not sufficient, the magistrates sold free persons into bondage, first girls and boys, afterward women and miserable old men, who brought a very small price, and finally young men. Most of these committed suicide. Finally Cassius, on his return from Syria, took pity on their sufferings and released them from the remainder of the contribution. Such were the calamities that befell Tarsus and Laodicea. CHAP VIII

IX

65. When Brutus and Cassius had their conference, Brutus was in favour of uniting their armies and making Macedonia their chief concern, since the enemy had forty legions, of which eight had already crossed the Adriatic. Cassius was of the opinion that the enemy might still be disregarded, believing that they would waste away of themselves for want of supplies by reason of their great numbers. He thought it would be best to reduce the Rhodians and Lycians, who were friendly to Octavian and Antony, who had fleets, lest they should fall on the rear of the republicans while the latter were busy with the enemy. Having decided to do this, they separated, Brutus proceeding against the Lycians and Cassius against Rhodes, in which place he was brought up, and educated in the literature of Greece. As he had to contend with men of superior naval prowess, he prepared his own ships with care, filled them with troops, and drilled them at Myndus. CHAP. IX Cassius summons Rhodes to surrender

66. The Rhodians of distinction were alarmed at the prospect of a conflict with Romans, but the

CAP. IX δὲ λεὼς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἐπεί οἱ καὶ παλαιῶν ἔργων πρὸς οὐχ ὁμοίους ἄνδρας ἐμνημόνευον. ναῦς τε καθεῖλκον τὰς ἀρίστας σφῶν τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα. καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες ἔπεμπόν τινας ἐς Μύνδον ὅμως, οἳ τὸν Κάσσιον ἠξίουν μήτε Ῥόδου καταφρονεῖν, πόλεως ἀμυναμένης ἀεὶ τοὺς καταφρονήσαντας, μήτε συνθηκῶν, αἳ Ῥοδίοις εἰσὶ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους· εἰ δέ τι περὶ συμμαχίας ἐπιμέμφοιτο, ἐθέλειν παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς πυθέσθαι, καὶ κελευούσης ἔφασαν συμμαχήσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιάδε μάλιστα ἔλεγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ λόγων ἔφη κρινεῖν, τὰς δὲ συνθήκας κελεύειν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπενηνοχέναι Ῥοδίους Κασσίῳ, Δολοβέλλᾳ συμμαχοῦντας, κελεύειν δὲ ἀλλήλοις συμμαχεῖν, Κασσίῳ δὲ δεομένῳ εἰρωνεύεσθαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, φευγούσης καὶ ἁλωμένης ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄστει τυράννους, οἳ δώσουσι μὲν αὐτοὶ δίκας, δώσουσι δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὰ ἐκείνων προτιμῶντες, ἢν μὴ θᾶσσον ἀνέχωνται τῶν κελευομένων. ὧδε μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτοὺς ἠμείψατο, καὶ οἱ εὖ φρονοῦντες Ῥοδίων μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐδημαγώγουν Ἀλέξανδρός τε καὶ Μνασέας ἀναμιμνήσκοντες, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτης πλέοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσειε τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Δημήτριος ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου.

common people were in high spirits, because they recalled former victories achieved over men of different character.[1] They launched thirty-three of their best ships, but while doing so they nevertheless sent messengers to Myndus to urge Cassius not to despise Rhodes, which had always defended herself against those who underestimated her, and not to disregard the treaty which existed between the Rhodians and the Romans which bound them not to bear arms against each other. If he complained of them for not rendering military assistance, they would be glad to hear from the Roman Senate, and if called upon they would lend such assistance. CHAP. IX

The Rhodians resolve to fight

When they had spoken thus Cassius replied that as to the other matters war would decide instead of words, but as regarded the treaty, which forbade them to bear arms against each other, the Rhodians had violated it by allying themselves with Dolabella against Cassius. The treaty required them to assist each other in war, but when Cassius asked for assistance they quibbled about the Roman Senate, which was either in flight or held captive at present by the tyrants who had mastered the city. Those tyrants would be punished, and the Rhodians would be punished also for siding with them, unless they speedily obeyed his commands. Such was the answer Cassius returned to them. The more prudent Rhodians were still more alarmed, but the multitude were excited by two public speakers named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them that Mithridates had invaded Rhodes with a still larger fleet, and that Demetrius had done so before him.

[1] Demetrius Poliorketes (B.C. 307) and Mithridates (B.C. 88), who are referred to presently.

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Οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἵλοντο σφίσι πρυτανεύειν, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς μάλιστα αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μνασέαν, 67. ἔπεμπον δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸν Κάσσιον ἔτι πρεσβευτὴν Ἀρχέλαον, ὃς ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ διδάσκαλος γεγένητο τῷ Κασσίῳ, δεησόμενον ἤδη τόνδε τοῦ Κασσίου λιπαρέστερον· καὶ ἐδεῖτο, τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος, ὡς γνωρίμου. "μὴ πόλιν ἀναστήσῃς Ἑλληνίδα φιλέλλην ἀνήρ, μὴ Ῥόδον φιλελεύθερος ἀνήρ· μηδὲ αἰσχύνῃς ἀξίωμα Δώριον, οὐχ ἡσσημένον, ἐξ οὗ γεγόναμεν, μηδὲ ἐκλάθῃ καλῆς ἱστορίας ἧς ἔμαθες ἐν Ῥόδῳ τε καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν Ῥόδῳ μέν, ὅσα Ῥόδιοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ πρὸς βασιλέας, ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἀμάχους δόξαντας εἶναι, Δημήτριον καὶ Μιθριδάτην, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἔπραξαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ σὺ φῂς τάδε κάμνειν· ἐν Ῥώμῃ δέ, ὅσα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καθ' ἑτέρων καὶ κατ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου συνεμαχήσαμεν, ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι στῆλαι παρ' ὑμῖν.

"Τάδε μὲν δὴ καὶ γένους ἕνεκα καὶ ἀξιώσεως ἡμῶν καὶ τύχης ἐς τὸ νῦν ἀδουλώτου καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, λελέχθω· 68. πρὸς σὲ δέ, ὦ Κάσσιε, καὶ αἰδώς τις ἔστιν ἐξαίρετος ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τροφήν τέ σου καὶ παίδευσιν καὶ διατριβὴν καὶ ἑστίαν, ἣν ᾤκησας, καὶ τοὐμὸν διδασκαλεῖον αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμέ, ἐλπίσαντα μὲν ἐς ἕτερα τούτοις ποτὲ ἐναβρυνεῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτὰ δαπανῶντα, ἵνα μηδ' αὐτή σοι πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζηται πεπαιδευμένῳ τε ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ τεθραμμένῳ μηδὲ γένηται δυοῖν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης

Thereupon they elected Alexander as president, who is the magistrate exercising the supreme power among them, and Mnaseas as admiral of their fleet. 67. Nevertheless, they sent still another ambassador to Cassius in the person of Archelaus, who had been his teacher in Greek literature in Rhodes, to present a more earnest petition. This he did, taking Cassius by the right hand in a familiar manner, and saying, "O friend of the Greeks, do not destroy a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not destroy Rhodes. Do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished. Do not forget the famous histories you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome—at Rhodes, what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrius and Mithridates, who were deemed invincible), in behalf of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending—at Rome, our services to you, among others those that were rendered when we fought with you against Antiochus the Great, concerning which you have monuments inscribed in our honour.

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They send Archelaus as an ambassador to Cassius

"So much, Romans, for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our good-will toward you. 68. As for you, Cassius, you owe a peculiar reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated, lived, and had your homes, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me who hoped that I should some time plume myself on your education with different expectations, but I am now pleading this relation in behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, its pupil and its ward, where one of two things must necessarily happen: either

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θάτερον, ἢ Ῥοδίους ἀποθανεῖν πάντως ἢ Κάσσιον ἡσσᾶσθαι. συμβουλεύω δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει, τοιῶνδέ σε ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἁπτόμενον ἔργων θεοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰεὶ ποιεῖσθαι παντὸς ἔργου. θεοὺς δ' ὠμόσατε, ὅτε ἡμῖν ἔναγχος διὰ Γαΐου Καίσαρος συνετίθεσθε καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐσπένδετε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐτίθεσθε, αἳ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις ἰσχύουσιν, οὐ παρὰ φίλοις καὶ τροφεῦσιν; φείδου δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ δόξης τῆς κατὰ ἀνθρώπους· ὡς οὐδέν ἐστι συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως μᾶλλον, ἣ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας ἀπίστους ἐς ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίοις."

69. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης οὐ μεθίετο τῆς χειρός, ἀλλ' ἐπεδάκρυεν αὐτῇ, ὡς ἐρυθριᾶσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ σχήματι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς, ὑφελόντα δὲ ὅμως εἰπεῖν· "εἰ μὲν οὐ συνεβούλευσας Ῥοδίοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν με, σύ με ἠδίκεις· εἰ δὲ διδάσκων οὐκ ἔπεισας, ἀμυνῶ σοι. ἠδικούμην δὲ δή που σαφῶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδίκημα συμμαχίαν αἰτῶν καὶ παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παιδευσάντων καὶ θρεψάντων, τὸ δὲ ἑξῆς προτιμώντων μου Δολοβέλλαν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσαν οὐδὲ ἀνέθρεψαν, τὸ δὲ ἀνιαρότερον, ἐμοῦ μὲν καὶ Βρούτου καὶ ὅσων ὁρᾶτε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν φευγόντων τυραννίδα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθερούντων, ὦ Ῥόδιοι φιλε-

that the Rhodians perish utterly, or that you, Cassius, be defeated. In addition to my entreaty I give you the advice that while engaged in such important tasks in behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by the gods when you recently concluded the treaty with us through Gaius Caesar, and to the oaths you added libations and gave the right hand, assurances valid even among enemies; shall they not be valid among friends and guardians? Besides dreading the judgment of the gods, have regard for the opinions of mankind, who consider nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies." CHAP. IX

69. When the old man had thus spoken he did not let go Cassius' hand, but shed tears on it, so that Cassius blushed at the spectacle and was moved somewhat by the sense of shame, yet he drew away his hand, and said, "If you have not counselled the Rhodians not to wrong me, you have yourself done me wrong. If you have so counselled them and they have not followed your advice I will avenge you. That I have suffered injury is plain enough. The first wrong done me was when I asked assistance and was slighted by my instructors and guardians. In the next place they gave the preference to Dolabella, whom they had not brought up and educated, rather than to me. And what makes it worse, O freedom-loving Rhodians, is that Brutus and I and the noblest men of the Senate, whom you see here, were fugitives from tyranny for endeavouring to liberate their Reply of Cassius

CAP. IX λεύθεροι, Δολοβέλλα δὲ αὐτὴν καταδουλοῦντος ἑτέροις, οἷς δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς εὔνως ἔχοντες ὑποκρίνεσθε ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἡμῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐμφύλια μέν, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς δυναστείας ὠρεγόμεθα, πόλεμος δὲ σαφὴς τὸ γιγνόμενόν ἐστι δημοκρατίας πρὸς μοναρχίαν. καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀβοήθητον καταλείπετε οἱ παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτονομίας· φιλίαν τε Ῥωμαίοις προφέροντες οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε ἀκρίτους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ δημεύσει προγραφομένους, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεσθε πεύσεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ταῦτα πασχούσης καὶ οὐδὲ ἀμύνειν ἑαυτῇ πω δυναμένης. ἡ δ' ὑμῖν ἤδη προαπεκρίνατο, ἐν οἷς ἐψηφίσατο τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὴν ἕω πάντας ἀμύνειν ἐμοί τε καὶ Βρούτῳ.

70. Σὺ δέ, εἰ μέν ποτε ἡμῖν περικτωμένοις τι συνεπράξατε, ὧν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μισθοὺς ἀντικεκόμισθέ που, καταλογίζῃ, ὅτι δὲ ἡμῖν ἐς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀδικουμένοις οὐ συμμαχεῖτε, ἐπιλανθάνῃ· οὓς εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἄρχειν ἐθελοντὰς ὑπερμαχῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων δημοκρατίας, Δωριέας ὄντας. οἳ δ' ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔργων καὶ λογισμῶν συνθήκας ἡμῖν προφέρετε, γενομένας μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τάσδε πρὸς Γάιον Καίσαρα, τῆσδε τῆς μοναρχίας ἡγεμόνα· λέγουσι δ' ὅμως αἱ συνθῆκαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ Ῥοδίους ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ἀλλήλοις ἀμύνειν. ἀμύνατε οὖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύουσι Ῥωμαίοις. Κάσσιος ὑμῖν ἐστιν ὁ τὰς συνθήκας τάσδε προφέρων καὶ ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καλῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ὥς φησι τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ἐν ᾧ πάντας ὑπακούειν ἡμῖν ἔταξε τοὺς τοῦ Ἰονίου

country, while Dolabella was seeking to enslave it to others, whom you also favour while pretending to abstain from our civil wars. This would be a civil war if we also were aiming at supreme power, but it is plainly a war of the republic against monarchy. And you, who appeal to me in behalf of your own freedom, have refused aid to the republic. While professing friendship for the Romans you have no pity for those who are sentenced to death and confiscation without trial. You pretend that you want to hear from the Senate, which is suffering from these evils and is not yet able to defend itself. But the Senate had answered you beforehand when it decreed that all the peoples of the Orient should lend aid to Brutus and myself. CHAP. IX

70. "Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which you reaped abundant benefactions and rewards) you remind us of, but that in our time of adversity you fail us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you lose sight of. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, now at least to begin to fight as volunteers for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties—treaties made with you by Gaius Caesar, the founder of the present monarchy—yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril! It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your help in war—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, as the Senate's decree says, all the countries beyond the Adriatic are required to

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πέραν. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ Βροῦτος ὑμῖν προτείνει ψηφίσματα καὶ Πομπήιος, τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπιτετραμμένος, τὰς δ' ἱκετείας ἐπὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ οἵδε πάντες, ὅσοι φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ καὶ Βροῦτον, οἱ δ' ἐς Πομπήιον. ἔστι δὲ δή που τὸ συγκείμενον, Ῥωμαίοις Ῥοδίους βοηθεῖν, κἂν καθ' ἕνα χρῄζωσιν. εἰ δὲ οὔτε στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς οὔτε Ῥωμαίους ἔτι, ἀλλὰ φυγάδας ἢ ξένους ἢ κατακρίτους, ὡς οἱ προγράψαντες λέγουσιν, ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστιν ὑμῖν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ὦ Ῥόδιοι, τὰ συγκείμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένοι καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῶν συνθηκῶν ὄντες πολεμήσομεν ὑμῖν, ἢν μὴ ἐς πάντα κατακούητε."

Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος ἐπειρωνευσάμενος τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἀπέλυεν, 71. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Μνασέας, οἱ Ῥοδίων ἡγούμενοι, ταῖς τριάκοντα καὶ τρισὶ ναυσὶν ἀνήγοντο ἐπὶ Κάσσιον ἐς Μύνδον ὡς προκαταπλήξοντες τῷ ἐπίπλῳ· καί τί που καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος, ὅτι καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ ἐς Μύνδον ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐδύκουν ἐς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχῆσαι. εἱρεσίᾳ δὲ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν χρώμενοι τήν τε πρώτην ἡμέραν ηὐλίσαντο ἐν Κνίδῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεφαίνοντο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους. οἱ δὲ θαυμάσαντες ἀντανήγοντο, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἑκατέρωθεν ἰσχύος τε καὶ δυνάμεως· Ῥόδιοι μὲν γὰρ ναυσὶ κούφαις διεξέπλεόν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ὀξέως καὶ περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ νεῶν βαρυτέρων, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἀπὸ βαρυτέρας ῥύμης ἐπεβάρουν ὥσπερ ἐν πεζο-

obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompeius, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompeius. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall lend aid to the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. Being strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you unless you obey our orders in everything." CHAP. IX

With this ironical remark Cassius sent Archelaus away. 71. Meanwhile Alexander and Mnaseas, the Rhodian leaders, put to sea with their thirty-three ships against Cassius at Myndus, intending to surprise him by the suddenness of their attack. They built their hopes somewhat lightly on the supposition that it was at Myndus by sailing against Mithridates they had brought that war to a successful end. In order to display their seamanship they took their station the first day at Cnidus. The next day they showed themselves to the forces of Cassius on the high sea. The latter in astonishment put to sea against them, and it was a battle of strength and capacity on both sides. The Rhodians with their light ships darted swiftly through the enemy's line, turned around, and attacked them in the rear. The Romans had heavier ships, and whenever they could come to close quarters they prevailed, as in an engagement on land, by their greater momentum. Sea-fight between Cassius and the Rhodians

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μαχίᾳ. τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου πλήθει νεῶν τὰς πολεμίας περιλαβόντος, οἱ μὲν Ῥόδιοι περιπλεῖν ἔτι καὶ διεκπλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἐμβάλλουσι δ' αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἡ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλευμένοις, αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις ἐς βαρυτέρας τὰς Ῥωμαίων ναῦς ἀσθενεῖς ἐγίγνοντο, Ῥωμαίοις δ' ἦσαν ἐς κουφοτέρας εὔτονοι, μέχρι Ῥόδιαι μὲν τρεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν καὶ δύο ἀνερράγησάν τε καὶ κατέδυσαν καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ βεβλαμμέναι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἅπασαι μὲν ἐπανῆλθον ἐς Μύνδον, ἐπεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τούτων αἱ πλέονες βλαβεῖσαι.

72. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ἐν Μύνδῳ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ῥοδίων ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὴν γιγνομένην ὁ Κάσσιος ἀπὸ ὄρους καθεώρα· ὡς δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε τὰ σκάφη, διέπλευσεν ἐς Λώρυμα, Ῥοδίων τι φρούριον ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον διεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων ὑπὸ Φαννίῳ τε καὶ Λέντλῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέπλει ταῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ναυσὶν ἐσκευασμέναις ἐς τὸ φοβερώτατον καὶ περιστήσας τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὸ πεζὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἡσύχαζεν ὡς ἐνδωσόντων τι τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ ἐπανήχθησαν μὲν αὖθις εὐθαρσῶς, δύο δὲ καὶ τότε ναῦς ἀποβαλόντες συνεκλείσθησαν. καὶ ἀναδραμόντες ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη πάντα τε ὅπλων ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀπεμάχοντο ὁμοῦ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Φάννιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον τοῖς πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τείχεσι τὸ ναυτικὸν

Cassius, by reason of his more numerous fleet, was enabled to surround his enemy, and then the latter could no longer turn and dart through his line. When they could only attack in front and then haul off, their nautical skill was of no avail in the narrow space where they had been confined. The ramming with their prows and broadside movements[1] against the heavier Roman ships did little damage, while those of the Romans against the lighter vessels were more effective. Finally, three Rhodian ships were captured with their crews, two were rammed and sunk, and the remainder took flight to Rhodes in a damaged condition. All of the Roman ships returned to Myndus, where they were repaired, the greater part of them also having suffered injury.

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The Rhodian retreat

72. Such was the result of the naval engagement of the Romans and the Rhodians at Myndus. Cassius watched the fight while it was going on from a mountain. When he had repaired his ships he sailed to Loryma, a fortified place belonging to the Rhodians on the mainland opposite the island, from which he sent his foot-soldiers across in transports under the command of Fannius and Lentulus. He advanced in person with eighty ships rigged in a way to produce terror. He surrounded Rhodes with his land and naval forces, and then remained quiet, expecting that the enemy would show signs of weakening. But they sailed out again valiantly and, after losing two more ships, were hemmed in on all sides. Then they mounted the walls, heaped them with missiles, and resisted simultaneously the soldiers of Fannius, who were assailing them on the landward side, and Cassius,

Cassius lays siege to the city

[1] ἀποσίμωσις was apparently a swerving out of the line to avoid direct attack.

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οὐκ ἀνέτοιμον ἐς τειχομαχίαν ἐπαγαγόντα· ἐλπίζων γάρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐπεφέρετο πύργους ἐπτυγμένους, οἳ τότε ἀνίσταντο. Ῥόδος μὲν δὴ δύο πείραις καμοῦσα ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐπολιορκεῖτο· καὶ οὐδέν, ὡς ἐν ἔργῳ ταχεῖ καὶ ἀδοκήτῳ, παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν. ὅθεν ἦν εὔδηλον ἁλώσεσθαι τάχιστα τὴν πόλιν ἢ χερσὶν ἢ λιμῷ· καὶ τάδε Ῥοδίων οἱ συνετώτεροι καθεώρων, καὶ Φάννιος αὐτοῖς καὶ Λέντλος διελέγοντο.

73. Γιγνομένων δ' ἔτι τούτων ἄφνω Κάσσιος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μετ' ἐπιλέκτου στρατοῦ, βίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς φανείσης οὐδὲ κλιμάκων ἔργου. εἴκαζον δὲ οἱ πολλοί, καὶ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, τοὺς χαρίεντας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπανοῖξαι πυλίδας ἐλέῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προμηθείᾳ τροφῶν.

Ὧδε μὲν ἑαλώκει Ῥόδος, καὶ Κάσσιος ἐν αὐτῇ προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ δόρυ τῷ βήματι παρεστήσατο ὡς ἐπὶ δοριαλώτῳ. ἀτρεμεῖν τε κελεύσας τὸν στρατὸν ἀκριβῶς καὶ θάνατον ἐπικηρύξας, εἴ τις ἁρπάσειεν ἢ βιάσαιτό τι, αὐτὸς ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐκάλει Ῥοδίων ἐς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας καὶ ἀχθέντας ἐκόλαζε θανάτῳ· ἑτέροις δέ, ἀμφὶ τοὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὐχ εὑρεθεῖσι φυγὴν ἐπέταττεν. χρήματα δὲ ὅσα ἦν ἢ χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἐν ἱεροῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις, πάντα συλήσας ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἐκφέρειν τοὺς κεκτημένους εἰς ἡμέραν ῥητήν· καὶ ἐπεκήρυξε τοῖς μὲν ἐπικρύψασι θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ μηνύσασι

who was advancing his naval force, prepared for wall-fighting, against the defences on the sea. Anticipating such a necessity he had brought with him turrets in sections, which were then elevated. Thus was Rhodes, after suffering two naval defeats, beleaguered by land and sea, and, as frequently happens in sudden and unexpected trouble, found herself wholly unprepared for siege; whence it became evident that the city must speedily be taken either by assault or by famine. The more intelligent of the Rhodians perceived this and opened communications with Fannius and Lentulus. CHAP. IX

Rhodes captured and put under contribution

73. While this was going on Cassius suddenly made his appearance in the midst of the city with a chosen band of soldiers, without any show of violence or use of ladders. Most people conjectured, as seems the fact, that those of the citizens who were favourable to him had opened the small gates, being moved by pity for the town and the apprehension of famine.

Thus was Rhodes captured; and Cassius took his seat on the tribunal and planted a spear by the side of it to indicate that he had taken the city by the spear. Laying strict commands upon his soldiers to remain quiet, and threatening with death any who should resort to violence or plunder, he summoned by name about fifty citizens, and when they were brought, put them to death. Others, who were not found, numbering about twenty-five, he ordered to be banished. All the money that was found, either gold or silver, in the temples and the public treasury, he seized, and he ordered private citizens who had any to bring it to him on a day named, proclaiming death to those who should conceal it,

CAP. IX

δεκάτην, δούλοις δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν. οἱ δ' ἐν μὲν ἀρχῇ πολλοὶ συνέκρυψαν, οὐκ ἐς τέλος ἐλπίζοντες ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν ἀπειλήν· διδομένων δὲ τῶν γερῶν καὶ κολαζομένων τῶν μηνυομένων ἔδεισάν τε καὶ προσθεσμίαν ἑτέραν λαβόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ γῆς ἀνώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνίμων, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον ἐκ τάφων πολὺ πλέονα τῶν προτέρων.

74. Αἱ μὲν δὴ Ῥοδίων συμφοραὶ τοιαίδε ἦσαν, καὶ Λεύκιος Οὐᾶρος αὐτοῖς μετὰ φρουρᾶς ὑπελέλειπτο· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος ἡδόμενος τῇ ταχυεργίᾳ τῆς ἁλώσεως καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων ἐπέταττεν ὅμως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἅπασι φόρους ἐτῶν δέκα συμφέρειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπράσσοντο συντόνως, ἐξαγγέλλεται δὲ αὐτῷ Κλεοπάτρα μέλλουσα διαπλεῖν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ καὶ πάρασκευῇ βαρυτάτῃ πρὸς Καίσαρά τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον· τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων αἱρουμένη καὶ τέως διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, τότε μᾶλλον ᾑρεῖτο διὰ τὸν ἐκ Κασσίου φόβον. ὁ δὲ Μοῦρκον μετά τε ὁπλιτῶν ἀρίστου τέλους καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων ἐπὶ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα καταφράκτων ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπε ναυλοχεῖν περὶ Ταίναρον, . . . περισυράμενος ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λείαν, ὅσην ἔφθασε.

X

CAP. X.

75. Τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ Λυκίαν καὶ Βροῦτον, μικρὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοῦτον ἐς ὑπόμνησιν ἀναλαβόντι

together with a reward of one-tenth to informers and freedom in addition in the case of slaves. At first many concealed what they had, hoping that in the end the threat would not be carried out, but when they saw the rewards paid and those who had been informed against punished, they became alarmed, and having procured the appointment of another day, some of them dug their money out of the ground, others drew it out of wells, and others brought it from tombs, in much larger amounts than the former collections. CHAP. IX

74. Such were the calamities that befell the Rhodians. Lucius Varus was left in charge of them with a garrison. Cassius, although delighted with the quickness of the capture and the quantity of money taken, nevertheless ordered all the other peoples of Asia to pay ten years' tribute, and this they did within a short space of time. News now reached him that Cleopatra was about to sail with a large fleet, heavily provisioned, to Octavian and Antony. She had espoused their cause previously on account of her relations with the first Caesar, and now she espoused it all the more by reason of her fear of Cassius. The latter sent Murcus, with a legion of the best soldiers and a certain number of archers, with sixty decked ships, to the Peloponnesus, to lie in wait in the neighbourhood of Taenarum; [and this he did] collecting as much booty as he could come upon from the Peloponnese. Ten years' tribute exacted from Asia

X

75. We will now relate the transactions of Brutus in Lycia, first glancing at what has been mentioned CHAP. X

CAP. X

ἄνωθεν, ἦν δ' τοιάδε. ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Ἀπουληίου στρατιάν τέ τινα εἰλήφει, ὅσην Ἀπουλήιος εἶχεν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια τάλαντα, ὅσα ἐκ τῶν φόρων τῆς Ἀσίας συνείλεκτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς Βοιωτίαν. ψηφισαμένης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς τε χρήμασιν ἐς τὰ παρόντα χρῆσθαι καὶ Μακεδονίας ἄρχειν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ἐπὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ παραλαμβάνει, Οὐατινίου τοῦ πρότερον ἄρχοντος Ἰλλυριῶν παραδόντος, ἓν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀφείλετο Γάιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀντωνίου. τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλα συναγαγὼν ὀκτὼ τὰ πάντα εἶχε, Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστρατευμένα. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἱππέων πλῆθος καὶ ψιλοὺς καὶ τοξότας, καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπαινῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰταλικὸν ἥσκει τρόπον. ἀγείροντι δὲ αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἔτι καὶ χρήματα συντυχία Θρᾴκιος τοιάδε γίγνεται. Πολεμοκρατία, γυνή τινος τῶν βασιλίσκων, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν δείσασα περὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἔτι ὄντι μειρακίῳ, ἦκεν αὐτὸν φέρουσα καὶ ἐνεχείρισε Βρούτῳ, ἐνεχείρισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θησαυρούς. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν παῖδα Κυζικηνοῖς ἀνατρέφειν παρέδωκε, μέχρι σχολάσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς εὗρε παράδοξον χρυσίου τι πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔκοπτε καὶ νόμισμα ἐποίει· 76. ὡς δὲ ἦλθέ τε ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἔδοξε Λυκίους καὶ

Brutus in Macedonia

above in order to refresh the memory. When he had received from Apuleius certain soldiers which the latter had under his command, together with 16,000 talents in money which Apuleius had collected from the tribute of Asia, he passed into Boeotia. The Senate having voted that he should use this money for his present necessities and that he should have command of Macedonia, and of Illyria in addition, he came into possession of the three legions of the army which were in Illyria, which Vatinius, the former governor of Illyria, delivered to him. Another one he captured from Gaius, the brother of Mark Antony, in Macedonia. He collected four more in addition to these, so that he had eight legions in all, most of whom had served under Gaius Caesar. He had a large force of cavalry, light-armed troops, and archers. He had a high opinion of his Macedonian soldiers and he drilled them in the Roman way. While he was still collecting soldiers and money a piece of good luck came to him from Thrace, of the following sort. Polemocratia, the wife of one of the Thracian princes, whose husband had been killed by his enemies, being alarmed for her son, who was still a boy, came to Brutus bringing the boy, whom she placed in his hands together with her husband's treasures. Brutus delivered the boy to the inhabitants of Cyzicus to be cared for until he should have leisure to restore him to his kingdom. Among the treasures he found an unexpected quantity of gold and silver.

This he coined and converted into currency. 76. When Cassius came, and it was decided to begin by reducing the Lycians and Rhodians, Brutus

CAP. X

Ροδίους προεξαιρεῖν, ἐτράπετο Λυκίων ἐπὶ Ξανθίους πρώτους. οἱ δὲ τά τε προάστεια σφῶν καθεῖλον, ἵνα μὴ ἐς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος μηδ' ἐς ὕλην ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιταφρεύσαντες ἀπεμάχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου, τὸ μὲν βάθος οὔσης πεντήκοντα ποδῶν βαθυτέρας, τὸ δὲ πλάτος κατὰ λόγον τοῦ βάθους, ὥστε παρ' αὐτὴν ἑστῶτες ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἐτόξευον ὥσπερ ἐν μέσῳ ποταμὸν ἔχοντες ἀπέρατον. ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος αὐτὴν ἔχου βιαζόμενος καὶ σκεπαστήρια τῶν ἐργαζομένων προυτίθει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐμέριζε, καὶ τὴν ὕλην μακρόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, σὺν δρόμῳ καὶ βοῇ μετέφερεν, οὐδὲν ἐκλείπων σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον ἐλπισθὲν ἢ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι κωλυόντων τῶν πολεμίων ἢ πολλοῖς μησὶ μόλις ἔσεσθαι, ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐξείργαστο, καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι κατακλεισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.

77. Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Βροῦτος τοὺς μὲν ἐκ μηχανημάτων εἰς τὰ τείχη, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ πάντας ἐνήλλασσε συνεχῶς. οἱ δὲ ἀκμῆσιν αἰεὶ κεκμηκότες συμφερόμενοι καὶ τετρωμένοι πάντες, ὅμως ὑπέμενον, ἕως σφίσιν αἱ ἐπάλξεις διέμενον. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὗται κατεσύρησαν καὶ οἱ πύργοι διερρώγεσαν, ὑποτοπήσας τὸ ἐσόμενον ὁ Βροῦτος ἐκέλευσε τὰς ἐφέδρους τῶν πυλῶν τάξεις ἀποστῆναι· καὶ οἱ Ξάνθιοι νομίσαντες ἀφυλαξίαν καὶ ἀμέλειαν εἶναι νυκτὸς ἐξέδραμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὰ μηχανήματα. ταχὺ δὲ ἐκ συνθήματος αὐτοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδραμόντων, συνέφευγον αὖθις ἐς τὰς πύλας· καὶ τῶν φυλάκων αὐτὰς προαποκλεισάντων ὑπὸ

turned his attention first to the inhabitants of Xanthus in Lycia. The latter destroyed their suburbs in order that Brutus might not effect a lodgment or find material there. They also surrounded the city with a trench and embankment of more that fifty feet vertically and of corresponding breadth, from which they fought, so that standing upon it they could hurl darts and shoot arrows as though protected by an impassable river. Brutus invested the place, pushed forward mantlets for his men, divided his army into day and night forces, brought up material from long distances, hurrying and cheering them on as if for prizes, and spared neither zeal nor labour. So the work which it seemed most likely could not be done at all in the face of an opposing enemy, or only at the end of many months, was accomplished by him in a few days, and the Xanthians were now subjected to close siege.

He marches against Xanthus

77. Brutus attacked them now with battering-rams against the walls, now by assaults upon the gates with foot-soldiers, whom he kept changing continually. The defenders being always pitted against fresh soldiers although fatigued, and all wounded, nevertheless held out as long as their parapets remained. When these were battered down and the towers broken through, Brutus, foreseeing what would happen, ordered those who were attacking the gates to withdraw. The Xanthians, thinking that the enemy's works were deserted and unguarded, darted out by night with torches to set fire to the machines. Suddenly the Romans attacked them as ordered, and they again fled to the gates, the guards of which closed them before

Desperate defence of the place

CAP. X

δέους, μὴ συνεσπέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, φθόρος ἦν Ξανθίων πολὺς ἀμφὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἀποκεκλεισμένων.

78. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὕστερον ἐξέδραμον αὖθις οἱ λοιποὶ περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀναχωρούσης πάλιν τῆς τάξεως, καὶ ἐνέπρησαν τὰ μηχανήματα ἅπαντα ἀθρόως. πεπετασμένων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πυλῶν διὰ τὸ πρότερον πάθος, συνεισέπεσον ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ἑτέροις δὲ εἰσωθιζομένοις ἀμφὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπέπεσον αἰφνίδιον αἱ πύλαι, εἴθ' ὑπό του Ξανθίων εἴτε καὶ αὐτομάτως τῶν χαλαστηρίων διαρραγέντων, ὥστε τῶν ἐσβιασαμένων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἔνδον ἀπολιφθῆναι, τὰς πύλας οὐ δυναμένους ἔτι ἀνασπάσαι, χωρὶς ἀνασπαστηρίων γενομένας. βαλλόμενοι δ' ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ξανθίων, βιασάμενοί ποτε μύλις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐγγὺς οὖσαν διέδραμον· κἀνταῦθα τῶν μὲν συμπλεκομένων σφίσι κρατοῦντες, τοξευόμενοι δὲ χαλεπῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες αὐτοὶ τόξον ἢ ἀκόντιον, παρὰ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον, ἵνα μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, διέδραμον. οἱ δ' ἔξω τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι περὶ τῶν ἔνδον ἀγανακτοῦντές τε καὶ δεδιότες, Βρούτου περιθέοντος αὐτούς, ἐς πᾶσαν ἐμερίζοντο πεῖραν, οὔτε τὰς πύλας δυνάμενοι ῥῆξαι σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένας, οὔτε κλιμάκων ἢ πύργων ἐμπεπρησμένων εὐποροῦντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐσχεδίαζον κλίμακας, οἱ δὲ κεραίας τοῖς τείχεσι προστιθέντες ὡς διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπεχείρουν, οἱ δὲ καὶ σιδήρια ὀξέα καλῳδίοις περιτιθέντες ἐσφεν-

they entered, fearing lest the enemy should rush in with them—and so there was round the gates a great slaughter of the Xanthians who were shut out. CHAP. X

78. Soon afterwards the remainder made a fresh sally about midday, and as the besiegers withdrew again, they set fire to all the machines. As the gates were left open for them on account of the former calamity, about 2000 Romans broke in with them. While others were pushing in at the entrance the portcullis suddenly fell upon them, either by the design of the Xanthians or the accidental breaking of the ropes, so that some of the Romans who were forcing their way in were crushed and the others found their retreat cut off, as they could not raise the portcullis without hoisting apparatus. Pelted by missiles hurled upon them by the Xanthians from the roofs in the narrow streets, they forced their way with difficulty till they came to the forum, which was near by, and there they overcame the forces which were at close quarters with them, but, being under heavy volleys of arrows and having themselves neither bows nor javelins, they took refuge by the temple of Sarpedon to avoid being surrounded. The Romans who were outside the walls were excited and anxious for those inside, and tried every expedient, Brutus meantime darting hither and thither, but they were not able to break the portcullis, which was protected with iron, nor could they procure ladders or towers since their own had been burned. Nevertheless some of them made extemporized ladders, and others pushed trunks of trees against the walls and climbed up as if by ladders. Still others fastened iron hooks to ropes and hurled

CAP. X δόνων τὰ σιδήρια ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄνω καί, ὅτε καταπαγείη τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς ἀνίμων.

79. Οἰνοανδεῖς δὲ γείτονες, διὰ τὴν ἐς τοὺς Ξανθίους ἔχθραν τῷ Βρούτῳ συμμαχοῦντες, διὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπετροβάτουν ἄνω· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐμιμοῦντο ἐπιμόχθως. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐξέπιπτον, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβάντες καὶ πυλίδα ἀνέῳξαν, ἣ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς, καὶ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους αἰωρουμένους ὑπὲρ τὰ σταυρώματα ἐσεδέχοντο. καὶ πλείους γενόμενοι τὰς πύλας ἔκοπτον, οὐ περιβεβλημένας ἔτι τῷ σιδήρῳ τὰ ἐντός, ἀντικοπτόντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα ἔξωθεν ἑτέρων ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργούντων. Ξανθίων δὲ σὺν μεγάλῃ πάνυ βοῇ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ Σαρπηδόνειον οὖσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιθεόντων, δείσαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ὅσοι περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς ἔκοπτον, ὑπὸ μανιώδους ὁρμῆς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ διαρρήξαντες ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόοι, δύνοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ ἀλαλαγῆς, ἵνα σύμβολον εἴη τοῖς ἐντὸς οὖσιν.

80. Ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ξάνθιοι ἐς τὰς οἰκίας συνέτρεχον καὶ τὰ φίλτατα σφῶν κατέκαινον, ἑκόντα τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέχοντα. οἰμωγῆς δὲ γιγνομένης ὁ Βροῦτος νομίσας ἁρπαγὴν εἶναι τὸν στρατὸν ἀνεῖργε διὰ κηρύκων· ὡς δὲ ἔγνω τὸ γιγνόμενον, ᾤκτειρεν ἀνδρῶν φρύνημα φιλελεύθερον καὶ σπονδὰς περιέπεμπεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ σφέτερα πάντα ἀνελόντες ἐς πυρὰς προνενησμένας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέθεσαν

them up to the walls, and whenever one of them caught fast they climbed up.

Capture of Xanthus

79. The Oenandians, who were neighbours of the Xanthians, and who had formed an alliance with Brutus by reason of their enmity to the latter, clambered up by way of the crags. When the Romans saw them they toiled up after them. Many fell off, but some scaled the wall and opened a small gate, defended with a very dense palisade, and admitted the most daring of the assailants, who swung themselves over the palings. Being now more numerous they began to hack at the portcullis, which was not protected with iron on the inside, while others joined in hacking it from outside, to help them. While the Xanthians, with loud cries, were rushing upon the Romans who were at the temple of Sarpedon, the Romans within and without, who were demolishing the portcullis, fearful for their comrades, struggled with frantic zeal. Finally they broke it down and rushed through in crowds about sunset, with a loud shout intended as a signal to those in the temple.

The Xanthians destroy the city and themselves

80. When the city was taken the Xanthians ran to their houses and killed those dearest to them, all of whom willingly offered themselves to the slaughter. Upon hearing cries of lamentation, Brutus thought that plundering was going on, and he gave orders to the army to stop it; but when he knew what the facts were he commiserated the freedom-loving spirit of the citizens, and sent messengers to offer them terms. They hurled missiles at the messengers, and, after destroying their own families, placed the bodies on funeral piles, which they had previously erected in their houses, set

CAP. X καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἅψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαξαν. Βροῦτος δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο, μόνους θεράποντας εἶλε Ξανθίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γύναια ὀλίγα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἄνδρας οὐδὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πάντας.

Ξάνθιοι μὲν δὴ τρίτον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο ἐλευθερίας οὕνεκα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἅρπάγου τοῦ Μήδου, Κύρῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ στρατηγοῦντος, ὧδε σφᾶς ἀντὶ δουλοσύνης διέφθειραν, καὶ τάφος Ξανθίοις ἡ πόλις ἀνειλημμένοις ὑπὸ Ἅρπάγου τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου φασὶν ὅμοια παθεῖν, οὐχ ὑποστάντας οὐδὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τοσῆσδε γῆς ἀρχὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.

81. Βροῦτος δὲ ἐς Πάταρα ἀπὸ Ξάνθου κατῆει, πόλιν ἐοικυῖαν ἐπινείῳ Ξανθίων, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς πάντα ὑπακούειν ἢ τὰς Ξανθίων συμφορὰς προσδέχεσθαι· προσήγοντό τε αὐτοῖς οἱ Ξάνθιοι ὀδυρόμενοι τὰ σφέτερα καὶ παραινοῦντες ἀμείνονα βουλεύσασθαι. Ξανθίοις δὲ οὐδὲν ἀποκριναμένοις πω τῶν Παταρέων, ἐδίδου τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐς σκέψιν καὶ ἀνεχώρει. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπό τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐβόων ὑπακούειν, ἐς ὅ τι βούλοιτο, καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνεῴγνυον. ὁ δ' ἐσελθὼν ἔκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἐξήλασε, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον ἡ πόλις εἶχε, συνενεγκὼν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ἑκάστους ἐσφέρειν ὑπὸ ζημίαις καὶ μηνύμασιν,

fire to them, and slew themselves on the same. Brutus saved such of the temples as he could, but he captured only the slaves of the Xanthians; and of the citizens a few free women and hardly 150 men. CHAP. X

Thus the Xanthians perished the third time by their own hands on account of their love of liberty; for when the city was besieged by Harpagus, the Mede, the general of Cyrus the Great, they destroyed themselves in like manner rather than be enslaved, and the city then became the tomb of the Xanthians hemmed in by Harpagus; and it is said that they suffered a similar fate at the hands of Alexander, the son of Philip, as they would not submit to obey him even after he had become the master of so large a portion of the earth.

81. Brutus went from Xanthus down to Patara, a city which was something like a seaport of the Xanthians. He surrounded it with his army and ordered the inhabitants to obey him in everything, under penalty of meeting the fate of the Xanthians. Certain Xanthians were brought to them who lamented their own misfortunes and advised them to adopt wiser counsels. As the inhabitants of Patara made no sort of answer to the Xanthians, Brutus gave them the remainder of the day to consider the matter, and went away. The next morning he moved his troops forward. The Pataraus cried out from the walls that they would obey all his commands and opened their gates. He came in, but he neither killed nor banished anybody; but he ordered them to deliver to him whatever gold and silver the city possessed, and each citizen to bring in his private holdings under the same penalties and Capture of Patara

CAP. X

οἵοις καὶ Κάσσιος ἐκήρυξεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσέφερον, θεράπων δὲ τὸν δεσπότην ἐμήνυσε χρυσίον κρύψαι καὶ πεμφθέντι λοχαγῷ τὸ χρυσίον ἔδειξεν. ἀγομένων δὲ ἁπάντων ὁ μὲν δεσπότης ἐσιώπα, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνου μήτηρ περισῴζουσα τὸν υἱὸν εἵπετο, βοῶσα αὐτὴ τὸ χρυσίον κρύψαι. ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης, οὐδὲ ἀνερωτώμενος, τὴν μὲν ἤλεγχε ψευδομένην, τὸν δὲ κρύψαντα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος τὸν μὲν νεανίαν ἀπεδέξατο τῆς σιωπῆς καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πάθους καὶ μεθῆκεν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι τὸ χρυσίον φερομένους, τὸν δὲ οἰκέτην ὡς πέρα τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς δεσπόταις ἐκρέμασε.

82. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λέντλος ἐπιπεμφθεὶς Ἀνδριάκῃ Μυρέων ἐπινείῳ τήν τε ἅλυσιν ἔρρηξε τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἐς Μύρα ἀνῆει. Μυρέων δέ, ἃ προσέτασσε, δεχομένων χρηματισάμενος ὁμοίως ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπανῆει. καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἐς Βροῦτον ἐπρέσβευε, συμμαχήσειν τε ὑπισχνούμενοι καὶ ἐσοίσειν, ὅσα δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐσφοράς τε ἐπέβαλε καὶ Ξανθίων τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀπεδίδου τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Λυκίων ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἐκέλευε περιπλεῖν ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πεζὸν αὐτὸς ἦγε καὶ Κάσσιον ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἀνέμενεν, ὡς ἐς Σηστὸν ὁμοῦ διαβαλοῦντες. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ναυλοχῶν Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἀμφὶ τῇ Λιβύῃ βλαβεῖσαν καὶ τὰ ναυάγια εἶδε μέχρι τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκφερόμενα καὶ σὺν ἀρρωστίᾳ μόλις

rewards to informers as those proclaimed by Cassius at Rhodes. They obeyed his order. One slave testified that his master had concealed his gold and showed it to a centurion who was sent to find it. All the parties were brought before the tribunal. The master remained silent, but his mother, who had followed in order to save her son, cried out that she had concealed the gold. The slave, although not interrogated, disputed with her, saying that she lied and that his master had concealed it. Brutus approved of the young man's silence and sympathized with his mother's grief. He allowed them both to depart unharmed and to take their gold with them, and he crucified the slave for officious zeal in accusing his superiors. CHAP. X

82. At the same time Lentulus, who had been sent to Andriace, the seaport of the Myreans, broke the chain which closed the harbour and ascended to Myra. As the inhabitants obeyed his commands, he collected money in the same way as at Patara and returned to Brutus. The confederation of Lycia sent ambassadors to Brutus promising to form a military league with him and to contribute what money they could. He imposed taxes on them and he restored the free Xanthians to their city. He ordered the Lycian fleet together with his own ships, to set sail for Abydus ; where he would rendezvous with his land forces and await Cassius, who was coming from Ionia, so that they might cross over to Sestus together. When Murcus, who was at Peloponnesus lying in wait for Cleopatra, learned that her fleet had been damaged by a storm on the Libyan coast, and saw the wreckage borne by the waves as far as Laconia, and knew that she had

Murcus sails to Brundusium to blockade Antony

CAP. X αὐτὴν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐπανιοῦσαν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπραξίας εἴη μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῷ λιμένι νῆσον ὁρμισάμενος ἐκώλυε τὴν ὑπόλοιπον τῶν πολεμίων στρατιὰν ἢ ἀγορὰν ἐς Μακεδονίαν περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπεμάχετο ναυσὶ μακραῖς, ὅσαις εἶχεν, ὀλίγαις· ἀπεμάχετο δὲ καὶ πύργοις, οὓς ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ σχεδιῶν, ὅτε τὸν στρατὸν ὁλκάσιν ἐκπέμποι κατὰ μέρη, πνεῦμα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολὺ φυλάσσων, ἵνα μὴ καταλαμβάνοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μούρκου. κακοπαθῶν δὲ ἐκάλει Καίσαρα, Πομπηίῳ Σέξτῳ κατὰ Σικελίαν περὶ αὐτῆς Σικελίας ναυμαχοῦντα.

XI

CAP. XI 83. Ὧδε δὲ εἶχε καὶ τὰ περὶ Πομπήιον. νεώτερος ὢν ὅδε τῶν Μάγνου Πομπηίου παίδων ὑπερώφθη μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ Γαΐου Καίσαρος περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὡς οὐδὲν μέγα διὰ νεότητα καὶ ἀπειρίαν ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἠλᾶτο περὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν λῃστεύων σὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ λανθάνων, ὅτι εἴη Πομπήιος. πλεόνων δὲ ἐς τὸ λῃστεύειν αὐτῷ συνιόντων χείρ τε ἦν ἤδη καρτερὰ καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο Πομπήιος ὤν. καὶ αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιῶται γεγονότες ἠλῶντο, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα συνέτρεχον, καὶ Ἀραβίων ἐκ Λιβύης ἀφίκετ' αὐτῷ, ἀφῃρημένος τὰ πατρῷα, ὥς μοι προείρηται. ὧδε δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους γενομένου, ἔργα τε ἦν ἤδη λῃστηρίου δυνατώτερα

returned home with difficulty and in ill-health, he sailed for Brundusium in order that he might not be idle with so great a fleet. He came to anchor at the island lying opposite the harbour, and prevented the remainder of the enemy's army and supplies from passing over to Macedonia. Antony fought him with the few war-ships that he had, and with towers which he mounted on floats, whenever he sent out detachments of his army on transports, waiting for a strong wind from the land, in order that they might not be captured by Murcus. As he fared badly he called for help from Octavian, who was contending on the water with Sextus Pompeius along the coast of Sicily for possession of that island. CHAP. X

XI

83. With Pompeius the situation was as follows. Being the younger son of Pompey the Great, he was at first disregarded by Gaius Caesar in Spain as not likely to accomplish anything of importance on account of his youth and inexperience. He roamed about the ocean with a few followers, committing piracy and concealing the fact that he was Pompeius. When larger numbers joined him for the purpose of pillage, and his force became powerful, he revealed his name. Presently those who had served with his father and his brother, and who were leading a vagabond life, drifted to him as their natural leader, and Arabio, who had been deprived of his ancestral kingdom, as I have related previously, came to him from Africa. His forces being thus augmented, his doings were now more important than robbery, and CHAP. XI

B.C. 45

Doings of Sextus Pompeius in Spain

CAP. XI καὶ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, εὐρυτάτην ἐθνῶν οὖσαν, περιθέοντός τε καὶ μεθιπταμένου καὶ ἐς χεῖρας οὐχ ὑπομένοντος ἐλθεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι. ὧν ὁ Γαίος πυνθανόμενος ἔπεμπε σὺν στρατῷ πλέονι Καρρίναν ἐκπολεμήσοντα Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, κουφότερος ὤν, ἐπεφαίνετο ἄφνω καὶ ἀφιπτάμενος ἠνώχλει καὶ πόλεις ἤδη τινὰς ἥρει βραχυτέρας τε καὶ μείζους.

84. Καὶ ὁ Γάιος ἔπεμψε τῷ Καρρίνᾳ διάδοχον Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα πολεμεῖν Πομπηίῳ. ὃν τινα πόλεμον αὐτῶν ὁμοίως διαφερόντων, ὅ τε Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἀνῃρέθη καὶ ἡ βουλὴ κατεκάλει Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γενόμενος περιεσκόπει ἔτι τὰ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄρχειν, καθὰ ἦρχεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ὡς ἀνῆλθεν, ὅσαι δὲ νῆες ἐν τοῖς λιμέσιν ἦσαν, λαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε σὺν αἷς εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς ἐς Σικελίαν διέπλευσε καὶ Βιθυνικὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, οὐ παριέντα οἱ τὴν νῆσον, ἐπολιόρκει, μέχρι προγραφέντες ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ φυγόντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Ἰρτιός τε καὶ Φάννιος ἔπεισαν ἐκστῆναι Πομπηίῳ Βιθυνικὸν Σικελίας.

85. Ὧδε μὲν ὁ Πομπήιος Σικελίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ ναῦς ἔχων καὶ νῆσον ἐπικειμένην τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ στρατὸν ἤδη πολύν, ὅσον τε πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ὅσον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐλεύθερον ἢ δοῦλον ἦγον ἢ αἱ πόλεις ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔπεμπον αὐτῷ, αἱ ἐς ἐπινίκια τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐπηγγελμέναι.

as he flew from place to place the name of Pompeius spread through the whole of Spain, which was the most extensive of the provinces: but he avoided coming to an engagement with the governors of it appointed by Gaius Caesar. When Caesar learned of his doings he sent Carinas with a stronger army to fight him. Pompeius, however, being the more nimble of the two, would show himself and then disappear, and so he wore out his enemy and got possession of a number of towns, large and small. CHAP. XI

84. Then Caesar sent Asinius Pollio as successor to Carinas to prosecute the war against Pompeius. While they were carrying on warfare on equal terms, Caesar was assassinated and the Senate recalled Pompeius. The latter came to Massilia and there watched the course of events at Rome. Having been appointed commander of the sea with the same powers that his father had exercised, he did not yet come back to the city, but taking what ships he found in the harbours, and joining them with those he had brought from Spain, he put to sea. When the triumvirate was established he sailed to Sicily, and as Bithynicus, the governor, would not yield the island, he besieged him, until Hirtius and Fannius, two men who had been proscribed and had fled from Rome, persuaded Bithynicus to surrender Sicily to Pompeius. B.C. 44 B.C. 43 He sails to Sicily

85. In this way Pompeius possessed himself of Sicily, and thus had ships, and an island lying convenient to Italy, and an army, now of considerable size, composed of those whom he had before and those who had fled from Rome, both freedmen and slaves, or those sent to him by the Italian cities which had been proclaimed as prizes of victory for B.C. 42

CAP. XI ταῖς γὰρ δὴ γνώμαις αἵδε μάλιστα τὴν νίκην τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεύχοντο καί, ὅσα δύναιντο, κρύφα ἀντέπρασσον· ἀποδιδράσκοντές τε τῶν πατρίδων ὡς οὐκέτι πατρίδων οἱ δυνάμενοι συνέφευγον ἐς Πομπήιον, ἀγχοτάτω τε ὄντα καὶ περιφίλητον ἅπασιν ἐν τῷ τότε. παρῆσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας, ἔμπειροι θαλάσσης, ὥστε καὶ ἡγεμόσι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ καὶ χρήμασιν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπῆρτο. καὶ τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπήκοος ὢν ἔπεμπε Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐπὶ νεῶν στόλου, Πομπήιον ὡς εὐχερὲς ἔργον ἐξελεῖν παραπλέοντα· καὶ αὐτὸς ἤιει διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς αὐτῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ συμβολήσων περὶ Ῥήγιον. Σαλουιδιηνῷ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντᾷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ναυμαχίας ἀμφὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον αὐτοῖς γενομένης αἱ μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆες, κουφότεραί τε οὖσαι καὶ ναυτικωτέρων ἀνδρῶν, ταχυτῆτι καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ προὔχον, αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε βαρύτεραι καὶ μείζους ἐμόχθουν. ὡς δ' ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμοῦ κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο καὶ διεσπᾶτο ἡ θάλασσα ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἧσσον ἐμόχθουν ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνόν, οὔτε ἑστῶτες βεβαίως ὑπὸ ἀηθείας οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέρειν δυνάμενοι οὔτε τὰ πηδάλια ἔχοντες εὐπειθῆ, συνεταράσσοντο, ὥστε κλίνοντος ἐς δείλην ἑσπέραν ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ πρότερος ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἀνεκάλει. ὑπεχώρει δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος. νῆες δὲ ἑκατέρων ἴσαι διεφθάρατο, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς λελωβημένας τε

the soldiers. These cities dreaded a victory of the triumvirs more than anything else, and whatever they could do against them secretly they did. The wealthy citizens fled from a country that they could no longer consider their own and took refuge with Pompeius, who was near by and greatly beloved by all at that time. There were present with him also many seafaring men from Africa and Spain, skilled in naval affairs, so that Pompeius was well provided with officers, ships, troops, and money. When Octavian learned these facts he sent Salvidienus with a fleet, as though it were an easy task, to come alongside of Pompeius and destroy him, while he himself passed through Italy with the intention of joining Salvidienus at Rhegium. Pompeius advanced with a large fleet to meet Salvidienus, and a naval engagement took place between them at the entrance of the straits near the promontory of Scyllaeum. The ships of Pompeius, being lighter and manned by better sailors, excelled in swiftness and skill, while those of the Romans, being of great tonnage and size, laboured heavily. When the usual rush of waves through the straits came on, and the sea dashed hither and thither under the influence of the current the crews of Pompeius suffered less than their adversaries, because they were accustomed to the agitation of the waters; while those of Salvidienus, not having their sea-legs through want of experience, and being unable to work their oars, or manage their rudders, were thrown into confusion. Accordingly, about sunset, Salvidienus was the first to give the signal of retreat. Pompeius withdrew also. The ships suffered about equally on both sides. Salvidienus retired to the port of Balarus, facing the

Sea-fight between Pompeius and Salvidienus

CAP. XI καὶ πεπονημένας ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἐπεσκεύαζεν, ὑποχωρήσας ἐς λιμένα πρὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ Βαλαρόν.

86. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν Ῥηγίνοις μὲν καὶ Ἱππωνιεῦσι μεγάλας πίστεις αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ἀναλύσειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπινικίων (ἐδεδίει γὰρ ὄντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μάλιστα), καλοῦντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου κατὰ σπουδὴν διέπλει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων Σικελίαν καὶ Πομπήιον καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπερθέμενος ἐν τῷ τότε. Μοῦρκος δὲ ἐπιόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἵνα μὴ ἐν μέσῳ γένηται Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρος, μικρὸν ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, τὰς ὁλκάδας ἐφύλασσεν ἐν τῷ πόρῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου διαφερούσας. αἱ δὲ προεπέμποντο μὲν ὑπὸ τριήρων, πνεύματος δὲ πολλοῦ κατὰ θεὸν οἰκείου γενομένου διέπτησαν ἀδεῶς, οὐδὲν τῶν προπομπῶν δεηθεῖσαι. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ἐφήδρευεν ἐπανιούσαις κεναῖς. αἱ δὲ καὶ τότε, καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἄγουσαι, διέπλεον ἱστίοις στρογγύλοις, μέχρι πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καῖσάρ τε καὶ Ἀντώνιος διέπλευσαν. καὶ ὁ Μοῦρκος ὑπό του δαιμόνων βεβλάφθαι νομίζων, ὑπέμενεν ὅμως τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλεούσας παρασκευὰς ἢ τροφὰς ἢ τὸν ἐπισυλλεγόμενον στρατὸν βλάπτων, ὅσα δύναιτο. καὶ αὐτῷ Δομίτιος Ἀηνόβαρβος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔργον, ὡς χρησιμώτατον δή, μετὰ νεῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα καὶ τέλους ἑτέρου

straits, where he repaired what was left of his damaged and wasted fleet. CHAP. XI

86. When Octavian arrived he gave a solemn promise to the inhabitants of Rhegium and Vibo that they should be exempt from the list of prizes of victory, for he feared them on account of their nearness to the straits. As Antony had sent him a hasty summons, he set sail to join the latter at Brundusium, having Sicily and Pompeius on his left hand; and postponing the conquest of the island for the time being. On the approach of Octavian, Murcus withdrew a short distance from Brundusium in order that he might not be between Antony and Octavian, and there he watched for the passage of the transports that were carrying the army across from Brundusium to Macedonia. The latter were escorted by triremes, but a strong and favourable wind having sprung up they darted across fearlessly, needing no escort. Murcus was vexed, but he lay in wait for the empty ships on their return. Yet these returned, took on board the remainder of the soldiers, and crossed again with full sails until the whole army, together with Octavian and Antony, had passed over. Although Murcus recognized that his plans were frustrated by some fatality, he held his position nevertheless, in order to hinder as much as possible the passage of the enemy's munitions and supplies, or supplementary troops. Domitius Ahenobarbus[1] was sent by Brutus and Cassius to co-operate with him in this work, which they deemed most useful, together with fifty additional ships, one legion, and a body of archers; for as the

Octavian and Antony cross the Adriatic

[1] This was the son of Caesar's enemy of the same name who was killed at Pharsalus.

CAP. XI καὶ τοξοτῶν ἐπέμφθη· ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τροφὰς δαψιλεῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἐδόκει τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διακλείσειν.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ναυσί τε μακραῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ὑπηρετικαῖς πλέοσι καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ διαπλέοντες ἠνώχλουν, 87. Δεκίδιος δὲ καὶ Νωρβανός οὓς ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος μετὰ ὀκτὼ τελῶν ἐς Μακεδονίαν προεπεπόμφεσαν, ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης τῆς ὀρείου χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους, μέχρι πόλιν ὑπερβάντες Φιλίππους τὰ στενὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπαίων, τῆς Ῥασκουπόλιδος ὄντα ἀρχῆς, κατέλαβον, ᾗ μόνῃ διελθεῖν ἔστιν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν γνώριμον ὁδόν. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξ Ἀβύδου περάσασι, πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει. Ῥασκούπολις δὲ καὶ Ῥάσκος ἦστην ἀδελφὼ Θρᾳκίω βασιλίσκω, μιᾶς ἄρχοντε χώρας, οἳ τότε τῇ γνώμῃ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας διεφέροντο. καὶ Ῥάσκος μὲν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον συνεμάχει, Ῥασκούπολις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον, τρισχιλίους ἱππέας ἔχων ἑκάτερος. πυνθανομένοις δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον περὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη τὴν μὲν δι' Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας ἐπίτομόν τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ λεωφόρον οὖσαν ἐπὶ τὰ Σαπαίων στενὰ ἄγειν, κατεχόντων δὲ αὐτὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμήχανα ἐς δίοδον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ περίοδον τριπλασίονά τε καὶ χαλεπήν.

88. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἐς κώλυσιν μὲν ὁδῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντᾶν, τροφῶν δὲ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς Θρᾴκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ Αἴνου καὶ Μαρωνείας, ὅθεν ἐπὶ

triumvirs did not have a plentiful supply of provisions from elsewhere, it was deemed important to cut off their convoys from Italy.

And so Mureus and Domitius, with their 130 war ships and a still greater number of small ones, and their large military force, sailed hither and thither harassing the enemy. 87. Meanwhile Decidius and Norbanus, whom Octavian and Antony had sent in advance with eight legions to Macedonia, proceeded from that country a distance of 1500 stades toward the mountainous part of Thrace until they had passed beyond the city of Philippi, and seized the passes of the Corpilans and the Sapaeans, tribes under the rule of Rhascupolis, where lies the only known route of travel from Asia to Europe. Here was the first obstacle encountered by Brutus and Cassius after they had crossed over from Abydus to Sestus. Rhascupolis and Rhascus were brothers of the royal family of Thrace, ruling one country. They differed in opinion at that time in regard to the proper alliance. Rhascus had taken up arms for Antony and Rhascupolis for Cassius, each having 3000 horse. When the Cassians came to inquire about the roads, Rhascupolis told them that the one by way of Aenus and Maronea was the short and usual and most travelled route, but that it led to the gorge of the Sapaeans, which was occupied by the enemy and hence was impassable, but the roundabout road was difficult and three times as long.

Their advance-guard march to Philippi

88. Brutus and Cassius, thinking that the enemy had taken that position not to close the passage to them but had crossed to Thrace instead of Macedonia for want of provisions, marched toward Aenus and Maronea from Lysimacheia and

CAP. XI Λυσιμαχείας τε καὶ Καρδίας,[1] αἳ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρᾳκίου χερρονήσου διαλαμβάνουσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκοντο. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο πάντες ὁπλιτῶν ἐννεακαίδεκα τέλη, Βρούτου μὲν ὀκτώ, Κασσίου δὲ ἐννέα, ἐντελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐς δύο που τέλη μάλιστα ἀναπληρούμενα, ὡς γίνεσθαι μυριάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς ὀκτώ. ἱππέες δὲ ἦσαν Βρούτῳ μὲν Κελτοὶ καὶ Λυσιτανοὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ Θρᾷκες καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ Παρθηνοὶ καὶ Θεσσαλοὶ δισχίλιοι, Κασσίῳ δὲ Ἴβηρές τε καὶ Κελτοὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ ἱπποτοξόται Ἄραβές τε καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Παρθυαῖοι τετρακισχίλιοι. σύμμαχοι δὲ εἵποντο βασιλέες καὶ τετράρχαι Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, πεζόν τε ἄγοντες πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ ἱππέας ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους.

XII

CAP. XII 89. Τοσήδε μὲν στρατιὰ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Μέλανος κόλπου διεκρίθη, καὶ τοσῇδε ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τὴν λοιπὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλαχόθι χρειῶν. καθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν τοῖς νομιζομένοις ἀνεπλήρουν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τισὶν ὀφειλομένας ἔτι δωρεάς, πολλῆς μὲν περιουσίας χρημάτων πεφροντικότες, οἰκειούμενοι δὲ ταῖς δόσεσιν αὐτούς, Γαΐῳ μάλιστα Καίσαρι

[1] The text says that they marched toward Aenus and Maronea and thence toward Lysimacheia and Cardia, which would be the reverse of the route they actually took to Philippi. Schweighäuser judged that this was a copyist's blunder.

Cardia, which enclose the isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus like gates. The next day brought them to the gulf of Melas.[1] Here they reviewed their army which contained in all nineteen legions of infantry. Of these Brutus had eight and Cassius nine, not full, but among them were two legions that were nearly full,[2] so that they mustered about 80,000 foot-soldiers. Brutus had 4000 Gallic and Lusitanian horse, besides 2000 Thracian and Illyrian, Parthian and Thessalian. Cassius had 2000 Spanish and Gallic horse and 4000 mounted bowmen, Arabs, Medes, and Parthians. The allied kings and tetrarchs of the Galatians in Asia followed him, leading a large additional force of foot-soldiers and about 5000 horse. CHAP. XI

XII

89. Such was the size of the army reviewed by Brutus and Cassius at the gulf of Melas, and with it they advanced to battle, leaving the remainder of their forces on duty elsewhere. After performing a lustration for the army, they completed the payment of the promised donative still due to the soldiers. They had provided themselves with an abundant supply of money in order to propitiate them with gifts, especially the large number who had CHAP. XII

Brutus and Cassius hold a review at the gulf of Melas

[1] The gulf of Melas was a day's journey east, not west, of Aenus.

[2] The text is corrupt. Perhaps we should read δυώδεκα for δύο. The seventeen so-called legions were equal to twelve full legions.

CAP. XII τοὺς πλέονας ἐστρατευμένους, μή τις ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἢ ὁμωνυμίαν τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος νεωτερίσειεν ἐλθόντος. καὶ αὖθις ἔδοξε τούτου χάριν καὶ δημηγορῆσαι. βῆμά τε οὖν ἐπήχθη μέγα, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς μόνων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀναβάντες, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς αὐτῶν, ὅ τε ἴδιος καὶ συμμαχικός, κάτω περιστάντες, ἥδοντο εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλήλων ἑκάτεροι, ἰσχυροτάτῃ σφίσι φανείσῃ· καὶ θάρσος ἦν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτίκα καὶ ἐλπὶς ἰσχυρά, τοσῶνδε στρατηγούσιν. αὐτά τε πρῶτα πάντων τάδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἐς πίστιν συνῆγε· τίκτουσι γὰρ εὔνοιαν ἐλπίδες κοιναί. θροῦ δὲ ὡς ἐν τοσούτοις ὄντος οἵ τε κήρυκες καὶ οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ σιωπὴν ἐποίουν, καὶ γενομένης ποτὲ ὁ Κάσσιος (προῦχε γὰρ ἡλικίᾳ) προελθὼν μικρὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως ἐς τὸ μέσον ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

90. "Ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν πρῶτον ἡμᾶς, ὦ συστρατιῶται, κοινὸς ὢν ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις συνάγει· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὅσα ὑμῖν ὑποσχόμενοι πάντα ἔδομεν, ὃ μεγίστη πίστις ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ δὲ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, ὑμῶν τε τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ ἡμῶν, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦδε ὁρᾶτε τοσούσδε καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλῆθος παρασκευῆς, ὅσον ἴστε, σίτου τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ νεῶν καὶ συμμάχων κατά τε ἔθνη καὶ βασιλέας. ὥστε τί χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλεῖν ἐς προθυμίαν τε καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, οὓς ἥ τε παρασκευὴ καὶ τὰ ἔργα κοινὰ ὄντα συνάγει; περὶ δὲ ὧν διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς δύο

served under Gaius Caesar, lest at the sight or the name of the younger Caesar, who was advancing, they should change their minds. For which reason also it was deemed best to address the soldiers publicly. A large platform was built, upon which the generals took their places, accompanied by the senators only. The soldiers, both their own and their allies, stood around it below, filled with joy at the sight of their vast number, the most powerful force they had ever beheld. To both the generals their immense commands were an immediate source of the greatest hope and courage. This more than anything else confirmed the fidelity of the army to the generals, for common hopes generate good feeling. There was a great deal of noise, as is usual on such occasions. The heralds and trumpeters proclaimed silence, and, when this was obtained, Cassius, who was the elder of the two, advanced a little in front of his companions and spoke as follows:— CHAP. XII

Speech of Cassius to the republican army

90. "A common peril, like the present, fellow-soldiers, is the first thing that binds us in a common fidelity to each other. The second is, that we have given you all that we have promised, and this is the surest guarantee for what we have promised you in the future. All our hopes rest in bravery—the bravery of you, fellow-soldiers, and of us whom you see on this platform, this large and noble body of senators. We have, as you see, the most abundant munitions of war, supplies, arms, money, ships, and auxiliaries both from Roman provinces and the allied kings. Why is it needful, then, to exhort you with words to zeal and unanimity—you whom a common purpose and common interests have brought together? As to the slanders that those two men,

CAP. XII ἄνδρες ἐχθροί, ἴστε μὲν αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συστρατεύεσθε ἡμῖν ἑτοίμως, δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἔτι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐπιδείκνυσι τοῦ πολέμου καλλίστην τε οὖσαν ἡμῖν καὶ δικαιοτάτην τὴν πρόφασιν.

91. "Ἡμεῖς γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις συστρατευόμενοί τε αὐτῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ στρατηγοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρομεν καὶ φίλοι διετελοῦμεν ὄντες, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν δι' ἔχθραν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπίμεμπτος ἦν, οὐχ ἡμῖν τοῖς φίλοις, ἐπεὶ κἂν τούτοις προετιμώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας, ὧν οὐδεὶς νόμος οὔτε ἀριστοκρατικὸς κύριος οὔτε δημοτικὸς ἔτι ἦν· ἅπερ ἅπαντα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἥρμοσαν, ὅτε τοὺς βασιλέας ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν καὶ ἐπηράσαντο οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλέων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἑτέρων. ᾧ τινι ὅρκῳ βοηθοῦντες οἱ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων ἔκγονοι καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς ἀπερύκοντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐχ ὑπεμείναμεν ἐς πολὺ περιιδεῖν ἕνα ἄνδρα, εἰ καὶ φίλος ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ χρήσιμος, τά τε κοινὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ χειροτονίας ἀρχῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς ἑαυτὸν περιφέροντα καὶ νόμον ἀντὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ κύριον ἀντὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς γιγνόμενον ἐς ἅπαντα.

92. "Ὧν ἴσως ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ᾐσθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μόνην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρετὴν ἐωρᾶτε. νῦν δὲ ῥᾳδίως τε ἂν καὶ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ περὶ ὑμᾶς μέρους καταμάθοιτε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος

our enemies, have brought against us, you understand them perfectly, and it is for that reason that you were ready to take up arms with us. Yet it seems fitting to explain our reasons once more. These will prove to you that we have the most honourable and righteous cause for war. CHAP. XII

91. "We raised Caesar to his high place, serving him in war in conjunction with you and holding commands under him. We continued his friends so long that no one could imagine that we conspired against him on account of any private grudge. It was in the time of peace that he sinned, not against us, his friends (for we were honoured by him even among his friends), but against the laws, against the order of the commonwealth. There was no longer any law supreme, either aristocratic or plebeian, nor any of the institutions that our fathers established when they expelled the kings and swore never to tolerate royal government again. We, descendants of the men who thus swore, sustained that oath and warded off the curse from ourselves. We could no longer endure that one man, although he was our friend and benefactor, should take from the people and vest in himself the control of the public money, the armies, and the elections, and from the Senate the appointment of governors of the provinces; that he should be a law in place of the laws, a sovereign in place of the sovereign people, an autocrat in place of the senate's authority, for every purpose.

92. "Perhaps you did not understand these matters particularly, but saw only his bravery in war. Yet you may easily learn about them now by observing only the part that concerns yourselves.

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ὑμεῖς ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπακούετε ἐς πάντα ὡς κυρίοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κῦρος τόδε ἐν τοῖς εἰρηνικοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιλαμβάνετε αὐτοί, προβουλευούσης μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ἵνα μὴ σφαλείητε, κρίνοντες δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ ψηφιζόμενοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἢ λόχους καὶ ἀποφαίνοντες ὑπάτους τε καὶ δημάρχους καὶ στρατηγούς. ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς χειροτονίαις καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δικάζετε, κολάζοντες ἢ τιμῶντες, ὅτε κολάσεως ἢ τιμῆς ἀξίως ἄρξαιμεν ὑμῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀντίδοσις ἥδε τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν, ὦ πολῖται, ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄκραν ὑπερήγαγε καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἐτίμησε, καὶ οἱ τετιμημένοι χάριν εἶχον ὑμῖν. ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἐξουσίας ὕπατον ἐποιήσασθε Σκιπίωνα, ὅτε αὐτῷ περὶ Λιβύην ἐμαρτυρήσατε· καὶ δημάρχους ἐποιεῖσθε ἀνὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐβούλεσθε, διοισομένους ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἰ δέοι. καὶ τί μοι καταλέγειν τὰ πολλά, ὅσα ἴστε;

93. "Ἀλλ' οὐκ, ἀφ' οὗ Καῖσαρ ἐδυνάστευσεν, οὐκ ἀρχήν τινα, οὐ στρατηγόν, οὐχ ὕπατον, οὐ δήμαρχον ἐχειροτονήσατε ἔτι, οὐκ ἐμαρτυρήσατε οὐδενί, οὐκ ἀμοιβὴν εἴχετε δοῦναι μαρτυροῦντες. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἷς ὑμῖν χάριν ὤφειλεν, οὐκ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ εὐθυνῶν, οὐ δίκης. ὃ δὲ οἰκτιστον ἁπάντων ἐγένετο, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἐδυνήθητε ἐπικουρῆσαι τοῖς δημάρχοις ὑμῶν ὑβριζομένοις, ἣν τινα ἀΐδιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ἐστήσασθε εἶναι καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀπεφήνατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀσύλους εἴδετε τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἄσυλον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἱερὰν ἐς

You, of the people, when you go to the wars, obey your generals as masters in everything, but in time of peace you resume your mastery over us. The Senate deliberates first, in order that you may not make a slip, but you decide for yourselves; you give your votes by tribes, or by centuries; you choose the consuls, the tribunes, the praetors. In the comitia you pass judgment on the weightiest questions, and you decide rewards and punishments when we have deserved rewards or punishments at your hands. This balance of powers, O citizens, has raised the empire to the summit of fortune and conferred honours upon those worthy of them, and the men thus honoured have returned thanks to you. By virtue of this power you made Scipio consul when you bore testimony to his deeds in Africa, and you elected whom you pleased each year as tribunes, to oppose us in your interest if necessary. But why should I repeat so many things that you already know? CHAP. XII

93. "From the time when Caesar's domination began you no longer elected any magistrate, either praetor, or consul, or tribune. Nor did you bear testimony to anybody's deeds, nor if you had done so, could you have rewarded them. In a word, nobody owed you any thanks either for a magistracy or a governorship, either for approving his accounts or acquitting him on a trial. Most lamentable of all, you could not defend your tribunes against insult, whose office you had constituted your own peculiar and perpetual magistracy, and had made sacred and inviolable. Yet you saw these inviolable men despoiled with contumely of this inviolable office, and of their sacred vestments, without trial, at the

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ὕβριν ἀφαιρουμένους ἀκρίτους, ἀπὸ μόνου προστάγματος, ὅτι ἔδοξαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χαλεπῆναι τοῖς καὶ βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἐθέλουσι προσαγορεῦσαι. ὃ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπαχθῶς ἤνεγκεν ἡ βουλὴ δι' ὑμᾶς· ὑμετέρα γὰρ καὶ οὐ τῆς βουλῆς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχή. ἐπιμέμψασθαι δὲ σαφῶς οὐ δυναμένη τὸν ἄνδρα οὐδ' ἐς κρίσιν ἐπαγαγεῖν διὰ ἰσχὺν στρατοπέδων, ἃ καὶ αὐτά, τέως ὄντα τῆς πόλεως, ἑαυτοῦ πεποίητο ἴδια, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενόησεν, ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλεύσασα.

94. "Ἐδει δὲ τὴν μὲν γνώμην γενέσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ὀλίγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο, αὐτίκα ἡ βουλὴ τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην ἐξέφηνε, σαφῶς μὲν ὅτε καὶ γέρα τυραννοκτονικὰ ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι· ἐπισχόντος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀντωνίου καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀταξίας καὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν ἀξιούντων διὰ γέρα τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν πατρίδα βοηθεῖν, τοῦδε μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐφυβρίζειν τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἀμνηστίαν δὲ ἁπάντων ἐψηφίσαντο εἶναι καὶ σαφέστερον ἔτι, φόνου μὴ εἶναι δίκας. καὶ μετὰ μικρόν, Ἀντωνίου τὸ πλῆθος ἐφ' ἡμῖν δημοκοπήσαντος, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀρχὰς ἐθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν καὶ γῆς ἀπέφηναν ἡγεῖσθαι πάσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰονίου μέχρι Συρίας, πότερον ὡς ἐναγεῖς κολάζοντες ἢ ὡς ἀνδροφόνους πορφύρᾳ τε ἱερᾷ καὶ ῥάβδοις καὶ πελέκεσι περικοσμοῦντες; ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιον τὸν νέον, οὐδὲν μὲν ἐς ταῦτα συνειργασμένον, ὅτι δὲ μόνον Πομπηίου Μάγνου τοῦ πρώτου περὶ

order of one man, because in your behalf they saw CHAP XII
fit to proceed against certain persons who wished to proclaim him as king. The senators were deeply grieved at this on your account, for the office of tribune is yours, not theirs. But they were not able to censure this man openly or to bring him to trial by reason of the strength of the armies which, although heretofore belonging to the republic, he had made his own. So they adopted the only remaining method to ward off tyranny, and that was to conspire against the person of the tyrant.

94. "It was necessary that the decision should be that of the best men, but that the deed should be done by a few. When it was done the Senate voiced the general approval clearly by proposing rewards to the tyrannicides. But since Antony restrained them from doing so on the pretext that it would lead to disorder, and since it was not our intention to confer this benefit upon Rome for the sake of reward, but solely for the sake of the country, the senators refrained, not wishing to insult Caesar, but only to get rid of the tyranny. So they voted amnesty for all, and it was more particularly decreed that there should be no prosecution for the murder. After a little, when Antony excited the mob against us, the Senate gave us command of the largest provinces and armies, and ordered all the countries between Syria and the Adriatic to obey us. In so doing did they punish us as monsters, or did they rather distinguish us as tyrannicides with the royal purple and with the rods and axes? For like reason the Senate recalled from exile the younger Pompeius (who was not concerned in this conspiracy) because he was the only son of Pompey the Great,

CAP. XII τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀγωνισαμένου παῖς καὶ ὅτι μικρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἠνώχλει λανθάνων περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, κατεκάλεσέ τε ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ τὸ τίμημα αὐτῷ τῶν πατρῴων ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἔκριναν ἀποδοῦναι χρημάτων καὶ θαλασσοκράτορα ἀπέφηναν, ἵνα κἀκεῖνος ἀρχήν τινα ἔχοι δημοκρατικὸς ὤν. τί δὴ πλέον ἔργον ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἢ σύμβολον ἐπιζητεῖτε τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῆς πάντα πεπρᾶχθαι, πλὴν ἢ λόγῳ μόνον ὑμῖν ἔτι ὁμολογῆσαι; ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πράξουσι καὶ ἐροῦσι καὶ λέγοντες ἅμα ὑμᾶς ἀμείψονται μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς, ὅταν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀμείψασθαι δύνωνται.

95. "Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχουσιν, ἴστε. προγράφονται χωρὶς δίκης, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς δημεύεται, καὶ κτείνονται χωρὶς καταδίκης ἐν οἰκίαις, ἐν στενωποῖς, ἐν ἱεροῖς, ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν, ὑπὸ θεραπόντων, ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν, ἐκ μυχῶν ἀνασπώμενοι καὶ διωκόμενοι πανταχῇ, τῶν νόμων τὸν ἐθέλοντα φεύγειν ἐώντων. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἐς ἣν οὐδενὸς πολεμίου κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μόνα καὶ ἔμβολα νεῶν ἐφέρομεν, ὑπάτων ἄρτι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ δημάρχων καὶ ἀγορανόμων καὶ ἱππέων κεφαλαὶ πρόκεινται· καὶ γέρα τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν ὡρισμένα. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπανάστασίς τίς ἐστι πάντων, ὅσα τέως ἦν ὕπουλα, καὶ ἀνδροληψια αἰφνίδια καὶ μύση ποικίλα γυναικῶν τε καὶ υἱῶν καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ οἰκετῶν. ἐς τοσοῦτον ἤδη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἡ πόλις ἐπιτέτριπται. καὶ τῶνδε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς ἄνδρες, αὐτοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφοὺς καὶ θείους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους

who first took up arms to defend the republic, and because the young man had made some little opposition to the tyranny in a private way in Spain. It passed a decree also to pay back to him, out of the public funds, the value of his father's property, and it appointed him admiral in order that he also might hold a command because he was on the side of the republic. What more could you ask of the Senate by way of deed or of sign to show that everything was done with their approval, unless that they should declare it to you in so many words? But they will do and say this very thing, and saying it they will repay you with magnificent gifts, when they are able to speak and to requite your services. CHAP. XII

95. "What their present situation is you know. They are proscribed without trial, and their property is confiscated. Without being condemned, they are put to death in their houses, in the streets, in temples, by soldiers, by slaves, by personal enemies. They have been dragged out of their hiding-places and pursued everywhere, although the laws allow anybody to go into voluntary exile. In the forum, where the head of an enemy was never carried, but only captured arms and the beaks of ships, the heads of those who were lately consuls, praetors, tribunes, aediles, and knights are exhibited. Rewards have been assigned for these horrors. This is a breaking out of all the wounds that had been previously healed over,—sudden seizure of men, and all kinds of infamy perpetrated by wives and sons, freedmen and slaves. Into so desperate a plight and such condition has the city now been plunged. The leaders of evil men in all this are the triumvirs, who proscribe their own brothers and uncles and

CAP. XII προγράψαντες. λέγεταί ποτε πρὸς τῶν ἀγριωτάτων βαρβάρων ἡ πόλις ἁλῶναι· καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπέτεμνον οἱ Κελτοὶ κεφαλὰς οὐδὲ ἐνύβριζον ἀνηρημένοις οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν ἔτι λαθεῖν ἢ φυγεῖν ἐφθόνουν. οὐδ' αὐτοί πω πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ὧν δορὶ ἑλάβομεν, τοιαῦτα διεθήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἑτέρους ἐπυθόμεθα διαθεῖναι, οἷα νῦν οὐκ ἰδιώτις πόλις, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονὶς ἀδικεῖται πρὸς τῶν αὐτὴν ἁρμόσαι καὶ διορθῶσαι τὰ κοινὰ κεχειροτονημένων. τί τοιοῦτον εἰργάσατο Ταρκύνιος; ὃν διὰ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ὕβριν, ἐξ ἔρωτος γενομένην, βασιλέα τε ὄντα ἐξέβαλον καὶ βασιλεύεσθαι διὰ ἓν ἔργον οὐκέτι ὑπέστησαν.

96. "Καὶ τάδε, ὦ πολῖται, πράσσοντες οἱ τρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐναγεῖς λέγουσι, καί φασι μὲν ἀμύνειν Καίσαρι, προγράφουσι δὲ τοὺς οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας, ὅτε ἀνηρεῖτο. ὧν καὶ οἵδε εἰσὶν οἱ πλέονες, οὓς ὁρᾶτε, διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ γνώμην δημοκρατικῆς διανοίας προγεγραμμένοι. ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ Πομπήιος μεθ' ἡμῶν προεγράφη, πόρρω μὲν ὢν περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἐδρῶμεν· ὅτι δέ ἐστι δημοκρατικοῦ πατρός, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς κατεκλήθη τε καὶ θαλασσοκράτωρ ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τριῶν προεγράφη. τί δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ Καίσαρι συνέγνωσαν αἱ ἐς ἐσφορὰς προγεγραμμέναι; τί δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ μέχρι δέκα μυριάδων τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ὄντα κεκελευσμένος ὑπὸ μηνύμασι καὶ ζημίαις, ᾧ τέλη καινὰ καὶ ἐσφορὰς ἐπιγράφουσι; καὶ τάδε πράσσοντες οὐδ'

guardians first of all. History tells us that the city was once captured by the most savage barbarians, but the Gauls never cut off any heads, they never insulted the dead, they never begrudged their enemies a chance to hide or fly. Nor did we ever treat in this way any city that we had captured in war, nor did we ever hear of others doing so. Moreover, it is no ordinary city, but the mistress of the world, that is thus wronged by those who have been chosen to set in order and regulate the republic. What did Tarquin ever do like this, — Tarquin, whom our ancestors hurled from the throne for an insult to one woman under the influence of passion, and then for that one act, resolved to be ruled by kings no longer? CHAP. XII

96. "While the triumvirs are committing these outrages, O citizens, they call us infamous wretches. They say they are avenging Caesar when they proscribe men who were not even in Rome when he was killed. Very many of these are here, as you see, who have been proscribed on account of their wealth, their family, or their preference for republican government. For this reason Pompeius was proscribed with us, although he was far away in Spain when we did the deed. Because he is the son of a republican father (for which reason also he was recalled by the Senate and made commander of the sea), he was proscribed by the triumvirs. What part had those women in the conspiracy against Caesar, who have been condemned to pay tribute? What part had those plebeians who holding property up to the value of 100,000 drachmas have been ordered to submit it to valuation under pressure of informers and fines?

CAP. XII

ὡς ἀνεπλήρωσαν τοῖς στρατευομένοις σφίσι τὰς δωρεάς. ἡμεῖς δέ, οἷς ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲν εἴργασται, καὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα δεδώκαμεν καὶ ἕτερα ἕτοιμα ἔχομεν ἐς ἀμοιβὰς μείζονας. οὕτως ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δίκαια πράσσουσι, συνεπιλαμβάνει.

97. "Ἐπὶ δέ γε τῷ δαιμονίῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔχετε, ἐς τοὺς ὑμῶν πολίτας ἀποβλέποντες, οὓς εἴδετε μὲν στρατηγοῦντας ὑμῶν πολλάκις καὶ ὑπατεύοντας καὶ ἐπαινουμένους, ὁρᾶτε δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς εὐαγεῖς καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς καταπεφευγότας καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ῥηρημένους καὶ συνευχομένους ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ συναιρομένους. πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερα ἡμεῖς γέρα τοῖς περισώσασιν αὐτοὺς ἐκηρύξαμεν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς ἀναιροῦσιν· οὐδὲ ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς Γάιον μέν, ὅτι ἠξίου μόνος ἄρχειν, ἀνῃρηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου περιποιουμένους ἀρχὴν ὑπεροράν μέλλοντας καὶ μὴ ἐς ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μέσον τῷ δήμῳ προτιθέντας τὴν πολιτείαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης αἱρουμένων πολεμεῖν ἑκατέρων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδος, ἣν ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς ἐπέδειξαν ἤδη, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἵνα τῆς πατρίδος ἐλευθερωθείσης ἰδιωτεύοιμεν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, εἰκότως οἵδε τε οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ θεοὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα κρίνουσι. μεγίστη δὲ ἐλπὶς ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

and what is more new taxes and contributions have been imposed upon them. And even while levying these exactions the triumvirs have not fully paid the sums promised to their troops, while we, who have done nothing contrary to justice, have given you all that we promised and have other funds ready for still larger rewards. So it comes about that the gods favour us because we do what is just. CHAP. XII

97. "Besides the favour of the gods you can see that we have that of mankind by looking at these, your fellow-citizens, whom you have often beheld as your generals and your consuls, and who have won your praises as such. You see that they have had recourse to us as to men doing right and defending the republic. They espouse our cause, they offer up their prayers, and they co-operate with us for what still remains to be done. Far more just are the rewards we have offered to those who rescue them than those which the triumvirs offer for killing them. The triumvirs know that we, who killed Caesar because he assumed the monarchy, would not tolerate them in assuming his power and that we would not assume it ourselves, but that we would restore to the people in common the government as we received it from our ancestors. So you see the two sides do not decide to take up arms for the same reason—the enemy aiming at monarchy and despotism, as their proscription already proves, while we seek nothing but the mere privilege of living as private citizens under the laws of our country made once more free. Naturally the men before you espouse our side as the gods had done previously. In war the greatest hope lies in the justice of one's cause.

CAP. XII

98. "Μηδέ τῳ, εἰ Καίσαρος ἐγίνετο στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔτι ἴτω· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου γε ἦμεν οὐδὲ τότε, ἀλλὰ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδ' οἱ διδύμενοι μισθοὶ καὶ δωρεαὶ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐστε Κασσίου στρατὸς οὐδὲ Βρούτου μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν ὑμῖν συστρατιῶται, Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί. καὶ εἰ τύδε καὶ οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἡμῖν ἐφρόνουν, ἐνῆν ἀκινδύνως ἅπασι τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατοὺς πάντας ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, κἀκείνην ἐλέσθαι τὰ συνοίσοντα· καὶ εἰ δέχονται ταῦτα, προκαλούμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ δέχονται, οὐδ' ἂν δέξαιντο ἔτι διὰ τὰς προγραφὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔδρασαν, ἴωμεν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, μετά τε πίστεως ὑγιοῦς καὶ προθυμίας ἀδόλου στρατευσόμενοι Ῥωμαίων τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ μόνοις ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας."

99. Ἀναβοησάντων δὲ πάντων "ἴωμεν" καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἀξιούντων, ἡσθεὶς ὁ Κάσσιος τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατεκήρυξεν αὖθις σιωπὴν καὶ αὖθις ἔλεγε· "θεοὶ μέν, ὅσοι πολέμων δικαίων δεσπόται, τῆς πίστεως ὑμᾶς, ὦ συστρατιῶται, καὶ προθυμίας ἀμείβοιντο· τὰ δ' ἐς ἀνθρωπίνην στρατηγῶν πρόνοιαν ὅτι καὶ πλέονα καὶ ἀμείνονά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάθετε οὕτως. τέλη μὲν ὁπλιτῶν ἴσα αὐτοῖς ἀντεπάγομεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν ἄλλα πολλαχοῦ καταλιπόντες· ἱππεῦσι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶ πολὺ προύχομεν καὶ συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ ἔθνεσι τοῖς μέχρι Μήδων καὶ Παρθυαίων. καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἐκ μετώπου μόνον εἰσὶ πολέμιοι, ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ νώτου Πομπηίου τε ὁμογνώμονα ἡμῖν ἔχομεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, καὶ Μοῦρκος ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ

98. "Let it give no one any concern that he has been one of Caesar's soldiers. We were not *his* soldiers then, but our country's. The pay and the rewards given were not Caesar's, but the republic's. For the same reason you are not now the soldiers of Cassius, or of Brutus, but of Rome. We, Roman generals, are your fellow-soldiers. If our enemies were of the same spirit with ourselves it would be possible for all to lay down their arms without danger, and give back all the armies to the commonwealth, and let it choose what will be most fitting. If they will accept such terms, we challenge them to do so. Since they will not (for they could not, on account of the proscription and the other things they have done), let us go forward, fellow-soldiers, with unwavering confidence and honest zeal, fighting only for the freedom of the Senate and people of Rome." CHAP. XII

99. They all cried out, "Forward!" and urged him to lead them on immediately. Cassius was delighted with their spirit, and again proclaimed silence and again addressed them, saying: "May the gods who preside over just wars and over good faith reward your zeal, fellow-soldiers. How far superior we are to the enemy in everything that the human foresight of generals can provide let me tell you. We are equal to them in the number of legions, although we have left behind us the large detachments needed in many places. In cavalry and ships we greatly surpass them, as also in auxiliaries from kings and nations as far as the Medes and Parthians. Besides this we have to deal only with an enemy in front, while Pompeius is co-operating with us in Sicily in their rear, and in the Adriatic Marcus and

CAP. XII

Ἀηνόβαρβος στόλῳ πολλῷ καὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ δαψιλεῖ καὶ δύο τέλεσι στρατοῦ καὶ τοξόταις αἰεὶ διαπλέοντες ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλά, καθαρευούσης πολεμίων ἡμῖν τῆς ὄπισθεν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης. χρήματά γε μήν, ἃ τινες καλοῦσι νεῦρα πολέμου, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἀπέδωκάν πω τὰ ὑπεσχημένα τῷ στρατῷ, οὐδὲ κατὰ δόξαν ἀπήντησε τὰ τῶν προγραφῶν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ὠνουμένου χωρία ἐπίφθονα· οὐδ' ἑτέρωθεν εὐποροῦσι, τετρυμένης στάσεσι καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ προγραφαῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐστὶ δαψιλῆ, ὡς αὐτίκα ὑμῖν ἄλλα χαρίσασθαι, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐθνῶν προσοδεύεται συμφερόμενα.

100. "Τροφαὶ δέ, ὃ δυσπορώτατόν ἐστι στρατοῖς μεγάλοις, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ εἰσί, πλὴν ἐκ μόνης Μακεδονίας, ἔθνους ὀρείου, καὶ Θεσσαλίας, χώρας βραχείας· καὶ τάδε χρὴ κατὰ γῆν αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι κακοπαθοῦσιν. εἰ δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐπάγοιντο ἢ Λευκανίας ἢ Ἰαπυγίας, διακλείσουσι πάντα Πομπήιός τε καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Δομίτιος. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ φέρονται καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόνως διὰ θαλάττης ἔκ τε νήσων καὶ ἠπείρων ἁπασῶν, ὅσαι ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην, καὶ τάδε ἀκωλύτως, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν ὄντος ὄπισθεν ἐχθροῦ· ὥστ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ ταχύνειν τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους λιμῷ. τοσάδε μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ τοιάδε ἐστίν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, παρ' ἀνθρωπίνης φροντίδος ἕτοιμα· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ λόγον ἀπαντήσειε παρά τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς προτέροις

Ahenobarbus with a large fleet and abundance of small craft, besides two legions of soldiers and a body of archers, are cruising hither and thither harassing them in various ways, while both land and sea in our rear are clear of enemies. As regards money, which some call the sinews of war, they are destitute. They cannot pay what they have promised their army. The proceeds of the proscription have not met their expectation, because no good man will buy lands entailed with hate. Nor can they obtain resources elsewhere, since Italy is exhausted by civil strife, exactions, and proscriptions. Thanks to abundant foresight, we have plenty for the present, so that we can give you more shortly, and there are other large sums on the road collected from the nations behind us. CHAP. XII

100. "Provisions, the supply of which is the chief difficulty in large armies, they can obtain only from Macedonia, a mountainous region, and the narrow country of Thessaly, and these must be carried to them overland with severe labour. If they try to obtain any from Africa, or Lucania, or Apulia, Pompeius, Murcus, and Domitius will cut them off entirely. We have abundance, brought to us daily by sea without labour from all the islands and mainlands which lie between Thrace and the river Euphrates, and without hindrance, since we have no enemy in our rear. So it rests with us either to hasten the battle, or by delaying it to waste the enemy by hunger. Such and so great, fellow-soldiers, are our preparations, so far as they depend on human foresight. May the future event correspond to these preparations by your efforts and by the help of the gods. As we have paid you all that we promised for

CAP. XII ἀποδόντες ἅπαντα, ὅσα ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἀμειψάμενοι πλήθει δωρεῶν, ἀμειψόμεθα καὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἔργον ἀξίως αὐτοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. καὶ νῦν δέ, ὅσον ἐς προθυμίαν, ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἤδη, συνόδου τῆσδε καὶ λόγων τῶνδε ἕνεκα, ἐπιδώσομεν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βήματος στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικάς, λοχαγῷ δὲ πενταπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον."

101. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ παρασκευάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ δωρεαῖς διέλυε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπιμένοντες ἐπῄνουν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπισχνοῦντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεὰν αὐτίκα διηρίθμουν καὶ ἕτερα ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν κατὰ προφάσεις πολλὰς τοῖς ἀρίστοις. τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας ἀεὶ κατὰ μέρη προαπέλυον, ἐς Δορίσκον, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐφείποντο. δύο δὲ ἀετοὶ καταπτάντες ἐς τῶν σημείων δύο ἀετοὺς ἀπ' ἀργύρου πεποιημένους, ἑκόλαπτον αὐτοὺς ᾗ, ὡς ἑτέροις δοκεῖ, περιέσκεπον· καὶ παρέμενον δημοσίας τε τροφῆς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἠξιοῦντο, μέχρι πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας ἀπέπτησαν. δύο δ' ἡμέραις τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον περιοδεύσαντες ἐς Λῖνον ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἐπὶ Λίνῳ Δορίσκον τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέχρι Σερρείου ὄρους παράλια.

XIII

CAP. XIII 102. Τοῦ δὲ Σερρείου προύχοντος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια ἀνεχώρουν, Τίλλιον δὲ Κίμβρον μετὰ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τέλους

your former exploits and have rewarded your fidelity with abundant gifts, so for this greater battle we will, under the favour of the gods, provide you a reward worthy of it. And now, to increase the zeal with which you already advance to your task, and in remembrance of this assembly and of these words, we will make an additional gift from this platform—to each soldier 1500 Italic drachmas, to each centurion five times that sum, and to each tribune in proportion." CHAP. XII

101. Having thus spoken, and having put his army in good spirits by deed and word and gifts, he dissolved the assembly. The soldiers remained a long time heaping praises on Cassius and Brutus and promising to do their duty. The generals immediately counted out the money to them, and to the bravest awarded an additional sum on various pretexts. As they received their pay they were dismissed by detachments on the march to Doriscus, and the generals themselves followed soon afterward. Two eagles alighted upon the two silver eagles which surmounted the standards, pecking at them, or, as others say, protecting them, and there they remained, being fed by the generals from the public stores until the day before the battle, when they flew away. After marching two days round the gulf of Melas the army came to Aenus and thence to Doriscus and the other towns on the coast as far as Mount Serrium. They move against the enemy

XIII

102. As Mount Serrium projected into the sea Cassius and Brutus turned to the mainland, but they sent Tillius Cimber with the fleet and one legion of CHAP. XIII

CAP. XIII

ὁπλιτῶν ἑνὸς καὶ τοξοτῶν τινων τὴν ἀκτὴν περιπλεῖν ἔπεμπον, ἡ πάλαι μὲν ἦν ἐρημοτάτη, καίπερ εὔγεως οὖσα, τῶν Θρᾳκῶν οὔτε θαλάσσῃ χρωμένων οὔτε ἐς τὰ παράλια κατιόντων ὑπὸ δέους τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων· Ἑλλήνων δ' αὐτὴν ἑτέρων τε καὶ Χαλκιδέων καταλαβόντων καὶ θαλάσσῃ χρωμένων, ἤνθει ταῖς ἐμπορίαις καὶ γεωργίαις, χαιρόντων σφίσι καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν διὰ τὴν τῶν ὡραίων ἄμειψιν, μέχρι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Χαλκιδέας ἀνέστησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι πλὴν οἰκόπεδα μόνον ἱερῶν ὁρᾶσθαι. τήνδε οὖν τὴν ἀκτὴν αὖθις ἔρημον οὖσαν ὁ Τίλλιος παραπλέων, ὥς οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον εἴρητο, στρατοπέδοις ἐπιτήδεια χωρία ἀνεμέτρει καὶ διέγραφε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ κατὰ μέρη πρόσπλουν, ἵν' οἱ περὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ὡς ἀχρεῖον ἔτι τὸ τηρεῖν, τὰ στενὰ ἐκλίποιεν. καὶ ἐγένετο μὲν ὡς προσεδόκησαν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νεῶν Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη καὶ ἐκάλει Δεκίδιον ἐκ τῶν Κορπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ. καὶ ἐπεκούρει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Κορπίλων στενὰ ἐκλειφθέντα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βροῦτον διώδευον.

103. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Νωρβανὸς καὶ ὁ Δεκίδιος τὰ Σαπαίων κατεῖχον ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἄπορα τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀθυμία τε ἐνέπιπτε, μὴ δέοι σφᾶς ἧς ὑπερεωράκεσαν περιόδου νῦν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνακυκλεύειν τὰ ἠνυσμένα, ὀψὲ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ὥρας γεγονότων. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Ῥασκούπολις ἔφη περίοδον εἶναι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Σαπαίων

troops and some archers to sail around the promontory, which, although fertile, was formerly deserted because the Thracians were not accustomed to the sea and avoided the coast for fear of pirates. So the Chalcideans and other Greeks took possession of it, being seafaring people, and caused it to flourish with commerce and agriculture, and the Thracians were much gratified by the opportunity for the exchange of products. Finally Philip, the son of Amyntas, drove out the Chalcideans and other Greeks so that no traces of them were to be seen except the ruins of their temples. Tillius sailed along this promontory, which was again deserted, as he had been ordered to do by Cassius and Brutus, measuring and mapping places suitable for camps, and approaching it with his ships now and then in order that the forces of Norbanus might abandon the pass, under the belief that it was useless to hold it longer. And it turned out as he had anticipated, for on the appearance of the ships Norbanus became alarmed for the Sapaean pass and called on Decidius to hasten from that of the Corpilans to his assistance, which he did. As soon as the latter pass was abandoned Brutus and Cassius marched through it.

CHAP. XIII

Tillius Cimber flanks the enemy with his fleet

103. When the stratagem became manifest Norbanus and Decidius occupied the gorge of the Sapaeans strongly. Again Brutus and his men could find no passage. They fell into discouragement lest they should now have to begin the roundabout journey which they had disdained, and to turn upon their own tracks, although pressed by time and the lateness of the season. While they were in this mood Rhascupolis said that there was a circuitous route (along the very side of the Sapaean

Brutus and Cassius impeded by the mountains

CAP. XIII

ὄρος ἡμερῶν τριῶν, ἄβατον μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἐς τὸ νῦν ὑπό τε κρημνῶν καὶ ἀνυδρίας καὶ ὕλης πυκνῆς· ἦν δὲ ἐθέλωσιν ὕδωρ τε ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν στενὴν καὶ αὐτάρκη δίοδον, οὐ γνωσθήσεσθαι μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηρέφειαν οὐδὲ οἰωνοῖς, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἁρπησσὸν ποταμὸν ἥξειν, ἐκπίπτοντα ἐς τὸν Ἕρμον, ὅθεν ἡμέρας ἔτι μιᾶς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς πολεμίους περιλαβόντας, ὡς ἀπειλῆφθαι τέλεον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναχώρησιν ἕξειν. τοῖς δὲ ἐδόκει τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀπορίας οὕνεκα καὶ ἐλπίδι μάλιστα τοῦ περιλῆψεσθαι τοσόνδε στρατὸν πολεμίων.

104. Προπέμπουσιν οὖν μέρος, Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ παραδόντες, ὁδοποιεῖν μετὰ τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμόχθως μέν, ὅμως δὲ ἔπραττον αὐτὸ μετὰ ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας, καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐπεί τινες αὐτοῖς προπεμφθέντες ἐπανῆλθον, ἰδεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀπόπτου λέγοντες. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ κάμνοντες ὑπό τε κόπου καὶ δίψους, ἐπιλιπόντος ἤδη τι καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ ἐπήγοντο, ἀνέφερον, ὅτι τριήμερόν σφισι τὸ ἄνυδρον ἐλέγετο εἶναι, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ πανικῷ περὶ ἐνέδρας ἐγίγνοντο, οὐκ ἀπιστοῦντες μὲν τοῖς προπεμφθεῖσι τὸν ποταμὸν ἰδεῖν, ἡγούμενοι δὲ ἑτέραν ἄγεσθαι. καὶ ἀθύμουν καὶ ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ῥασκούπολιν, ὅτε ἴδοιεν περιθέοντα καὶ παρακαλοῦντα, ἐλοιδόρουν καὶ

mountain) of three days' march, which had been impassable to men up to this time on account of rocks, scarcity of water, and dense forests. If, however, they could carry their water and make a narrow but sufficient pathway, they would be so enveloped in shade that they would not be perceived even by birds. On the fourth day they would come to the river Harpessus, which falls into the Hermus, and in one day more they would be at Philippi, flanking the enemy so as to cut him off completely and leave him no chance to retreat. They adopted this plan since there was nothing else to do, and especially because it held out the hope of surrounding so large a force of the enemy. CHAP. XIII

Severe labours in the Thracian forests

104. They sent a detachment in advance under command of Lucius Bibulus, in company with Rhascupolis, to cut a path. They found it a very laborious task, but they accomplished it nevertheless with enthusiastic zeal, and all the more when some who had gone ahead came back and said that they had had a distant view of the river. On the fourth day, fatigued with labour and thirst, the water which they carried being nearly exhausted, they recollected that it had been said that they should be in a waterless region only three days. So they fell into a panic fearing that they were the victims of a stratagem. They did not disbelieve those who had been sent in advance and who said that they had seen the river, but they thought that they themselves were being led in a different direction. They lost heart and cried aloud, and when they saw Rhascupolis riding by and exhorting them to have courage, they reviled him and threw stones at him.

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ἔβαλλον. Βύβλου δὲ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντος ἐκπονῆσαι τὰ λοιπὰ μετ' εὐφημίας, ὁ ποταμὸς περὶ ἑσπέραν ἐωρᾶτο τοῖς πρώτοις· καὶ βοῆς, ὡς εἰκός, λαμπρᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ γενομένης, ἡ βοή, μεταλαμβανόντων αὐτὴν τῶν κατόπιν ἐξῆς, ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους περιῄει. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον, ἵεντο αὐτίκα δρόμῳ, διὰ τῆς τετμημένης τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθόν γε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τέλος οὐδὲ περιέλαβον αὐτούς· ὁ γάρ τοι Ῥάσκος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ῥασκουπόλιδος, ἐκ τῆς βοῆς ὑπονοήσας ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε μὲν ὁδὸν ἄνυδρον ἐλθόντος στρατοῦ τοσοῦδε, ἣν οὐδὲ θηρίον ᾤετο ὁδεύσειν διὰ τοιᾶσδε ὕλης, καὶ ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν· οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐπ' Ἀμφιπόλεως. καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες ἄμφω διὰ στόματος ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς στρατοῖς, ὁ μὲν ἀγνουμένην ἀγαγών, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοήσας.

105. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκ παραλόγου τόλμης ἐς Φιλίππους παρῆλθον, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ Τίλλιος ἐπικατήχθη καὶ πᾶς ὁ στρατὸς συνελήλυθει. οἱ δὲ Φίλιπποι πόλις ἐστίν, ἣ Δάτος ὠνομάζετο πάλαι καὶ Κρηνίδες ἔτι πρὸ Δάτου· κρῆναι γάρ εἰσι περὶ τῷ λόφῳ ναμάτων πολλαί. Φίλιππος δὲ ὡς εὐφυὲς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρίον ὠχύρωσέ τε καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Φιλίππους προσεῖπεν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ λόφου περικρήμνου, τοσαύτη

While Bibulus was beseeching them with words of good cheer to persevere to the end, towards evening the river was seen by those in front, who, as was natural, raised a cry of joy, which was taken up by those behind in due order until it reached the rear. When Brutus and Cassius learned this they hurried forward at once, leading on the remainder of their army through the pathway that had been cleared. Nevertheless, they did not conceal their doings from the enemy altogether, nor surround them, for Rhascus, the brother of Rhascupolis, having his suspicions aroused by the shouting, made a reconnaissance; and when he saw what was being done he was astonished at so large an army traversing a pathway where no water could be obtained, and where he thought not even a wild beast could penetrate by reason of the dense foliage, and he forthwith communicated the news to the army of Norbanus. The latter retreated by night from the gorge of the Sapaeans toward Amphipolis. Each of the Thracian brothers received high commendation in his own army, the one because he had led an army by a secret path, the other because he had discovered the secret. CHAP. XIII

They arrive at Philippi

105. Thus Brutus and Cassius by an astounding act of audacity advanced to Philippi, where Tillius also disembarked, and the whole army was there assembled. Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi. It is situated on a precipitous hill and its size is exactly that

CAP. XIII τὸ μέγεθος, ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ λόφου τὸ εὖρος. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς μὲν ἄρκτῳ δρυμούς, δι' ὧν ὁ Ῥασκύπολις ἦγαγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ἕλος ἔστι καὶ θάλασσα μετ' αὐτό, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὰ στενὰ τὰ Σαπαίων τε καὶ Κορπίλων, ἐκ δὲ τῆς δύσεως πεδίον μέχρι Μυρκίνου τε καὶ Δραβήσκου καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος, τριακοσίων που καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, εὔφορον πάνυ καὶ καλόν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ πάθος τῇ Κόρῃ φασὶν ἀνθιζομένῃ γενέσθαι, καὶ ποταμὸς ἔστι Ζυγάκτης, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ θεοῦ περῶντος τὸ ἅρμα τὸν ζυγὸν ἆξαι λέγουσι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα. κατωφερὲς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ πεδίον, ὡς ἐπιδέξιον μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἄνωθεν ὁρμῶσιν ἐκ τῶν Φιλίππων, ἄναντες δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως βιαζομένοις.

106. Φιλίππων μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἕτερος λόφος οὐ μακράν, ὃν Διονύσου λέγουσιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα ἔστι τὰ Ἄσυλα καλούμενα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δέκα σταδίους προελθόντι δύο εἰσὶν ἄλλοι λόφοι, Φιλίππων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσον ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἀφεστῶτες, ἀλλήλων δὲ ὅσον ὀκτώ, ἐν οἷς ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βορείου. καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανὸν ὑποχωρούντων οὐκέτι προῄεσαν· Ἀντωνίου τε γὰρ ἐπυνθάνοντο πλησιάζειν, Καίσαρος ὑπολελειμμένου διὰ νόσον ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ, καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεῦσαι. τὰ γὰρ ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῶν, τῇ μὲν ἦν ἕλη καὶ λίμναι μέχρι τοῦ Στρυμόνος, τῇ δὲ τὰ στενὰ καὶ ἀτριβῆ καὶ ἀνόδευτα· τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ

of the summit of the hill. There are woods on the north through which Rhascupolis led the army of Brutus and Cassius. On the south is a marsh extending to the sea. On the east are the gorges of the Sapaeans and Corpileans, and on the west a very fertile and beautiful plain extending to the towns of Murcinus and Drabiscus and the river Strymon, about 350 stades. Here it is said that Persephone was carried off while gathering flowers, and here is the river Zygactes, in crossing which they say that the yoke of the god's chariot was broken, from which circumstance the river received its name. The plain slopes downward so that movement is easy to those descending from Philippi, but toilsome to those going up from Amphipolis. CHAP. XIII

106. There is another hill not far from Philippi which is called the Hill of Dionysus, in which are gold mines called the Asyla. Ten stades farther are two other hills, at a distance of eighteen stades from Philippi itself and eight stades from each other. On these hills Cassius and Brutus were encamped, the former on the southern and the latter on the northern of the two. They did not advance against the retreating army of Norbanus because they learned that Antony was approaching, Octavian having been left behind at Epidamnus on account of sickness. The plain was admirably situated for fighting and the hill-tops for camping, since on one side of them were marshes and ponds stretching as far as the river Strymon, and on the other gorges destitute of roads and impassable. Between these hills, eight stades apart, lay the main pass from Europe to Asia as between They encamp there

CAP. XIII Εὐρώπην καθάπερ πύλαι, καὶ αὐτὰ διετείχισαν ἀπὸ χάρακος ἐς χάρακα καὶ πύλας ἐν μέσῳ κατέλιπον, ὡς ἓν εἶναι τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ποταμός, ὃν Γάγγαν τινές, οἱ δὲ Γαγγίτην λέγουσι, καὶ θάλασσα ὄπισθεν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ ταμιεῖα καὶ ἐνορμίσματα ἔμελλον ἕξειν. Θάσον μὲν δὴ ταμιεῖον, ἀπὸ ἑκατὸν σταδίων οὖσαν, ἐτίθεντο, ἐνόρμισμα δὲ ταῖς τριήρεσι Νέαν πόλιν, ἀπὸ ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων.

XIV

CAP. XIV 107. Οἱ μὲν δὴ χαίροντες τῷ χωρίῳ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὠχύρουν, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ὧδευε μὲν σὺν τῷ στρατῷ μετ' ἐπείξεως, τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐθέλων ἐς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς μάχης προλαβεῖν, ὡς δὲ αὐτὴν εὗρεν ὠχυρωμένην οἱ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἤσθη καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κατέλιπε μεθ' ἑνὸς τέλους, οὗ Πινάριος ἡγεῖτο, αὐτὸς δὲ μάλα θρασέως πολὺ προελθὼν ἐστρατοπέδευεν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, σταδίους ὀκτὼ μόνους ἀποσχὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ εὐθὺς ἦν κατάδηλος ἡ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐλάττωσίς τε καὶ πλεονεξία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπὶ κολωνῷ, οἱ δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξυλεύοντο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕλους· καὶ ὑδρεύοντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποταμοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ φρεάτων ὧν αὐτίκα ὠρωρύχεισαν· τήν τε ἀγορὰν οἱ μὲν ἀπ' ὀλίγων σταδίων ἐπήγοντο ἐκ Θάσου, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως. ἐδόκει γε μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὧδε πρᾶξαι,

gates. Across this space they built a fortification from camp to camp, leaving a gate in the middle, so that the two camps became virtually one. Alongside this fortification flowed a river, which is called by some the Ganga and by others the Gangites, and behind it was the sea, where they could keep their supplies and shipping in safety. Their depot was on the island of Thasos, 100 stades distant, and their triremes were anchored at Neapolis, at a distance of seventy stades. CHAP. XIII

XIV

CHAP. XIV

Antony arrives at Amphipolis

107. Brutus and Cassius were satisfied with the position and proceeded to fortify their camps, but Antony moved his army rapidly, wishing to anticipate the enemy in occupying Amphipolis as an advantageous position for the battle. When he found it already fortified by Norbanus he was delighted. Leaving his supplies there and one legion, under the command of Pinarius, he advanced with the greatest boldness and encamped in the plain at a distance of only eight stades from the enemy, and straightway the superiority of the enemy's situation and the inferiority of his own became evident. The former were on elevated ground, the latter on the plain; the former procured fuel from the mountains, the latter from the marsh; the former obtained water from a river, the latter from wells freshly dug; the former drew their supplies from Thasos, requiring carriage of only a few stades, while the latter was 350 stades from Amphipolis. Still it seems that Antony was

He advances boldly to Philippi

CAP. XIV

κολωνοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἑτέρου, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πεδίον οἷα κοιλότερον ἐκλιμνάζοντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ· παρ' ὃ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὀρυσσομένων φρεάτων γλυκείας τε καὶ δαψιλοῦς ὕδατος εὕρισκε. τό γε μὴν τύλμημα, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐγένετο, κατέπλησσε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγγὺς οὕτω καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου σὺν καταφρονήσει παραστρατοπεδεύσαντος. φρούριά τε ἤγειρε πολλὰ καὶ πάντα κατὰ σπουδὴν ὠχύρου τάφροις καὶ τείχεσι καὶ χαρακώμασιν. ὠχύρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἐνέλειπεν. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μανιώδη οὖσαν ὁρῶν διετείχιζεν, ὃ ἔτι μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔλειπεν ἐς τὸ ἕλος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ στενότητα ὑπεροφθέν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔτι ἀτείχιστον εἶναι πλὴν κατὰ πλευρὰς Βρούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἀπόκρημνα, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὸ ἕλος καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἕλει· τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πάντα διείληπτο τάφρῳ καὶ χάρακι καὶ τείχει καὶ πύλαις.

108. Οὕτω μὲν ὠχυροῦντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ μόνοις ἱππεῦσι καὶ ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἐπειρῶντο ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα, ὅσα ἐπενόουν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀφῖκτο, οὔπω μὲν ἐρρωμένος ἐς μάχην, φορείῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς συντάξεις τοῦ στρατοῦ κομιζόμενος, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα εὐθὺς ἐξέτασσον ἐς μάχην, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀντεξέτασσον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων, οὐ κατῆεσαν δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώκεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπείγεσθαι, ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐλπίζοντες ἐκτρύσειν τοὺς

compelled to do as he did, for there was no other hill, and the rest of the plain, lying in a sort of hollow, was liable to inundation at times from the river; for which reason also the fountains of water were found fresh and abundant in the wells that were dug there. Antony's audacity, although he was driven to it by necessity, confounded the enemy when they saw him pitch his camp so near them and in such a contemptuous manner as soon as he arrived. He raised numerous towers and fortified himself on all sides with ditch, wall, and palisade. The enemy also completed their fortification wherever their work was defective. Cassius, observing that Antony's advance was reckless, extended his fortification at the only place where it was still wanting, from the camp to the marsh, a space which had been overlooked on account of its narrowness, so that there was now nothing unfortified except the cliffs on Brutus's flank and the marsh on that of Cassius and the sea lying against the marsh. In the centre everything was intercepted by ditch, palisade, wall, and gates. CHAP. XIV

The forces on either side

108. In this way both sides had fortified themselves, in the meantime making trial of each other by cavalry skirmishes only. When they had done all that they intended and Octavian had arrived (for, although he was not yet strong enough for a battle, he could be carried along the ranks reclining in a litter), he and Antony prepared for battle forthwith. Brutus and Cassius also drew out their forces on their higher ground, but did not come down. They decided not to give battle, hoping to wear out the enemy by want of supplies. There were nineteen legions of infantry on each

CAP. XIV πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν πεζὰ ἑκατέροις ἐννεακαίδεκα ὁπλιτῶν τέλη, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνδέοντα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐπλεύναζον ἑκατέρωθεν· ἱππέες δὲ ἅμα τοῖς ἑκατέρων Θρᾳκίοις ἦσαν Καίσαρι μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ μύριοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, Βρούτῳ δὲ καὶ Κασσίῳ δισμύριοι. ὥστε πλήθει μὲν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θράσει καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ παρασκευῇ λαμπροτάτην ἑκατέρων παράταξιν ὀφθῆναι, ἄπρακτον δὲ ἐς πολλὰς ἡμέρας, οὐκ ἐθελόντων συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προεκτρύχειν τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχοντες Ἀσίαν χορηγὸν καὶ ἐξ ἐγγίονος πάντα διὰ θαλάσσης ποριζόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδὲν ὂν δαψιλὲς οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον· οὔτε γάρ τι δι' ἐμπόρων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λαβεῖν εἶχον, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τῆς χώρας δεδαπανημένης, οὔτε ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἢ Λιβύης διὰ Πομπήιον οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔμελλον ἀρκέσειν Μακεδονία τε καὶ Θεσσαλία, μόναι σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε χορηγοῦσαι.

109. Ὧν οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐνθυμούμενοι μάλιστα διέτριβον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὰ δεδιὼς ἔγνω βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μάχην καὶ ἐπενόησεν, εἰ δύναιτο βάσιμον τὸ ἕλος ἐργάσασθαι λαθών, ἵνα κατόπιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἔτι ἀγνοούντων γενόμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν σφᾶς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Θάσου κομιζομένην. ἐκτάσσων οὖν αὖθις ἑκάστοτε ἐς μάχην τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ στρατοῦ πάντα, ἵνα ὅλος ἐκτετάχθαι νομίζοιτο, μέρει τινὶ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ἔκοπτεν ἐν τῷ ἕλει δίοδον στενήν, κείρων τε τὸν δόνακα καὶ χῶμα

side, but those of Brutus and Cassius lacked something of being full, while those of Octavian and Antony were complete. Of cavalry the latter had 13,000 and the former 20,000, including Thracians on both sides. Thus in the multitude of men, in the spirit and bravery of the commanders, and in arms and munitions, was beheld a most magnificent display on both sides; yet they did nothing for several days. Brutus and Cassius did not wish to engage, but rather to continue wasting the enemy by lack of provisions, since they themselves had abundance from Asia, all transported by the sea from close at hand, while the enemy had nothing in abundance and nothing from their own territory. They could obtain nothing through merchants from Egypt, since that country was exhausted by famine, nor from Spain or Africa by reason of Pompeius, nor from Italy by reason of Murcus and Domitius. Macedonia and Thessaly, which were the only countries then supplying them, would not suffice much longer.

CHAP. XIV

Brutus and Cassius hope to starve the enemy

109. Mindful chiefly of these facts Brutus and his generals protracted the war. Antony, fearful of the delay, resolved to force them to an engagement. He formed a plan of effecting a passage through the marsh secretly, if possible, in order to get in the enemy's rear without their knowledge, and cut off their avenue of supply from Thasos. So he arrayed his forces for battle with all the standards set each day, so that it might seem that his entire army was drawn up, while a part of his force was really working night and day making a narrow passage in the marsh, cutting down reeds, throwing up a causeway upon them, and flanking it with stone, so

Antony seeks to force an engagement

CAP. XIV ἐπιβάλλων καὶ λίθους ἑκατέρωθεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ χῶμα διαπίπτοι, τὰ δὲ βαθέα διεσταύρου καὶ ἐγεφύρου μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης. ἀφῄρητο δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ ἔργου τοὺς πολεμίους ὁ πεφυκὼς ἔτι δόναξ ἀμφὶ τῇ διώδῳ. δέκα δ' ἡμέρας ἐργασάμενος ὧδε ἐσέπεμψε λόχους ὀρθίους νυκτὸς ἄφνω καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῶν ἐντὸς κατέλαβε καὶ ἐχαράκωσε φρούρια ὁμοῦ πολλά. ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος κατεπλάγη μὲν τοῦ ἔργου τὴν ἐπίνοιάν τε καὶ κλοπήν, ἀντεπινοῶν δὲ ἀποτεμέσθαι τὰ φρούρια τὸν Ἀντώνιον, διετείχιζε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικάρσιον τὸ ἕλος ἅπαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης, κόπτων ὁμοίως καὶ γεφυρῶν καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῖς στεριφώμασιν ἐπιτιθεὶς καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου γεγενημένην δίοδον ἀπολαμβάνων, ἵνα μήτε ἐκδραμεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδον ἔτι δυνηθεῖεν μήτε ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

110. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἰδὼν περὶ μεσημβρίαν, ὡς εἶχεν, αὐτίκα σὺν ὁρμῇ τε καὶ ὀργῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐπὶ θάτερα τεταγμένον, ἦγεν ἐπιστρέφων εἰς τὸ διατείχισμα τοῦ Κασσίου, μεταξὺ τοῦ ἕλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σιδήρια φέρων καὶ κλίμακας, ὡς ἐξελῶν αὐτὸ καὶ παροδεύσων ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον. γιγνομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ δρόμου σὺν τόλμῃ πλαγίου τε καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ μεταίχμιον τῶν στρατιῶν ἑκατέρων, περιήλγησαν οἱ τοῦ Βρούτου στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει, ὧδε μάλα θρασέως αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐνόπλους ἐχθρῶν διαθεόντων, καὶ ἐπέδραμον αὐτοῖς αὐτοκέλευστοι πρό τινος ἐκ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ ἔκτεινον οἷα πλαγίους ἀθρόως, οὓς καταλάβοιεν. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἅπαξ

that the earth should not fall away, and bridging the deeper parts with piles, all in the profoundest silence. The reeds, which were still growing round his passage-way, prevented the enemy from seeing his work. After working ten days in this manner he sent a column of troops by night suddenly, who occupied all the strong positions within his lines and built several redoubts at the same time. Cassius was amazed at the ingenuity as well as the secrecy of this work, and he formed the counter design of cutting Antony off from his redoubts. He carried a transverse wall across the whole marsh from his camp to the sea, cutting and bridging in the same manner as Antony had done, and setting up the palisade on the top of his mounds, thus intercepting the passage made by Antony, so that those inside could not escape to him, nor he render assistance to them. CHAP. XIV

He attacks the fortifications of Cassius

110. When Antony saw this about noon, instantly, with rage and fury, he turned his own army, which was facing in another direction, and led it against the cross-fortification of Cassius between his camp and the marsh. He carried tools and ladders intending to take it by storm and force his way into Cassius' camp. While he was making this audacious charge, obliquely and up hill, across the space that separated the two armies, the soldiers of Brutus were provoked at the insolence of the enemy in dashing boldly athwart their front while they stood there armed. So they charged on their own account, without any order from their officers, and killed with much slaughter (as natural in a flank attack) all they came up with. The battle once begun they charged upon

CAP. XIV ἔργου καὶ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ τεταγμένῳ μάλιστα κατὰ σφᾶς ἐπέδραμον καὶ τρέψαντες ἐδίωκον, μέχρι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξεῖλον, ὃ κοινὸν ἦν Ἀντωνίῳ τε καὶ Καίσαρι, Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δι' ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντος, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένου τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν.

111. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ὁρῶν τὴν μάχην συνερρωγυῖαν ἥσθη μὲν ὡς ἀναγκάσας (πάνυ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἐδεδίει), ἀναστρέφειν δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐκ ἔκρινεν, μὴ τὴν φάλαγγα ἀνελίσσων ταράξειεν, ὡς ἀρξάμενος δ' εἶχεν ὁρμῆς, ἐχεῖτο δρόμῳ καὶ ἀνέβαινε, βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, μέχρι βιαζόμενος ἐνέκυρσε τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Κασσίου, τὴν τάξιν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς ἄλογον καταπεπληγμένῃ. ῥήξας δ' αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τόλμης ἐπὶ τὸ διατείχισμα ὥρμα, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἕλους καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τόν τε χάρακα ἀνασπῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχωννὺς καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα ὑπορύσσων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πύλαις καταφονεύων καὶ τὰ ἐπιπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ὑπομένων, ἕως αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσήλατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἔνδον, ἕτεροι δὲ ταῖς ὑπωρυχίαις ἐσῆλθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πεπτωκόσιν ἐπανέβαινον. καὶ πάντα οὕτως ἐγίγνετο ὀξέως, ὥστε τοῖς τὸ ἕλος ἐργαζομένοις ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ὑπήντων ἑλόντες ἤδη τὸ διατείχισμα. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ τούσδε σὺν ὁρμῇ βιαίῳ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἕλος κατώσαντες ἐπανῆεσαν ἐς αὐτὸ ἤδη τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦ Κασσίου, μόνοι σὺν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ὅσοι τὸ διατείχισμα ὑπερῆλθον, τοῦ

CHAP XIV

Brutus routs the army of Octavian and captures his camp

the army of Octavian, also, which was drawn up opposite, put it to flight, pursued it to the camp which Antony and Octavian had in common, and captured it. Octavian himself was not there, having been warned in a dream to beware of that day, as he has himself written in his Memoirs.

Antony puts the army of Cassius to flight

111. When Antony saw that battle was joined he was delighted because he had forced it, for he had been in trouble about his supplies. He judged it inadvisable to turn again toward the plain, lest in making the evolution his ranks should be thrown into disorder. So he continued his charge, as he had begun it, on the run, and advanced under a shower of missiles, and forced his way till he struck the troop of Cassius which had not moved from its assigned position and which was amazed at this unexpected audacity. He courageously broke this advance guard and dashed against the fortification that ran between the marsh and the camp, demolished the palisade, filled up the ditch, undermined the works, and killed the men at the gates, disregarding the missiles hurled from the wall, until he had forced an entrance through the gates, and others had made breaches in the fortification, and still others had climbed up on the débris. All this was done so swiftly that those who had just now captured the fortification met Cassius' men, who had been at work in the marsh, coming to the assistance of their friends, and, with a powerful charge, put them to flight, drove them into the marsh, and then at once wheeled against the camp of Cassius itself. These were only the men who had scaled the fortification with Antony, the remainder being engaged in

CAP. XIV ἄλλου πλήθους, ἑκατέρων ἐκτὸς ἀλλήλοις μαχομένου.

112. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἐρυμνὸν ὀλίγοι πάμπαν ἐφύλασσον· ὅθεν αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατὸς ἡσσᾶτο καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν ἰδὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκίδνατο ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἦν ἐντελὲς ἑκατέροις καὶ ὅμοιον· Βροῦτός τε γὰρ τὸ λαιὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέτραπτο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἠρήκει, Ἀντώνιός τε Κασσίου κρατῶν σὺν ἀμηχάνῳ τόλμῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπόρθει. φόνος τε ἦν ἑκατέρων ποικίλος· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγέθους πεδίου τε καὶ κονιορτοῦ τὰ ἀλλήλων ἠγνόουν, μέχρι ποτὲ ἐπύθοντο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἐπανῆσαν, ἀχθοφόροις ἐοικότες μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιώταις· καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἀλλήλων ἠσθάνοντο οὐδὲ καθεώρων, ἐπεὶ ῥίψαντές γε, ὅσα ἔφερον, οἱ ἕτεροι μέγα ἂν εἰργάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἀσυντάκτως ὧδε ἀχθοφορούντων. τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀποθανόντων εἰκάζουσι τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους σὺν τοῖς παρασπίζουσι θεράπουσι γενέσθαι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα διπλασίονα.

XV

CAP. XV 113. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῶν διατειχισμάτων ἐξέωστο καὶ οὐδὲ ἐσελθεῖν ἔτι εἶχεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τὸν Φιλίππων λόφον καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐφεώρα. οὐκ ἀκριβῶς δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸν

conflict with the enemy on the other side of the wall. CHAP. XIV

112. As the camp was in a strong position it was guarded by only a few men, for which reason Antony easily overcame them. Cassius' soldiers outside the camp were already being beaten, and when they saw that the camp was taken they scattered in disorderly flight. The victory was complete and alike on either side, Brutus defeating the enemy's left wing and taking their camp, while Antony overcame Cassius and ravaged his camp with irresistible courage. There was great slaughter on both sides, but by reason of the extent of the plain and the clouds of dust they were ignorant of each other's fate. When they learned the facts they recalled their scattered forces. Those who returned resembled porters rather than soldiers, and did not at once perceive each other nor see anything clearly. Otherwise either party would have flung down their burdens and fiercely attacked the others carrying off plunder in this disorderly fashion. According to conjecture the number of killed on the side of Cassius, including slave shield-bearers, was about 8000, and on the side of Octavian double that number. He captures and plunders his camp

XV

113. When Cassius was driven out of his fortifications and no longer had even a camp to go to, he hurried up the hill to Philippi and took a survey of the situation. As he could not see accurately on CHAP. XV Cassius commits suicide

CAP. XV

κονιορτὸν οὐδὲ πάντα ὁρῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑαυτοῦ μόνον εἰλημμένον, ἐκέλευσε Πινδάρῳ τῷ ὑπασπιστῇ προσπεσεῖν οἱ καὶ διαφθεῖραι. διαμέλλοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ Πινδάρου προσέθει τις ἀγγέλλων Βροῦτον ἐπὶ θάτερα νικᾶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων πορθεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ μὲν τοσόνδε ἀπεκρίνατο· "νικῴης, λέγε αὐτῷ, παντελῆ νίκην," ἐς δὲ τὸν Πίνδαρον ἐπιστραφείς, "τί βραδύνεις;" ἔφη, "τί τῆς ἐμῆς αἰσχύνης με οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεις;" Πίνδαρος μὲν δὴ δεσπότην, ὑπέχοντα τὴν σφαγήν, διεχρήσατο. καί τισιν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖ Κάσσιον. ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸν οἴονται, προσιόντων ἐς εὐαγγέλιον ἱππέων Βρούτου, νομίσαντα εἶναι πολεμίους, πέμψαι τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰσόμενον Τιτίνιον· τὸν δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὡς Κασσίου φίλον περισχόντων τε σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ ἀλαλαξάντων μέγα, τὸν Κάσσιον ἡγούμενον ἐς ἐχθροὺς ἐμπεσεῖν Τιτίνιον τοῦτο φάναι· "περιεμένομεν φίλον ἁρπαζόμενον ἰδεῖν," καὶ ἔς τινα σκηνὴν ὑποχωρῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ Πινδάρου καὶ τὸν Πίνδαρον οὐκέτι φανῆναι. διὸ καὶ νομίζουσί τινες οὕπω κεκελευσμένον ἐργάσασθαι.

Κασσίῳ μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τοῦ βίου κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ Κασσίου γενέθλιον ἡμέραν, ὧδε τῆς μάχης γενέσθαι συμπεσούσης, καὶ Τιτίνιος ὡς βραδύνας ἑαυτὸν ἔκτεινε· 114. Βροῦτος δὲ Κασσίου τὸν νέκυν περικλαίων, ἀνεκάλει τελευταῖον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὔ τινος ἔτι τοιοῦδε ἐς ἀρετὴν ἐσομένου, ταχυεργίας τε αὐτῷ καὶ προπετείας ἐνεκάλει καὶ ἐμακάριζεν ὁμοῦ φροντίδων καὶ ἀνίας ἀπηλλαγμένον, αἳ Βροῦτον ἐς ποῖον ἄρα τέλος ὁδηγοῦσι; παραδοὺς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῖς

account of the dust, nor could he see everything, CHAP. XV
but only that his own camp was captured, he ordered Pindarus, his shield-bearer, to fall upon him and kill him. While Pindarus still delayed a messenger ran up and said that Brutus had been victorious on the other wing, and was ravaging the enemy's camp. Cassius merely answered, "Tell him that I pray his victory may be complete." Then, turning to Pindarus, he said, "What are you waiting for? Why do you not deliver me from my shame?" Then, as he presented his throat, Pindarus slew him. This is one account of the death of Cassius. Others say that as some horsemen were approaching, bringing the good news from Brutus, he took them for enemies and sent Titinius to find out exactly; that the horsemen pressed around Titinius joyfully as a friend of Cassius, and at the same time uttered loud hurrahs; that Cassius, thinking that Titinius had fallen into the hands of enemies, said, "Have I waited to see my friend torn from me?" and that then he withdrew to a tent with Pindarus, and Pindarus was never seen afterward. For this reason some persons think that he killed Cassius without orders.

Thus Cassius ended his life on his birthday, on which, as it happened, the battle was fought, and Titinius killed himself because he had been too late;
114. and Brutus wept over the dead body of Cassius Brutus weeps over his body
and called him the last of the Romans, meaning that his equal in virtue would never exist again. He reproached him for haste and precipitancy, but at the same time he esteemed him happy because he was freed from cares and troubles, "which," he said, "are leading Brutus, whither, ah whither?" He delivered

CAP. XV φίλοις, ἔνθα λαθραίως θάψειαν, ἵνα μὴ καταδακρύσειε τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶντα, αὐτὸς ἄσιτός τε καὶ ἀτημέλητος ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν τὸ Κασσίου στρατόπεδον καθίστατο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων τὸν στρατὸν παρατασσόντων ἐς μάχην, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν ἠλασσῶσθαι, συνεὶς τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος, "ὁπλισώμεθα," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀνθυποκριθῶμεν ἐλάσσονα παθεῖν." ὡς δὲ παρέταξεν, οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἐπιτωθάσας ἔφη τοῖς φίλοις· "οἱ μὲν δὴ προκαλούμενοι ἡμᾶς ὡς κεκμηκότας οὐδὲ ἀπεπείρασαν."

115. Ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν μάχην ἐν Φιλίπποις συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ τοιόνδε πάθος ἄλλο ἐγίγνετο μέγα. Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ ὁλκάδων ἦγεν ὁπλιτῶν δύο τέλη Καίσαρι, καὶ τὸ διώνυμον ἦν αὐτῶν, τὸ Ἄρειον, ὃ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῆς ἀλκῆς ὠνόμαζον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ στρατηγίδα σπεῖραν, ἐς δισχιλίους ἄνδρας, ἱππέων τε ἴλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἕτερον πλῆθος ἐπειλεγμένον· καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὺς παρέπεμπον ὀλίγαι. Μοῦρκος δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα μακραῖς ὑπήντων. καὶ αὐτοὺς αἱ ὁλκάδες ἱστίῳ μὲν αἱ πρῶται διέφυγον ὀλίγαι, αἱ λοιπαὶ δέ, χαλάσαντος ἄφνω τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν γαλήνῃ σταθερᾷ κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἠλῶντο, ὑπό του θεῶν ἐκδεδομέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐνέβαλλον γὰρ ἀδεῶς ἑκάστῃ καὶ ἀνερρήγνυον· οὐδὲ αἱ παραπέμπουσαί σφας τριήρεις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐδύναντο, διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα κυκλούμεναι. ἔργα δ' ἦν τῶν κινδυνευόντων πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα, ὁτὲ μὲν τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλω σπουδῇ καὶ κοντοῖς ἁρμο-

the corpse to friends to be buried secretly lest the army should be moved to tears at the sight; and himself passed the whole night, without food and without care for his own person, restoring order in Cassius' army. In the morning the enemy drew up their army in order of battle, so that they might not seem to have been beaten. Brutus, perceiving their design, exclaimed, "Let us arm also and make believe that we have suffered defeat." So he put his forces in line, and the enemy withdrew. Brutus said to his friends, jestingly, "They challenged us when they thought we were tired out, but they dared not put us to the test." CHAP. XV

115. On the same day that witnessed the battle at Philippi another great calamity took place in the Adriatic. Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions of infantry on transport ships to Octavian, one of which was known as the Martian legion, a name which had been given to it as a distinction for bravery. He led also a praetorian cohort of about 2000 men, four squadrons of horse, and a considerable picked body of other troops, under the convoy of a few triremes. Murcus and Ahenobarbus met them with 130 war-ships. A few of the transports that were in front got away under sail. But the wind suddenly failing, the rest drifted about in a dead calm on the sea, delivered by some god into the hands of their enemies. For the latter, without danger to themselves, fell upon each ship and crushed it; nor could the triremes that escorted them render any aid, since they were hemmed in by reason of their small number. The men who were exposed to this danger performed many deeds of valour. Sometimes they hastily warped their ships together with Naval engagement in the Adriatic

CAP. XV

ζύντων ἐς ἄλληλα, ἵνα μὴ διεκπλεῖν αὐτὰ ἔχοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. ὅτε δὲ τούτου κρατήσειαν, ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε τοξεύματα πυρός, οἱ δὲ τοὺς συνδέσμους ἀνέλυον ὀξέως καὶ ἀπέφευγον ἀλλήλων διὰ τὸ πῦρ αὖθίς τε ἐγίγνοντο ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐς περίπλουν καὶ ἐμβολὴν ἕτοιμοι.

116. Ἀγανακτοῦντες δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄρειοι, ὅτι κρείττους ὄντες ἀλκὴν δι' ἀπραξίας ἀπώλλυντο, οἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῄρουν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων ἐναλλόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἔδρων, τὰ δὲ ἔπασχον. νηές τε ἡμίφλεκτοι μέχρι πολλοῦ περιέπλεον, ἄνδρας ἔχουσαι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης δαπανωμένους· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἱστῶν ἢ σανίδων ἐχόμενοι ἐς πέτρας ἢ ἀκτὰς ἐξεφέροντο ἐρήμους. καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν, οἳ καὶ περιεσώθησαν ἐκ παραλόγου· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐς πέντε διήρκεσαν ἡμέρας, λιχμώμενοι τὴν πίσσαν ἢ ἱστίων ἢ κάλων διαμασώμενοι, μέχρι σφᾶς ὁ κλύδων ἐξήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. πολὺ δ' ἦν, ὃ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑαυτὸ ἐπέτρεπεν, ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν ἡσσώμενον. ἐπέτρεψαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἑπτακαίδεκα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας οἱ περὶ Μοῦρκον ἐς ἑαυτοὺς μεθώρκουν, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτῶν Καλουῖνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νεὼς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ, δόξας ἀπολωλέναι.

Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ πάθος τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τῇ περὶ Φιλίππους μάχῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπεγίγνετο, εἴτε ναυάγιον εἴτε ναυμαχίαν ὀνομάσαι χρή· καὶ ἐξέπλησσε τὸ συγκύρημα τῶν ἔργων ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθέν.

ropes and made them fast with spars to prevent the enemy from breaking through their line. But when they succeeded in doing this Murcus discharged burning arrows at them. Then they cast off their fastenings as quickly as possible and separated from each other on account of the fire and thus again were exposed to being surrounded or rammed by the triremes. CHAP. XV

116. Some of the soldiers, and especially the Martians, who excelled in bravery, were exasperated that they should lose their lives uselessly, and so killed themselves rather than be burned to death; others leaped on board the triremes of the enemy, selling their lives dearly. Vessels half burned floated a long time, containing men perishing by fire, or hunger, and thirst. Others, clinging to masts or planks, were thrown upon barren rocks or promontories, and of these some were saved unexpectedly. Some of them even lasted for five days by licking pitch, or chewing sails or ropes, until the waves bore them to the land. The greater part, vanquished by their misfortunes, surrendered to the enemy. Seventeen triremes surrendered, and the men in them took the oath to Murcus. Their general, Calvinus, who was believed to have perished, returned to Brundusium on his ship five days later. The Antonian fleet destroyed

Such was the catastrophe that befell in the Adriatic on the same day that the battle of Philippi was fought, whether it be more fitly called a naval catastrophe or a naval battle. The coincidence of the two battles caused amazement when it became known later.

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CAP. XVI

117. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τὸν στρατὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "οὐδὲν ἔστιν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, παρὰ τὸν χθὲς ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ μὴ κρείσσους ἐγένεσθε τῶν πολεμίων. τῆς τε γὰρ μάχης ἤρξατε προθύμως, εἰ καὶ χωρὶς παραγγέλματος· καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τέλος, ὃ περιώνυμον αὐτοῖς ὂν ἐπεπίστευτο τὸ κέρας, διεφθείρατε ἅπαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους αὐτῷ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου· καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ εἵλετε πρότερον καὶ διηρπάσατε· ὡς προύχειν τάδε παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ βλάβης ἡμῶν. δυνηθέντες δ' ἂν ὅλον ἐργάσασθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἁρπάσαι μᾶλλον εἵλεσθε ἢ κτείνειν τοὺς ἡσσωμένους· οἱ γὰρ πλέονες ὑμῶν τοὺς πολεμίους παροδεύοντες ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὥρμων. καὶ ἐν τῷδε αὖ πάλιν οἱ μὲν διήρπασαν δύο τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων ὄντων τὸ ἕτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα ἔχομεν, ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὴν ἐπίκτησιν τῆς βλάβης διπλασίονα εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πλεονεκτήματα τοσαῦτα· ὅσα δὲ ἕτερα προύχομεν αὐτῶν, ἔχετε καὶ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μανθάνειν, περί τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ κομιδῆς κακοπαθοῦς καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἤδη σαφοῦς ἐπιλείψεως. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Σικελίας ἢ Σαρδόνος ἢ Λιβύης ἢ Ἰβηρίας ἔστιν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν διὰ Πομπήιον καὶ Μοῦρκον καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον, ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις ἀποκλείοντας αὐτοῖς τὸ πέλαγος· Μακεδονίαν τε ἐξαναλώκασιν ἤδη καὶ ἐκ μόνης ἄρτι Θεσσαλίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ ἐς πόσον αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἀρκέσει;

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Brutus addresses his army

117. Brutus assembled his army and addressed it as follows: "In yesterday's engagement, fellow-soldiers, you were in every respect superior to the enemy. You began the battle eagerly, although without orders, and you utterly destroyed their far-famed fourth legion, on which their wing placed its reliance, and all those supporting it as far as their camp, and you took and plundered their camp first, so that our victory far outweighs the disaster on our left wing. But when it was in your power to finish the whole work, you chose rather to plunder than to kill the vanquished; for most of you passed by the enemy and made a rush for his property. We are the superior again in this, that of our two camps they captured only one, while we took all of theirs, so that here our gain is twice as great as our loss. So great are our advantages in the battle. How far we excel them in other respects you may learn from our prisoners—concerning the scarcity and dearness of provisions among them, the difficulty of procuring further supplies, and how near they are to absolute want. They can obtain nothing from Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, or Spain, because Pompeius, Murcus, and Ahenobarbus with 260 ships close the sea against them. They have already exhausted Macedonia. They are now dependent on Thessaly alone. How much longer will it suffice?

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118. "Ὅταν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπειγομένους εἰς μάχην μάλιστα ἴδητε, τότε ἡγεῖσθε διωκομένους ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τὸν ἐν χερσὶ θάνατον αἱρεῖσθαι. ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντιμηχανησώμεθα αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἡμῶν προπολεμεῖν, ἵν' ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ τετρυμένοις ἐντύχοιμεν, ὅτε χρή. μηδ' ἐκφερώμεθα ταῖς προθυμίαις παρὰ καιρόν, μηδὲ βραδυτῆτά τις ἡγείσθω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἢ ταχυτῆτα, ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω θάλασσαν ἀφορῶν, ἢ τοσαύτας ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας καὶ τροφὰς ἐπιπέμπουσα δίδωσιν ἀκινδύνου νίκης ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἣν ὑπομένητε καὶ μὴ ἀδοξῆτε, εἰ προσπαίξονταί τε ἡμῖν καὶ προκαλοῦνται, οὐκ ἀμείνονες ὄντες, ὡς διέδειξε τὸ ἐχθὲς ἔργον, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον δέος ἰώμενοι. τὴν δὲ προθυμίαν, ἧς νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ κρατεῖν, ἀθρόαν ἀπόδοτε, ὅταν αἰτῶμεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὰ νικητήρια ἐντελῆ μέν, ὅταν οἱ θεοὶ κρίνωσιν, ἐπὶ ἐντελέσι τοῖς ἔργοις διαλύσομαι· νῦν δὲ τῆς ἐχθὲς ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ χιλίας ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ὑμῶν ἀνὰ λόγον."

Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν καὶ αὐτίκα διεμέτρει τὴν δωρεὰν κατὰ τέλη· δοκεῖ δέ τισι καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἐς διαρπαγὴν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι.

119. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, εἰδότες οὐ μαχούμενον ἑκόντα τὸν Βροῦτον, τοὺς ἰδίους συνῆγον, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔλεξε· "τὸ ἐχθὲς ἔργον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἶδα ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μερίζονται, ὡς διώξαντές τινας ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διαρπάσαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιδείξουσιν ἅπαν ὑμέτερον· ὑπισχνοῦμαι γὰρ ὑμῖν οὔτε αὔριον οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιούσαις ἑκόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην ἥξειν.

118. "When, therefore, you see them eager to fight, bear in mind that they are so pressed by hunger that they prefer death by battle. We will make it part of our plan that hunger shall engage them before we do, so that when it is necessary to fight we shall find them weakened and exhausted. Let us not be carried away by our ardour before the proper time. Let no one think that my generalship has become sloth rather than action, when he casts his eye on the sea behind us, which sends us all this aid and provisions and enables us to win victory without danger if you wait and do not mind the insults and provocations of the enemy, who are not braver than ourselves, as yesterday's work shows, but are trying to avert another danger. Let the zeal which I now desire you to repress be shown abundantly when I ask it. The rewards of victory I myself will pay you in full when it shall please the gods that our work be finished. And now for your bravery in yesterday's engagement, I will give to each soldier 1000 drachmas and to your officers in proportion." CHAP. XVI

After speaking thus he distributed the donative to the legions in their order. Some writers say that he promised to give them also the cities of Lacedaemon and Thessalonica to plunder.

119. Meanwhile Octavian and Antony, seeing that Brutus was not willing to fight, assembled their men, and Antony addressed them thus: "Soldiers, I am sure that the enemy claim in their speeches a share of yesterday's victory because they drove some of us and plundered our camp, but they will show by their action that it was wholly yours. For I promise you that neither to-morrow nor on any subsequent day will they be willing to fight. It is the clearest Speech of Antony to his soldiers

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120. "Τοὺς μὲν οὖν καιροὺς καὶ τὰ ἐς τοῦτον ἔργα ἐπιμηχανησόμεθα ἡμεῖς, οὐ μεμπτοὶ καὶ τῆς ἐχθὲς ὁρμῆς τε καὶ μηχανῆς ὑμῖν γενόμενοι· τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν ὑμεῖς, ὅταν αἰτῆσθε, ἀποδίδοτε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. μηδὲ ἄχθεσθε τῆς ἐχθὲς ἁρπαγῆς μηδ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἔχομέν ἐστι τὸ πλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὃ καὶ τὰ ἐχθὲς ἀφαιρεθέντα, ἔτι ὄντα παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις σῶα, καὶ τὰ πολέμια αὐτὰ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις

proof of their defeat yesterday and of their lack of courage, that like those who have been vanquished in public games, they keep out of the arena. Surely they did not collect so numerous an army in order to pass their time in fortifications in the desert parts of Thrace. But they built their fortifications when you were still approaching because they were afraid; and now that you have come they adhere to them because of yesterday's defeat, for which also the older and more experienced of their generals in utter despair committed suicide, and this act is itself the greatest proof of their disaster. Since, therefore, they do not accept our challenge and come down from the mountain, but trust to their precipices instead of their arms, be valiant, O my soldiers of Rome, and force them to it again as you forced them yesterday. Let us consider it base to yield to those who are afraid of us, to keep our hands off such sluggards, or, soldiers as we are, to be men weaker than walls. We did not come hither to pass our lives in this plain, and if we delay we shall be in want of everything. If we are well advised we shall prosecute the war sharply, in order that peace may be of the longest duration possible.

120. "We, who have not incurred your censure for the onset and the plan of yesterday's battle, will devise fresh opportunities and means for this end. Do you, on the other hand, when you are asked, repay your generals with your valour. Nor must you be troubled, for a moment, by yesterday's plundering of our camp, for wealth consists not in the property we hold, but in conquering with might, which will restore to us as victors not only what we lost yesterday, which is still safe in the enemy's

CAP. XVI κρατοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀποδώσει. καὶ εἰ ἐπειγόμεθα αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἐπειγώμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην. ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ἐχθὲς ἀντειλήφαμεν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἴσως ἱκανώτερα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας πάνθ', ὅσα ἐβιάσαντο καὶ ἥρπασαν, ἐπήγοντο, ὑμεῖς δ' ὡς ἐκ πατρίδος ἰόντες τὰ μὲν δαψιλέστερα οἴκοι ὑπελίπεσθε, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα μόνα ἐπήγεσθε. εἰ δέ τι καὶ δαψιλὲς ἦν, ἡμέτερον ἦν τῶν στρατηγῶν, οἳ πάντα ἐσμὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας νίκης ἐπιδιδόναι πρόθυμοι. καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης δ' ὅμως ζημίας ὑμῖν ἕνεκα ἐπιδώσομεν νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας, λοχαγῷ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ."

121. Τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν τῆς ἐπιούσης πάλιν ἐξέτασσε· καὶ οὐ κατιόντων οὐδὲ τότε τῶν πολεμίων ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐβαρυθύμει καὶ ἐξέτασσεν αἰεί, ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν εἶχε συντεταγμένον, μὴ ἀναγκασθείη μάχεσθαι, τῷ δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων διελάμβανε. λόφος δὲ ἦν ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κασσίου στρατοπέδου, δυσχερὴς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν καταληφθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα ἐστοξεύεσθαι δυναμένων· ὁ δὲ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ὅμως ἐφρούρει, μὴ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτολμήσειέ τις. ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρούτου κατέλαβον οἱ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα νυκτὸς τέτρασι τέλεσιν, ἐπαγόμενοι γέρρα πολλὰ καὶ διφθέρας ἐς προβολὴν τοῖς τοξεύμασιν. ὡς δὲ κατέσχον, ἄλλα τέλη δέκα μετεστρατοπέδευον ὑπὲρ πέντε σταδίους ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ

possession, but the enemy's wealth in addition. And if we are in haste to take these things let us hasten to bring on a battle. What we took from them yesterday balances what we lost, and perhaps more, for they brought with them all that they had extorted and plundered from Asia, while you, coming from your own country, left at home everything in the way of luxury, and brought with us only what was necessary. If there was anything lavish in our camp it was the property of your generals, who will gladly give it all to you as a reward for your victory. However, as compensation even for this loss we will give you an additional reward of 5000 drachmas for each soldier, five times as much to each centurion, and twice the latter sum to each tribune." CHAP. XVI

He offers battle to the enemy

121. Having spoken thus, he marshalled his men again on the following day. As the enemy would not come down even then, Antony was disgusted, but he continued to lead out his men daily. Brutus had a part of his army in line lest he should be compelled to fight; and with another part he guarded the road by which his supplies were conveyed. There was a hill very near the camp of Cassius, which it was difficult for an enemy to occupy, because by reason of its nearness, it was exposed to arrows from the camp. Nevertheless, Cassius had placed a guard on it, lest any one should make bold to attack it. As it had been abandoned by Brutus, the army of Octavian occupied it by night with four legions and protected themselves with wickerwork and hides against the enemy's bowmen. When this position was secured they transferred ten other legions a distance of more than five stades toward the sea. Four stades farther

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ἄλλους τέσσαρας δύο, ὡς τῷδε τῷ τρόπῳ προελευσόμενοι μέχρι θαλάσσης καὶ ἢ παρ' αὐτὴν ἄρα τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ διὰ τῶν ἑλῶν ἢ ὅν τινα τρόπον ἄλλον ἐπενόουν, βιασόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποκλείσοντες τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς ἀντεμηχανᾶτο, ἄλλα τε καὶ φρούρια ἀντικαθιστὰς τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδοις.

122. Τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἤπειγε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ λιμὸς ἦν ἤδη σαφής, ἔς τε μέγεθος καὶ δέος ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπεγίνετο. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ Θεσσαλίας αὐτοῖς ἔτι τὰ ἀρκοῦντα ἐκομίζετο, οὔτε τις ἦν ἐλπὶς ἐκ θαλάσσης, ναυκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων· τῆς τε ἔναγχος περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον συμφορᾶς ἐξηγγελμένης ἐς ἑκατέρους ἤδη, μᾶλλον ἐδεδοίκεσαν αὐτά τε καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα προσιόντα ὡς ἐν πεδίῳ πηλώδει σταθμεύοντες. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι τέλος μὲν ὁπλιτῶν ἐς Ἀχαΐαν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀγείρειν τὰ ἐντυγχάνοντα πάντα καὶ πέμπειν σφίσι κατὰ σπουδήν. οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι δὲ κινδύνου τοσοῦδε προσιόντος οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτεχνήσεων οὔτε ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λοιπὸν ἐκτάσσειν, παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνέβαινον μετὰ βοῆς καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐκάλουν ἐς μάχην, ἐπισκώπτοντες ἅμα καὶ λοιδοροῦντες καὶ ἐγνωκότες οὐ πολιορκίας τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἢ μανιώδει φορᾷ μὴ βουλομένῳ συμπλέκεσθαι.

123. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν ἔγνωστο τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι πυνθανομένῳ περί τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον εὐπραξίας καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὁρῶντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀπόνοιαν· καὶ ᾔρεῖτο πολιορκίας καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἀνέχεσθαι, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἀνδράσιν ἐπειγομένοις ὑπὸ

they placed two legions, in order to extend themselves in this manner quite to the sea, with a view of breaking through the enemy's line either along the sea itself, or through the marsh, or in some other way, and to cut off their supplies. Brutus counteracted this movement by building fortified posts opposite their camps and in other ways.

Scarcity in the camp of the Triumvirs

122. The task of Octavian and Antony became pressing, hunger was already felt, and in view of the magnitude [of the coming famine] the fear of it grew upon them more and more each day, for Thessaly could no longer furnish sufficient supplies, nor could they hope for anything from the sea, which was commanded by the enemy everywhere. News of their recent disaster in the Adriatic having now reached both armies, it caused them fresh alarm, as also did the approach of winter while they were quartered in this muddy plain. Moved by these considerations they sent a legion of troops to Achaia to collect all the food they could find and send it to them in haste. As they could not rest under so great an impending danger, and as their other artifices were of no avail, they ceased offering battle in the plain and advanced with shouts to the enemy's fortifications, and challenged Brutus to fight, reviling and scoffing at him, intending not so much to besiege him as by a mad assault to force him to an engagement.

Brutus declines to fight

123. But Brutus adhered to his original intention, and all the more because he knew of the famine and of his own success in the Adriatic, and of the enemy's desperation for want of supplies. He preferred to endure a siege, or anything else rather than come to an engagement with men desperate

CAP. XVI λιμοῦ, καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐχ ὁμοίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐδυσφόρουν γυναικῶν τρόπον ἔνδον μετὰ ἀπραξίας καὶ φόβου κατακεκλεισμένοι. ἐδυσχέραινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Βρούτου, νομίζοντες δὲ καὶ θᾶσσον ἐπικρατήσειν τῶν πολεμίων μετὰ προθύμου στρατοῦ. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων ἦν αὐτὸ τὸ Βροῦτον ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόφρονα ἐς ἅπαντας εἶναι καὶ ἀνόμοιον Κασσίῳ, αὐστηρῷ καὶ ἀρχικῷ περὶ πάντα γεγενημένῳ· ὅθεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ὑπήκουον, οὐ παραστρατηγοῦντες οὐδὲ τὰς αἰτίας μανθάνοντες οὐδὲ εὐθύνοντες, ὅτε καὶ μάθοιεν, Βρούτῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συστρατηγεῖν ἠξίουν διὰ πραΰτητα. τέλος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ φανερώτερον ἤδη κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ συστάσεις διαπυνθανομένου· "τί κατέγνωκεν ἡμῶν ὁ στρατηγός; τί ἔναγχος ἡμάρτομεν οἱ νικήσαντες, οἱ διώξαντες, οἱ τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολεμίους κατακανόντες, οἱ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἑλόντες;" Βροῦτος ἑκὼν ἠμέλει καὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνῆγε, μὴ ἀπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀλογίστως ἐκβιασθείη, καὶ μάλιστα μισθοφόρων, οἷς ἐστιν αἰεί, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς εὐχερέσιν οἰκέταις ἐς ἑτέρους δεσπότας, ἐλπὶς ἐς σωτηρίαν ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀντίπαλον μεταβολή.

124. Ἐνοχλούντων δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ κελευόντων νῦν μὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι τοῦ στρα-

for hunger, and whose hopes rested solely on fighting because they despaired of every other resource. His soldiers, however, without reflection, entertained a different opinion. They took it hard that they should be shut up, idle and cowardly, like women, within their fortifications. Their officers also, although they approved of Brutus' design, were vexed, thinking that in the present temper of the army they might overpower the enemy more quickly. Brutus himself was the cause of these murmurs, being of a gentle and kindly disposition toward all—not like Cassius, who had been austere and imperious in every way, for which reason the army obeyed his orders promptly, not interfering with his authority, not inquiring the reasons for his orders, and not criticising them when they had learned them. But in the case of Brutus they expected nothing else than to share the command with him on account of his mildness of temper. Finally, the soldiers began more and more openly to collect together in companies and groups and to ask each other, "Why does our general put a stigma upon us? How have we offended lately—we who conquered the enemy and put him to flight; we who slaughtered those opposed to us and took their camp?" Brutus took no notice of these murmurs, nor did he call an assembly, lest he should be forced from his position, contrary to his dignity, by the unreasoning multitude, and especially by the mercenaries, who, like fickle slaves seeking new masters, always rest their hopes of safety on desertion to the enemy.

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His soldiers become restive

124. His officers also kept irritating him and urging him to make use of the eagerness of the army

CAP. XVI τοῦ τῇ προθυμίᾳ, τάχα τι λαμπρὸν ἐργασομένου, ἢν δ' ἀντιπίπτῃ τι παρὰ τὴν μάχην, ἐπανιέναι πάλιν ἐς τὰ τείχη καὶ προβάλλεσθαι τὰ αὐτὰ χαρακώματα, χαλεπήνας ὁ Βροῦτος τοῖσδε μάλιστα ἡγεμόσιν οὖσι καὶ περιαλγήσας, ὅτι τὸν αὐτόν οἱ κίνδυνον ἐπικείμενοι συμφέρονται τῷ στρατῷ κουφόνως, ἀμφίβολον καὶ ὀξεῖαν τύχην προτιθέντι νίκης ἀκινδύνου, εἶξεν ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ σφῶν ἐκείνων ὀλέθρῳ, τοσόνδε ἐπιμεμψάμενος αὐτοῖς· "ἐοίκαμεν ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πολεμήσειν, οὐ στρατηγοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενοι." καί μοι δοκεῖ τόδε μόνον ἐξειπεῖν, ἐπικρύπτων, ὃ ἐδεδοίκει μάλιστα, μὴ ὁ στρατὸς οἷα τοῦ πάλαι Καίσαρος γεγονὼς ἀγανακτήσειέ τε καὶ μεταβάλοιτο· ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτός τε καὶ Κάσσιος ὑφορώμενοι ἐς οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῖς πρόφασιν ἀγανακτήσεως ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐνεδίδουν.

125. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐξῆγεν ἄκων καὶ ἐς τάξεις διεκόσμει πρὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ ἐδίδασκε μὴ πολὺ προύχειν τοὺ λόφου, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἥ τε ἀναχώρησις, εἰ δεήσειεν, εὐχερὴς εἴη καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφιέμενα ἐπιδέξια. ἦν δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν παρακέλευσίς τε πάντων ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μέγα καὶ θρασύτης ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀναγκαῖον, τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ δέους λιμοῦ, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς δικαίας, βιασαμένοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον ἔτι, μὴ χείροσιν ὧν ὑπέσχοντο ὀφθῆναι μηδὲ ἀσθενεστέροις ὧν ἐθρασύνοντο, μηδὲ προπετείας ὑπευθύνοις μᾶλλον ἢ

now, which would speedily bring glorious results. If the battle should turn out adversely, they could fall back to their walls and put the same fortifications between themselves and the enemy. Brutus was especially vexed with these, for they were his officers, and he grieved that they, who were exposed to the same peril as himself, should capriciously side with the soldiers in preferring a quick and doubtful chance to a victory without danger; but, to the ruin of himself and them, he yielded, chiding them with these words, "I seem likely to carry on war like Pompey the Great, not so much commanding now as commanded." I think that Brutus restricted himself to these words in order to conceal his greatest fear, lest those of his soldiers who had formerly served under Caesar should become disaffected and desert to the enemy. This both himself and Cassius had suspected from the beginning, and they had been careful not to give any excuse for such disaffection toward themselves.

His officers urge him to fight

125. So Brutus led out his army unwillingly and formed them in line of battle before his walls, ordering them not to advance very far from the hill so that they might have a safe retreat if necessary and a good position for hurling darts at the enemy. In each army the men exchanged exhortations with each other. There was great eagerness for battle, and exaggerated confidence. On the one side was the fear of famine, on the other a proper shame that they had constrained their general to fight when he still favoured delay, and fear lest they should come short of their promises and prove weaker than their boastings, and expose themselves to the charge of rashness instead of winning praise for good

He yields to them unwillingly

CAP. XVI

ἀξιεπαίνοις εὐβουλίας. ἃ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ἵππου περιθέων, σοβαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ προενέφαινε καὶ δι' ὀλίγων ὑπεμίμνησκεν, ὅσων ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου· "ὑμεῖς ἠθελήσατε μάχεσθαι, ὑμεῖς με ἑτέρως ἔχοντα νικᾶν ἐβιάσασθε· μὴ δὲ ψεύσησθε τῆς ἐλπίδος μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε αὐτούς. ἔχετε καὶ λόφον σύμμαχον καὶ τὰ κατὰ νώτου πάντα ἴδια. οἱ πολέμιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ· μεταξὺ γάρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν τε καὶ λιμοῦ."

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγων διετρόχαζε, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τάξεις ἐπήλπιζον καὶ μετὰ βοῆς παρέπεμπον εὐφήμου· 126. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἰδίους περιθέοντες τήν τε δεξιὰν ὤρεγον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιντο, καὶ σοβαρώτερον ἔτι οἵδε ἐπέσπερχον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν λιμὸν οὐκ ἐπέκρυπτον ὡς εὔκαιρον ἐς εὐτολμίαν προφέρειν. "εὕρομεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς πολεμίους· ἔχομεν οὓς ἐζητοῦμεν ἔξω τείχους λαβεῖν. μὴ δή τις ὑμῶν τὴν ἰδίαν πρόκλησιν καταισχύνῃ μηδὲ τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐλάττων γένηται· μηδὲ λιμόν, ὄλεθρον ἀμήχανόν τε καὶ ἐπώδυνον, ἕληται μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίων τείχη καὶ σώματα, ἃ καὶ τόλμαις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ. ἔχει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπείξεως ὧδε τὰ παρόντα, ὡς μηδὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἀνατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σήμερον περὶ ἁπάντων διακριθῆναι μέχρι νίκης ἐντελοῦς ἢ εὐγενοῦς θανάτου. νικῶσι δ' ἔστι λαβεῖν διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατόπεδα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια παρ' ἡμῶν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτα, ἢν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτοῖς μνημονεύωμεν

counsel, and because Brutus also, riding through the ranks on horseback, showed himself before them with a solemn countenance and reminded them of these things in such words as the opportunity offered. "You have chosen to fight," he said; "you have forced me to battle when I could conquer otherwise. Do not falsify my hopes or your own. You have the advantage of the higher ground and everything safe in your rear. The enemy's position is the one of peril because he lies between you and famine."

With these words he passed on, the soldiers telling him to trust them and echoing his words with shouts of confidence. 126. Octavian and Antony rode through their own ranks shaking hands with those nearest them, urging them even more solemnly to do their duty and not concealing the danger of famine, because they believed that that would be an opportune incitement to bravery. "Soldiers," they said, "we have found the enemy. We have before us those whom we sought to catch outside of their fortifications. Let none of you shame his own challenge or prove unequal to his own threat. Let no one prefer hunger, that unmanageable and distressing evil, to the walls and bodies of the enemy, which yield to bravery, to the sword, to despair. Our situation at this moment is so pressing that nothing can be postponed till to-morrow, but this very day must decide for us either a complete victory or an honourable death. If you conquer you gain in one day and by one blow provisions, money, ships, and camps, and the prizes of victory offered by ourselves. Such will be the result if, from our first onset upon them, we are mindful of the necessities urging us on

Octavian and Antony encourage their forces

CAP. XVI τῶν ἐπειγόντων, εἶτα παραρρήξαντες εὐθὺς ἀποκλείωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς ἢ τὰ πεδία περιωθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πόλεμος αὖθις ἀναφύοιτο μηδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀργίαν πάλιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διαδιδράσκοιεν, οἳ δι' ἀσθένειαν, μόνοι δὴ πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ μάχεσθαι."

127. Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρώτρυνον, ἐφ' οὓς παραγένοιντο. καὶ πᾶσιν ἦν αἰδὼς ἀξίοις τε φανῆναι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν, ὑπεραυξηθεῖσαν ἐκ παραλόγου διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ γενόμενα. ᾔροῦντό τε ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίσιν, εἰ δέοι, τὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμηχάνου κακοῦ δαπανώμενοι.

Ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντος ἑκάστου, ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφοτέρων ηὔξετο μάλιστα καὶ ἐνεπίμπλαντο τόλμης ἀκαταπλήκτου· οὐδέν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀλλήλων ὅτι ἦσαν πολῖται οὐδὲ ἐπεμέμνηντο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ φύσεως καὶ γένους ἐχθροῖς ἐπηπείλουν. οὕτως ἡ παραυτίκα ὀργὴ τὸν λογισμὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔσβεσεν. ἐπεμαντεύοντο δὲ ὁμαλῶς ἑκάτεροι τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα κρινεῖν. καὶ ἐκρίθη.

128. Ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐς ἑνάτην ὥραν δεδαπανημένης αἰετοὶ δύο ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον συμπεσόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμουν· καὶ ἦν σιγὴ βαθυτάτη. φυγόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ Βροῦτον βοή τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὀξεῖα ἠγέρθη καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπῆρτο, καὶ ἔφοδος ἦν σοβαρά τε καὶ ἀπηνής. τοξευμάτων μὲν δὴ καὶ

and if, after breaking their ranks, we immediately cut them off from their gates and drive them upon the rocks or into the plain, so that the war may not spring up again or these enemies get away for another period of idleness—the only warriors, surely, who are so weak as to rest their hopes, not on fighting, but on declining to fight." CHAP. XVI

127. In this way Octavian and Antony roused the spirit of those with whom they came in contact. The emulation of the troops was excited to show themselves worthy of their commanders and also to escape the danger of famine, which had been greatly augmented by the naval disaster in the Adriatic. They preferred, if necessary, to suffer in battle, with the hope of success, rather than be wasted by an irresistible foe.

Inspired by these thoughts, which each man exchanged with his neighbour, the spirit of the two armies was wonderfully raised and both were filled with undaunted courage. They did not now remember that they were fellow-citizens of their enemies, but hurled threats at each other as though they had been enemies by birth and descent, so much did the anger of the moment extinguish reason and nature in them. Both sides divined equally that this day and this battle would decide the fate of Rome completely; and so indeed it did.

128. The day was consumed in preparations till the ninth hour, when two eagles fell upon each other and fought in the space between the armies, amid the profoundest silence. When the one on the side of Brutus took flight his enemies raised a great shout and battle was joined. The onset was superb and terrible. They had little need

Prodigies before the battle

Second battle of Philippi

CAP. XVI

λίθων ἢ ἀκοντισμάτων ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐδέησε πολέμου νόμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ τέχνῃ καὶ τάξει τῶν ἔργων ἐχρῶντο, ἀλλὰ γυμνοῖς τοῖς ξίφεσι συμπλεκόμενοι ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐξώθουν ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως, οἱ μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ νίκης, οἱ δὲ περὶ νίκης καὶ παρηγορίας στρατηγοῦ βεβιασμένου. φόνος δὲ ἦν καὶ στόνος πολύς, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα αὐτοῖς ὑπεξεφέρετο, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντικαθίσταντο ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων. οἱ στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφᾶς, περιθέοντες καὶ ὁρώμενοι πανταχοῦ, ταῖς τε ὁρμαῖς ἀνέφερον καὶ παρεκάλουν πονοῦντας ἔτι προσπονῆσαι καὶ τοὺς κεκμηκότας ἐνήλλασσον, ὥστε ὁ θυμὸς αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου καινὸς ἦν.

Τέλος δὲ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε διὰ δέος τοῦ λιμοῦ, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος εὐτυχίαν (οὐ γὰρ ἐπίμεμπτοί γε ἦσαν οὐδὲ οἱ Βρούτειοι), τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκίνουν, ὥσπερ τι μηχάνημα τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνατρέποντες. οἱ δ' ἀνεωθοῦντο μὲν ἐπὶ πόδας ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω βάδην ἔτι καὶ μετὰ φρονήματος· ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ σύνταξις ἤδη παρελέλυτο, ὀξύτερον ὑπεχώρουν καί, τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων συνυποχωρούντων, μισγόμενοι πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἀκόσμως ἐθλίβοντο ὑπὸ σφῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαύστως αὐτοῖς ἐπικειμένων, ἕως ἔφευγον ἤδη σαφῶς. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τότε μάλιστα τοῦ παρηγγελμένου σφίσιν ἐγκρατῶς ἐχόμενοι τὰς πύλας προελάμβανον σφόδρα ἐπικινδύνως (ἄνωθέν τε γὰρ ἐβάλλοντο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου), μέχρι πολλοὺς ἐσδραμεῖν ἐκώλυσαν, οἳ διέφυγον ἐπί τε τὴν

of arrows, stones, or javelins, which are customary in war, for they did not resort to the usual manœuvres and tactics of battles, but, coming to close combat with naked swords, they slew and were slain, seeking to break each other's ranks. On the one side it was a fight for self-preservation rather than victory: on the other for victory and for the satisfaction of the general who had been forced to fight against his will. The slaughter and the groans were terrible. The bodies of the fallen were carried back and others stepped into their places from the reserves. The generals flew hither and thither overlooking everything, exciting the men by their ardour, exhorting the toilers to toil on, and relieving those who were exhausted so that there was always fresh courage at the front. CHAP. XVI

Finally, the soldiers of Octavian, either from fear of famine, or by the good fortune of Octavian himself (for certainly the soldiers of Brutus were not blameworthy), pushed back the enemy's line as though they were turning round a very heavy machine. The latter were driven back step by step, slowly at first and without loss of courage. Presently their ranks broke and they retreated more rapidly, and then the second and third ranks in the rear retreated with them, all mingled together in disorder, crowded by each other and by the enemy, who pressed upon them without ceasing until it became plainly a flight. The soldiers of Octavian, then especially mindful of the order they had received, seized the gates of the enemy's fortification at great risk to themselves because they were exposed to missiles from above and in front, but they prevented a great many of the enemy from gaining

CAP. XVI

θάλασσαν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὄρη διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ζυγάκτου.

129. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον οἱ στρατηγοὶ διῃροῦντο, Καῖσαρ μὲν αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ αὐτὸ φυλάσσειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πάντα ἦν καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτε, τοῖς τε φεύγουσι καὶ τοῖς ἔτι συνεστῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατοπέδοις αὐτῶν, ὁρμῇ τε ὑπερηφάνῳ πάντα ἐβιάζετο ὁμοῦ. καὶ περὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δείσας, μὴ αὐτὸν διαφυγόντες αὖθις ἕτερον στρατὸν ἀγείρειαν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁδούς τε καὶ ἐκβολὰς τῆς μάχης, αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας· οἳ διελόμενοι τὸ ἔργον ἀνά τε τὸ ὄρος ἐφέροντο σὺν τῷ Θρᾳκίῳ Ῥάσκῳ, δι' ἐμπειρίαν ὁδῶν συναπεσταλμένῳ, καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα καὶ κρημνοὺς περιστάντες τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἐκυνηγέτουν καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐφρούρουν. οἱ δὲ Βροῦτον αὐτὸν ἐδίωκον· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσχέτως ἔχοντας τοῦ δρόμου Λουκίλιος ἰδὼν ὑπέστη καὶ ὡς Βροῦτος ὢν ἠξίου πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναχθῆναι· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα εἶναι Βροῦτος ἐνομίσθη, τὸν ἀδιάλλακτον ἐχθρὸν ἐκκλίνων. ἀγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπήντα σὺν ἐπιστάσει, τὴν τύχην ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅπως Βροῦτον ὑποδέξαιτο. πλησιάσαντι δ' ὁ Λουκίλιος ἐντυχὼν μάλα θρασέως εἶπε· "Βροῦτος μὲν οὐχ ἑάλωκεν, οὐδὲ ἁλώσεταί ποτε πρὸς κακίας ἀρετή· ἐγὼ δὲ τούσδε ἀπατήσας ὧδέ σοι πάρειμι." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἱππέας ἰδὼν αἰδουμένους

entrance. These fled, some to the sea, and some through the river Zygactes to the mountains. CHAP. XVI

129. The enemy having been routed, the generals divided the remainder of the work between themselves, Octavian to capture those who should break out of the camp and to watch the main camp, while Antony was everything, and attacked everywhere, falling upon the fugitives and those who still held together, and upon their other camping-places, crushing all alike with vehement impetuosity. Fearing lest the leaders should escape him and collect another army, he despatched cavalry upon the roads and outlets of the field of battle to capture those who were trying to escape. These divided their work; some of them hurried up the mountain with Rhascus, the Thracian, who was sent with them on account of his knowledge of the roads. They surrounded the fortified positions and escarpments, hunted down the fugitives, and kept watch upon those inside. Others pursued Brutus himself. Lucilius seeing them rushing on furiously surrendered himself, pretending to be Brutus, and asked them to take him to Antony instead of Octavian; for which reason chiefly he was believed to be Brutus trying to avoid his implacable enemy. When Antony heard that they were bringing him, he went to meet him, with a pause to reflect on the fortune, the dignity, and the virtue of the man, and thinking how he should receive Brutus. As he was approaching, Lucilius presented himself, and said with perfect boldness. "You have not captured Brutus, nor will virtue ever be taken prisoner by baseness. I deceived these men and so here I am." Antony, observing that the horsemen were ashamed

The republican army routed

CAP. XVI παρηγόρει καί, "οὐ μείονά μοι τήνδε ἄγραν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ ἀμείνονα ἧς ἐνομίζετε ἐθηρεύσατε, ὅσῳ κρείττων ἐχθροῦ φίλος." καὶ τὸν Λουκίλιον τότε μέν τινι τῶν φίλων ἔδωκε θεραπεύειν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐχρῆτο ὡς πιστῷ.

XVII

CAP. XVII 130. Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος ἀναφεύγει μὲν ἐς τὰ ὄρη σὺν ἱκανῷ πλήθει, ὡς νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑποστρέψων ἢ καταβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιείληπτο πάντα φυλακαῖς, διενυκτέρευεν ἔνοπλος μετὰ πάντων. καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀναβλέποντα εἰπεῖν·

"Ζεῦ, μὴ λάθοι σε τῶνδ' ὃς αἴτιος κακῶν,"

ἐνσημαινόμενον ἄρα τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιόν φασιν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις μεταγινώσκοντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι συνεξετάζεσθαι Κασσίῳ καὶ Βρούτῳ δυνάμενος ὑπηρέτης γένοιτο Ὀκταουίου. τότε γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔνοπλος ἐπὶ τῶν φυλακτηρίων ἀντιδιενυκτέρευε τῷ Βρούτῳ, χάρακα περιθέμενος ἐκ νεκρῶν σωμάτων καὶ λαφύρων συμφορηθέντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μέσην νύκτα πονηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε διὰ τὴν νόσον, Νωρβανῷ φυλάσσειν παραδοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

131. Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὁρῶν τὰς ἐφεδρείας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμενούσας, ἔχων οὐ πλήρη τέσσαρα τέλη συναναβάντα οἱ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐφυλάξατο, τοὺς δὲ ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν,

of their mistake, consoled them, saying, "The game you have caught for me is not worse, but better than you think—as much better as a friend is than an enemy." Then he committed Lucilius to the care of one of his friends, and later took him into his own service and employed him in a confidential capacity. CHAP. XVI

XVII

CHAP. XVII

Brutus escapes to the mountains

130. Brutus fled to the mountains with a considerable force, intending to return to his camp by night, or to move down to the sea. But since all the roads were encompassed by guards he passed the night under arms with all his party, and it is said that, looking up to the stars, he exclaimed:—

"Forget not, Zeus, the author of these ills," [1]

referring to Antony. It is said that Antony himself repeated this saying at a later period in the midst of his own dangers, regretting that when he might have associated himself with Cassius and Brutus, he had become the tool of Octavian. At the present time, however, Antony passed the night under arms with his outposts over against Brutus, fortifying himself with a breastwork of dead bodies and spoils collected together. Octavius toiled till midnight and then retired on account of his illness, leaving Norbanus to watch the enemy's camp.

His officers decline to fight again

131. On the following day Brutus, seeing the enemy still lying in wait for him, and having fewer than four full legions, which had ascended the mountain with him, thought it best not to

[1] Eur. *Medea* 332.

CAP. XVII αἰδουμένους τε τὸ ἁμάρτημα καὶ μετανοοῦντας, ἔπεμπεν ἀποπειράσοντας αὐτῶν, εἰ ἐθελήσουσιν ὥσασθαι διὰ τῶν ἐφεδρειῶν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἴδια, ἔτι φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπολελειμμένων. οἱ δὲ ἀβουλότατα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ὁρμήσαντες, εὐψυχότατοι δὲ τὸ μέχρι πλείστου γενόμενοι, τότε, βλάπτοντος ἤδη τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ στρατηγῷ σφῶν ἀπεκρίναντο ἀνάξιως βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ· αὐτοὶ γάρ, τῆς τύχης πολλάκις πεπειραμένοι, οὐκ ἀνατρέψειν τὴν ἔτι λοιπὴν διαλλαγῶν ἐλπίδα. καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος ἐς τοὺς φίλους εἰπών· "οὐδὲν οὖν ἔτι εἰμὶ τῇ πατρίδι χρήσιμος, ὧδε καὶ τούτων ἐχόντων," ἐκάλει Στράτωνα τὸν Ἠπειρώτην, ὄντα φίλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐγχειρεῖν ἐκέλευε τῷ σώματι. τούτου δὲ ἔτι βουλεύεσθαι παραινοῦντος ἐκάλει τινὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων, "οὐκ ἀπορήσεις," εἶπεν, "ὦ Βροῦτε, φίλου μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκετῶν ἐς τὰ ὕστατα προστάγματα, εἰ ἤδη κέκριται." καὶ εἰπὼν ἐνήρεισε ταῖς λαγόσι τοῦ Βρούτου τὸ ξίφος οὔτε ἀποστραφέντος οὔτε ἐνδόντος.

132. Ὧδε μὲν δὴ Κάσσιος καὶ Βροῦτος ἐθηησκέτην, ἄνδρε Ῥωμαίων εὐγενεστάτω τε καὶ περιφανεστάτω καὶ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀδηρίτω, χωρὶς ἄγους ἑνός, ὥ γε καὶ Γάιος Καῖσαρ, ὄντε τῆς Μάγνου Πομπηίου μοίρας, ἐκ μὲν ἐχθροῖν καὶ πολεμίοιν ἐποιήσατο φίλω, ἐκ δὲ φίλοιν ἦγεν ὡς υἱώ. καὶ ἡ βουλὴ περιποθήτω τε εἶχεν αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτυχήσαντε ἐλεεινὼ δυοῖν τε τούτοιν ἕνεκα

address himself to his troops, but to their officers, who were ashamed and repentant of their fault. To them he sent to put them to the test and to learn whether they were willing to break through the enemy's lines and regain their own camp, which was still held by their troops who had been left there. These officers, though they had rushed to battle unadvisedly, had been of good courage for the most part, but now, for some divine infatuation was already upon them, gave to their general the undeserved answer that he should look out for himself, that they had tempted fortune many times, and that they would not throw away the last remaining hope of accommodation. Then Brutus said to his friends, "I am no longer useful to my country if such is the temper of these men," and calling Strato, the Epirote, who was one of his friends, gave him the order to stab him. While Strato still urged him to deliberate, Brutus called one of his servants. Then Strato said, "Your friend shall not come short of your servants in executing your last commands, if the decision is actually reached." With these words he thrust his sword into the side of Brutus, who did not shrink or turn away.

CHAP. XVII

Brutus commits suicide

132. So died Cassius and Brutus, two most noble and illustrious Romans, and of incomparable virtue, but for one crime; for although they belonged to the party of Pompey the Great, and had been the enemies, in peace and in war, of Gaius Caesar, he made them his friends, and from being friends he was treating them as sons. The Senate at all times had a peculiar attachment to them, and commiseration for them when they fell into mis-

Characters of Brutus and Cassius

CAP. XVII πᾶσιν ἀμνηστίαν ἐτίθετο καὶ φυγόντοιν αὐτοῖν ἔπεμψεν ἡγεμονίας, ἵνα μὴ φυγάδες εἶεν, οὐκ ἀμελοῦσα μὲν Γαΐου Καίσαρος οὐδὲ ἐφηδομένη τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ὅπου καὶ ζῶντα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τύχης ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἔθαπτε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐκύρου τὰ ἔργα ἀθάνατα εἶναι ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐς πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐποίει τῶν Καίσαρος, οὐδὲν ἡγουμένη κρεῖσσον εὑρήσειν ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόησεν. ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τώδε τὼ ἄνδρε σπουδὴ καὶ δέος τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῖν προήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἐς ὑπεροψίαν διαβολῆς· οὕτως ἅπασιν ἐγενέσθην τιμίω. ἐγενέσθην δὲ καὶ τῶν φυγόντων τοῖς ἀρίστοις τιμιωτέρω Πομπηίου, πλησιάζοντος καὶ οὐκ ἀδιάλλακτον ἔχοντος αἰτίαν, ποῤῥωτέρω τε ὄντε αὐτὼ καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτω.

133. Ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔργων ἐδέησε, δυοῖν οὐδὲ ὅλοιν ἐτοῖν στρατιὰν τε συνέλεξαν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ὁπλιτῶν τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους καὶ ναῦς μακρὰς ὑπὲρ τὰς διακοσίας τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀξιόλογον καὶ χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ παρ' ἑκόντων καὶ παρὰ ἀκόντων, πολέμους τε ἐπολέμησαν ἔθνεσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν πολλοῖς καὶ κατώρθουν. ἐθνῶν τε ἐκράτησαν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας μέχρι Εὐφράτου· καὶ ὅσους ἐπολέμησαν, ἐς συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς ἔπεισαν καὶ βεβαιοτάτοις ἐχρήσαντο. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, καὶ Παρθυαίοις καίπερ οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐς τὰ βραχύτερα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ μεῖζον

fortune. On account of those two it granted amnesty to all the assassins, and when they took flight it bestowed governorships on them in order that they should not be exiles; not that it was disregardful of Gaius Caesar or rejoiced at what had happened to him, for it admired his bravery and good fortune, gave him a public funeral at his death, ratified his acts, and had for a long time awarded the magistracies and governorships to his nominees, considering that nothing better could be devised than what he proposed. But its zeal for these two men and its solicitude for them brought it under suspicion of complicity in the assassination—so much were those two held in honour by all. By the most illustrious of the exiles they were more honoured than [Sextus] Pompeius, although he was nearer and not irreconcilable to the triumvirs, while they were farther away and irreconcilable. CHAP. XVII

133. When it became necessary for them to take up arms, two whole years had not elapsed ere they had brought together upward of twenty legions of infantry and something like 20,000 cavalry, and 200 ships of war, with corresponding apparatus and a vast amount of money, some of it from willing and some from unwilling contributors. They carried on wars with many peoples and with cities and with men of the adverse faction successfully. They brought under their sway all the nations from Macedonia to the Euphrates. Those whom they had fought against they had brought into alliance with them and had found them most faithful. They had had the services of the independent kings and princes, and in some small measure even of the Parthians, who were enemies of the Romans;

CAP. XVII ἔργον οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐρχομένους, ἵνα μὴ βάρβαρον ἢ ἀντίπαλον ἔθνος ἐθίσειαν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἀδοκητότατον ἦν, ὁ στρατὸς ὁ πλείων ὅδε Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ δαιμονίως αὐτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἔχοντα ἐς ἐκεῖνον μετέπεισαν οἱ σφαγεῖς οἵδε τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἔσποντο αὐτοῖς πιστότερον ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Καίσαρος συναγωνιστῇ τε καὶ συνάρχῳ· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτῶν Βροῦτον ἢ Κάσσιον οὐδὲ ἡσσωμένους ἀπέλιπεν, οἱ Ἀντώνιον ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ πρὸ πείρας ἀπολιπόντες· ἦν τε πρόφασις αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων, καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίου καὶ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, ὀνόματος εὐειδοῦς μέν, ἀλυσιτελοῦς δὲ αἰεί. σφῶν τε αὐτῶν, ὅτε μηδὲν ἐδόκουν ἔτι εἶναι χρήσιμοι τῇ πατρίδι, ἄμφω κατεφρόνησαν ὁμοίως. ἐν δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι καὶ πόνοις ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα· ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὅπῃ γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς.

134. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῖσδε οὖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀντίθετον ἐς ἅπαντα ἦν τὸ ἄγος τὸ ἐς Καίσαρα. ὅ γε οὐδὲ ἁπλοῦν ἄγος ἦν οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐς φίλον ἐγίγνετο παραλόγως καὶ ἐς εὐεργέτην ἐκ πολέμου περισώσαντα ἀχαρίστως καὶ ἐς αὐτοκράτορα ἀθεμίστως καὶ ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἱερέα καὶ ἱερὰν ἑσθῆτα ἐπικείμενον καὶ δυνάστην

but they did not wait for them to come and take part in the decisive battle, lest this barbarous and hostile race should become accustomed to encounters with the Romans. Most extraordinary of all was the fact that the greater part of their army had been the soldiers of Gaius Caesar and wonderfully attached to him, yet they were won over by the very murderers of Caesar and followed them more faithfully against Caesar's son than they had followed Antony, who was Caesar's companion in arms and colleague; for not one of them deserted Brutus and Cassius even when they were vanquished while some of them had abandoned Antony at Brundusium before the war began. The reason for their service, both under Pompey aforetime and now under Brutus and Cassius, was not their own interest, but the cause of democracy; a specious name indeed, but always hurtful. Both of the leaders, when they thought they could no longer be useful to their country, alike despised their own lives. In that which related to their cares and labours Cassius gave his attention strictly to war, like a gladiator to his antagonist. Brutus, wherever he might be, wanted to see and hear everything, having been a philosopher of no mean note. CHAP. XVII

134. Against all these virtues and merits must be set down the crime against Caesar, which was not an ordinary or a small one, for it was committed unexpectedly against a friend, ungratefully against a benefactor who had spared them in war, and nefariously against the head of the state, in the senate-house, against a pontiff clothed in his sacred vestments, against a ruler without equal, who was Their crime against Caesar

CAP. XVII μὲν οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ γενόμενον. ἃ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἄρα ἐνεμέσησε καὶ προεσήμηνε πολλάκις. Κασσίῳ τε γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν καθαίροντι ὁ ῥαβδοῦχος ἀνεστραμμένον τὸν στέφανον ἐπέθηκε· καὶ Νίκη, χρύσεον ἀνάθημα Κασσίου, κατέπεσεν, ὄρνεά τε πολλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ καθιέμενα κλαγγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἠφίει, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐπεκάθηντο συνεχεῖς ἑσμοί. Βροῦτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιάζοντά φασι παρὰ τὸν πότον, οὐδὲ εὐχερῆ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ἀλόγως τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἀναβοῆσαι·

"ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός."

μέλλοντα δὲ περᾶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορότα, μαραινομένου τοῦ φωτὸς ὄψιν ἰδεῖν ἐφεστῶσάν οἱ παράλογον καὶ πυθέσθαι μὲν εὐθαρσῶς, ὅς τις ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν εἴη, τὸ δὲ φάσμα εἰπεῖν· "ὁ σός, ὦ Βροῦτε, δαίμων κακός· ὀφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις." καὶ ὀφθῆναί φασιν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας μάχης.

Ἐξιόντι δὲ τῷ στρατῷ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν αἰθίοψ ὑπήντησε· καὶ τόνδε μὲν ὡς οἰώνισμα φαῦλον ὁ στρατὸς αὐτίκα συνέκοψε, δαιμόνια δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἄρα καὶ τάδε, Κάσσιον μὲν ἐν ἀμφηρίστῳ νίκῃ πάντα ἀλόγως ἀπογνῶναι, Βροῦτον δὲ εὐβούλου βραδυτῆτος ἐκβιασθῆναι καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσι διωκομένοις ὑπὸ λιμοῦ, δαψιλῶς

most serviceable above all other men to Rome and to its empire. For these reasons Heaven was incensed against them and often forewarned them of their doom. When Cassius was performing a lustration for his army his lictor placed his garland upon him wrong side up; a Victory, a gilded offering of Cassius, fell down. Many birds hovered over his camp, but uttered no sound, and swarms of bees continually settled upon it. While Brutus was celebrating his birthday at Samos it is said that in the midst of the feast, although not a ready man with such quotations, he shouted out this verse without any apparent cause :— CHAP. XVII

Cruel fate
Hath slain me, aided by Latona's son." [1]

Once when he was about to cross from Asia into Europe with his army, and while he was awake at night and the light was burning low, he beheld an apparition of extraordinary form standing near him, and when he boldly asked who of men or gods it might be, the spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus. I shall appear to thee again at Philippi." And it is said that it did appear to him before the last battle. The spectre in Brutus' tent

When the soldiers were going out to the fight an Ethiopian met them in front of the gates, and as they considered this a bad omen they immediately cut him in pieces. It was due, too, to something more than human, no doubt, that Cassius gave way to despair without reason after a drawn battle, and that Brutus was forced from his policy of wise delay to an engagement with men who were pressed by hunger, while he himself had

[1] *Il.* xvi. 849.

CAP. XVII αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἀγορᾶς καὶ ναυκρατοῦντα, καὶ τόδε παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ μὴν πολλάκις ἀγώνων μετασχόντες ἐν μὲν ταῖς μάχαις οὐδὲν ἔπαθον, ἄμφω δ' αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο αὐθέναι καθάπερ ἐγένοντο τοῦ Καίσαρος. Κάσσιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Βροῦτος τοιάνδε δίκην ἐδεδώκεσαν.

135. Καὶ Βροῦτον Ἀντώνιος ἀνευρὼν περιέβαλέ τε τῇ ἀρίστῃ φοινικίδι εὐθὺς καὶ καύσας τὰ λείψανα τῇ μητρὶ Σερουιλίᾳ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ Βρούτῳ στρατός, ὅτε ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι Βροῦτον, πρέσβεις ἐς Καίσαρα καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἔπεμπον καὶ συγγνώμης ἔτυχον καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτῶν διῃρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους. παρέδοσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰ φρούρια, πολλὰ ὄντα. τὰ δὲ φρούρια αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδόθη τοῖς Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου στρατοῖς διαρπάσαι. τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγον ὁμοίως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμαχέσαντο μέχρι θανάτου· ὧν ἦν Λεύκιός τε Κάσσιος, ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ Κάτων ὁ Κάτωνος, ἐμπίπτων ὅδε τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλάκις, εἶθ' ὑποχωρούντων ἀναλύσας τὸ κράνος, ἵνα ἢ γνώριμος ἢ εὔβλητος ἢ ἀμφότερα εἴη. Λαβεὼν δέ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ γνώριμος, ὁ πατὴρ Λαβεῶνος τοῦ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν νόμων ἔτι νῦν περιωνύμου, βόθρον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτάρκη σώματι ὀρυξάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐντειλάμενος ἐπέσκηψε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς παισί, περὶ ὧν ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα φέρειν ἔδωκε τοῖς οἰκέταις· τοῦ δὲ πιστο-

supplies in abundance and the command of the sea, so that his calamity proceeded rather from his own troops than from the enemy. Although they had participated in many engagements, they never received any hurt in battle, but both became the slayers of themselves, as they had been of Caesar. Such was the punishment that overtook Cassius and Brutus. CHAP. XVII

135. Antony found the body of Brutus, wrapped it in the best purple garment, burned it, and sent the ashes to his mother, Servilia. Brutus' army, when it learned of his death, sent envoys to Octavian and Antony and obtained pardon, and was divided between their armies. It consisted of about 14,000 men. Besides these a large number who were in the forts surrendered. The forts themselves and the enemy's camp were given to the soldiers of Octavian and Antony to be plundered. Of the distinguished men in Brutus' camp some perished in the battles, others killed themselves as the two generals had done, others purposely continued fighting till death. Among these men of note were Lucius Cassius, a nephew of the great Cassius, and Cato, the son of Cato. The latter charged upon the enemy many times; then, when his men began to retreat, he threw off his helmet, either that he might be recognized, or be easily hit, or for both reasons. Labeo, a man renowned for learning, father of the Labeo who is still celebrated as a jurisconsult, dug a trench in his tent the size of his body, gave orders to his slaves in reference to the remainder of his affairs, made such arrangements as he desired for his wife and children, and gave letters to his domestics to carry to them. Then, taking his most faithful slave

Death of young Cato

CAP. XVII τούτου τῆς δεξιᾶς λαβόμενος καὶ περιστρέψας αὐτόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλευθεροῦν, ἐπιστρεφομένῳ ξίφος ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ὑπέσχε.

Καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἡ σκηνὴ τάφος ἐγένετο, 136. Ῥάσκος δὲ ὁ Θρᾷξ ἐπανήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν πολλούς, καὶ γέρας ᾔτησέ τε καὶ ἔλαβε σῴζεσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ῥασκύπολιν· ᾧ καὶ διεδείχθη, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλήλοις οἵδε οἱ Θρᾷκες διεφέροντο, ἀλλὰ δύο στρατοπέδων μεγάλων τε καὶ ἀμφηρίστων περὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν συμφερομένων τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς τύχης ἐμερίσαντο, ἵνα ὁ νικῶν περισῴζοι τὸν ἡσσώμενον. Πορκία δ', ἡ Βρούτου μὲν γυνή, Κάτωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ νεωτέρου, ἐπείτε ἀμφοῖν ὧδε ἀποθανόντοιν ἐπύθετο, φυλασσομένη πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων πάνυ ἐγκρατῶς, ἐσχάρας πυρὸς ἐνεχθείσης ἁρπάσασα τῶν ἀνθράκων κατέπιεν. ὅσοι δ' ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐς Θάσον διέφυγον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπέτρεψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἅμα τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ τῶν ὁμοτίμων Μεσσάλᾳ τε Κορουίνῳ καὶ Λευκίῳ Βύβλῳ, ὅ τι βουλεύσοιντο περὶ σφῶν, ποιεῖν περὶ ἁπάντων. οἱ δὲ συνθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Ἀντωνίῳ διαπλεύσαντι ἐς τὴν Θάσον παρέδοσαν, ὅσα ἦν ἐν Θάσῳ χρήματά τε καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τροφαὶ δαψιλεῖς καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πολλή.

137. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ διὰ τόλμης ἐπισφαλοῦς καὶ δυοῖν πεζομαχίαιν τηλικοῦτον ἔργον ἤνυστο, οἷον οὐχ ἕτερον ἐγένετο πρὸ ἐκείνου. οὔτε γὰρ στρατὸς τοσοῦτος ἢ τοιοῦτος ἐς χεῖρας πρότερον ἦλθε Ῥωμαίων ἑκατέρωθεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ συντάξει πολιτικῇ στρατευσαμένων,

by the right hand and whirling him around, as is the Roman custom in granting freedom, he handed him a sword as he turned, and presented his throat. And so his tent became his tomb. CHAP. XVII

136. Rhascus, the Thracian, brought many troops from the mountains. He asked and received as his reward the pardon of his brother, Rhascupolis, from which it was made plain that from the beginning these Thracians had not been at variance with each other, but that seeing two great and hostile armies coming into conflict near their territory, they divided the chances of fortune in such a way that the victor might save the vanquished. Porcia, the wife of Brutus and sister of the younger Cato, when she learned that both had died in the manner described, although very strictly watched by domestics, seized some hot embers that they were carrying on a brazier, and swallowed them. Of the other members of the nobility who escaped to Thasos some took ship from thence, others committed themselves with the remains of the army to the judgment of Messala Corvinus and Lucius Bibulus, men of equal rank, to do for all what they should decide to do for themselves. These came to an arrangement with Antony and Octavian, whereby they delivered to Antony on his arrival at Thasos the money and arms, besides abundant supplies and a great quantity of war material, there in store. Death of Porcia

137. Thus did Octavian and Antony by perilous daring and by two infantry engagements achieve a success, the like of which was never before known; for never before had such numerous and powerful Roman armies come in conflict with each other. These soldiers were not enlisted from the ordinary Magnitude of the victory

CAP. XVII

ἀλλὰ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένων οὐδ' ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένων ἐπί τε σφᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλλόφυλα ἢ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τρεπομένων. ἀλλὰ καὶ γλώσσης μιᾶς ὄντες καὶ τέχνης πολέμων μιᾶς καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ καρτερίας ὁμοίας, δυσκαταγώνιστοι παρ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν ἀλλήλοις. οὐδὲ ὁρμῇ καὶ τόλμῃ τοσῇδέ τινες ἐχρήσαντο ἐν πολέμῳ, πολῖταί τε ὄντες ἀλλήλων καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ συστρατιῶται γενόμενοι. τεκμήριον δέ, ὅτι τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀριθμός, ἐπανισουμένης ἑκατέρας μάχης, οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς νικῶσιν εἶναι.

138. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος τὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν λόγον ἐπηλήθευσαν, διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας καὶ δι' ἑνὸς ἔργου κίνδυνον ἔσχατον λιμοῦ καὶ δέος ἀπωλείας ἐς εὐπορίαν δαψιλῆ καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ νίκην εὐκλεῆ μεταβαλόντες. ἀπήντησέ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὃ συνιόντες ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐπεμαντεύσαντο Ῥωμαίοις· ἐκρίθη γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία παρ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔργον μάλιστα καὶ οὐκ ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς δημοκρατίαν ἔτι, οὐδὲ πόνων αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐδέησεν ὁμοίων, χωρίς γε τῆς μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος στάσεως, ὑστάτης Ῥωμαίοις γενομένης. τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ μετὰ Βροῦτον ὑπό τε Πομπηίου καὶ τῶν διαφυγόντων Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου φίλων, λείψανα τοσῆσδε παρασκευῆς μεγάλα ἐχόντων, οὔτε ταῖς τόλμαις ὅμοια ἔτι ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ πόλεων ἢ στρατῶν ἐς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὁρμαῖς· οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔτι οὐδ' ἡ βουλὴ οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα αὕτη, ὡς ἐς Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον, ἀπήντα.

conscription, but were picked men. They were not new levies, but under long drill and arrayed against each other, not against foreign or barbarous races. Speaking the same language and using the same tactics, being of like discipline and power of endurance, they were for these reasons what we may call mutually invincible. Nor was there ever such fury and daring in war as here, when citizens contended against citizens, families against families, and fellow-soldiers against each other. The proof or this is that, taking both battles into the account, the number of the slain even among the victors appeared to be not fewer than among the vanquished. CHAP. XVII

138. Thus the army of Antony and Octavian confirmed the prediction of their generals, passing in one day and by one blow from extreme danger and famine and fear of destruction to lavish wealth, absolute security, and glorious victory. Moreover, that result came about which Antony and Octavian had predicted as they advanced into battle. Their form of government was decided by that day's work chiefly, and they have not gone back to democracy yet. Nor was there any further need of similar contentions with each other, except the strife between Antony and Octavian not long afterward, which was the last that took place between Romans. The events that happened after the death of Brutus, under Sextus Pompeius and the friends of Cassius and Brutus, who escaped with the very considerable remains of their extensive war material, were not to be compared to the former in daring or in the devotion of men, cities, and armies to their leaders; nor did any of the nobility, nor the Senate, nor the same glory, attend them as attended Brutus and Cassius. Its lasting results

BOOK V

Ε′

1

CAP. 1

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου θάνατον ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔνθα αὐτῷ συμβάλλει Κλεοπάτρα βασιλὶς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ εὐθὺς ὀφθεῖσα ἐκράτει. ὁ δὲ ἔρως ὅδε αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐς ἔσχατον ἔληξε κακοῦ καὶ ἐς ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις. ὅθεν ἄν τι καὶ Αἰγύπτιον εἴη τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου μέρος, ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιγραφῆς πω, διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολὺ πλείοσιν οὖσιν ἐπίμικτον. ἐγίγνετο γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετὰ Κάσσιόν τε καὶ Βροῦτον ἕτερα ἐμφύλια ὅμοια, στρατηγοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐκείνοις, κατὰ μέρος δὲ ἑτέρων, μέχρι Πομπήιός τε Σέξτος, ὁ νεώτερος παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, λοιπὸς ὢν ἔτι τῆσδε τῆς στάσεως, τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον ἐπανῃρέθη, καὶ Λέπιδος ἐξέπεσε τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα περιῆλθεν ἐς δύο μόνον, Ἀντωνίου τε καὶ Καίσαρα. ἐγίνετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστα οὕτως.

2. Κάσσιος ὁ Παρμήσιος ἐπίκλην ὑπελέλειπτο μὲν ὑπὸ Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν καὶ στρατοῦ, χρήματα ἐκλέγειν. Κασσίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος οὐδὲν ἐλπίζων ὅμοιον ἐν

BOOK V

I

CHAP. I

The scattered Republican forces

1. After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavian returned to Italy, but Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, and succumbed to her charms at first sight. This passion brought ruin upon them and upon all Egypt besides. For this reason a part of this book will treat of Egypt—a small part, however, not worth mentioning in the title, since it is incidental to the narrative of the civil wars, which constitutes much the larger portion. Other similar civil wars took place after Cassius and Brutus, but there was no one in command of all the forces as they had been. The latter wars were sporadic, till finally Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey the Great, the last remaining leader of that faction, was slain, as Brutus and Cassius had been, Lepidus was deprived of his share of the triumvirate, and the whole government of the Romans was centred in two only, Antony and Octavian. These events came about in the following manner.

How they were reassembled

2. Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, had been left by Cassius and Brutus in Asia with a fleet and an army to collect money. After the death of Cassius, not anticipating the like fate of Brutus,

CAP. 1 Βρούτῳ, Ῥοδίων ἐπελέξατο νῆας τριάκοντα, ὅσας ἐνόμιζε πληρώσειν, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς διέπρησε χωρὶς τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δύναιντο νεωτερίσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε πράξας ἀνήγετο ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα, Κλώδιος δὲ ἐκ Βρούτου πεμφθεὶς ἐς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ νεῶν τρισκαίδεκα, τοὺς Ῥοδίους νεωτερίζοντας εὑρών (ἐτεθνήκει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος), ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουράν, οὖσαν ὁπλιτῶν τρισχιλίων, καὶ ἐς τὸν Παρμήσιον ἐχώρει. ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Τουρούλιος, ἑτέρας ναῦς ἔχων πολλὰς καὶ χρήματα, ὅσα προεξείλεκτο ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥόδου. ἐς δὴ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦτο ὡς ἐς ἤδη τινὰ ἰσχὺν συνέθεον, ὅσοι ἦσαν κατὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, καὶ αὐτὸ ὁπλίταις τε ἐξ ὧν ἐδύναντο ἀνεπλήρουν καὶ ἐρέταις ἐκ θεραπόντων ἢ δεσμωτῶν, ἐπιπλέοντες δὲ ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν. ἦλθον δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ Κικέρων ὁ Κικέρωνος καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τῆς Θάσου διεπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν καὶ σύνταξις ἀξιόχρεως ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ νεῶν. προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ' ἑτέρας δυνάμεως, ᾗ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην, πρὸς Μοῦρκον καὶ Δομίτιον Ἀηνόβαρβον ἐπὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ὄντας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον διέπλεον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἅμα τῷ Μούρκῳ διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν Πομπηίῳ Σέξτῳ συνῆψαν, οἱ δὲ κατέμειναν παρὰ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καί τιν' αἵρεσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καθίσταντο.

Τοιάδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν λειψάνων τῆς παρασκευῆς Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου πρῶτα συνίστατο, 3. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῇ περὶ

he selected thirty ships belonging to the Rhodians, CHAP. I
which he intended to man, and burned the rest, except the sacred one, so that they might not be able to revolt. Having done this he took his departure with his own ships and the thirty. Clodius, who had been sent by Brutus to Rhodes with thirteen ships, found the Rhodians in revolt (for Brutus also was now dead). Clodius took away the garrison, consisting of 3000 soldiers, and joined Parmesius. They were joined by Turulius, who had another numerous fleet and a large sum of money which he had previously extorted from Rhodes. To this fleet, which was now quite powerful, flocked those who were rendering service in various parts of Asia, and they manned the ships with soldiers as well as they could, and with slaves, prisoners, and inhabitants of the islands where they touched, as rowers. The son of Cicero joined them, and others of the nobility who had escaped from Thasos. Thus in a short time there was a considerable gathering and organization of officers, soldiers, and ships. Having received additional forces under Lepidus,[1] with which he had brought Crete under subjection to Brutus, they made sail to the Adriatic and united with Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had a large force under their command. Some of these sailed with Murcus to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius. The rest remained with Ahenobarbus and formed a faction by themselves.

3. Such was the first reassembling of what remained of the war preparations of Cassius and Brutus. After the victory of Philippi Octavian and Antony

[1] Brother of the triumvir.

CAP. I Φιλίππους ἔθυόν τε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπῄνουν. καὶ ἐς τὴν δόσιν τῶν ἐπινικίων ὁ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐχώρει, τήν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς διανεμήσων καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέξων (ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸς εἵλετο διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν), ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὰ πέραν ἔθνη, συλλέξων τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηντο. διενείμαντο δὲ αὖθις ὅσα καὶ πρότερον ἔθνη καὶ ἐπελάμβανον τὰ Λεπίδου· τήν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἄλπεων ἐδόκει Καίσαρος ἀξιοῦντος αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι γνώμῃ τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ὅ τε Λέπιδος διεβάλλετο τὰ πράγματα Πομπηίῳ προδιδόναι· καὶ ὥριστο, εἰ Καίσαρι ψευδὴς ἡ διαβολὴ φανείη, ἕτερα ἀντιδοῦναι τῷ Λεπίδῳ. ἀφίεσαν δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας τοὺς ἐντελῆ χρόνον ἐστρατευμένους χωρὶς ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς δεηθέντας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσιν ἀποδεξάμενοι διείλοντο καὶ συνελόχισαν ἐς στρατηγίδας τάξεις. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς αὐτοῖς στρατὸς ἐγένετο, σὺν τοῖς μεταθεμένοις ἀπὸ Βρούτου, τέλη πεζῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ ἱππέες μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι. καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος διὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἓξ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας μυρίους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἱππέας τετρακισχιλίους καὶ τέλη πέντε· καὶ τῶνδε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀντωνίῳ δύο ἔδωκεν, ἀντιληψόμενος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Καληνῷ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὑπολελειμμένων.

4. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ᾔει, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενόμενος τῇ θεῷ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυε καὶ τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου συμφορᾶς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἱκέτας ἀπέλυε, χωρὶς Πετρωνίου, συνεγνωκότος

offered a magnificent sacrifice and awarded praise to their army. In order to provide the rewards of victory Octavian went to Italy to divide the land among the soldiers and to settle the colonies. He chose this himself on account of his illness. Antony went to the nations beyond the Aegean to collect the money that had been promised to the soldiers. They divided the provinces among themselves as before and took those of Lepidus besides. For it was decided, at the instance of Octavian to make Cisalpine Gaul independent, as the elder Caesar had intended. Lepidus had been accused of betraying the affairs of the triumvirate to Pompeius and it was decided that if Octavian should find that this accusation was false other provinces should be given to Lepidus. They dismissed from the military service the soldiers who had served their full time except 8000 who had asked to remain. These they took back and divided between themselves and formed them in praetorian cohorts. There remained to them, including those who had come over from Brutus, eleven legions of infantry and 14,000 horse. Of these Antony took, for his foreign expedition, six legions and 10,000 horse. Octavian had five legions and 4000 horse, but of these he gave two legions to Antony in exchange for others that Antony had left in Italy under the command of Calenus.

CHAP. 1

Octavian and Antony after the battle

4. Octavian then proceeded toward the Adriatic; but when Antony arrived at Ephesus he offered a splendid sacrifice to the city's goddess and pardoned those who, after the disaster to Brutus and Cassius, had fled to the temple as suppliants, except Petronius, who had been privy to the murder of

Antony in Asia

CAP. 1 ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Καίσαρος, καὶ Κοίντου, προδόντος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ Κασσίῳ Δολοβέλλαν. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται, κατά τε πρεσβείας παρόντας ἐπὶ συνθέσει καὶ μετακεκλημένους συναγαγὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "ὑμᾶς ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, Ἄτταλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν ἐν διαθήκαις ἀπέλιπε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἦμεν Ἀττάλου· οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδέησεν, οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ μέρη φέρειν τῶν ἑκάστοτε καρπῶν ἐπετάξαμεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων κοινωνῶμεν ὑμῖν. τῶν δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς μισθουμένων ἐνυβριζόντων ὑμῖν καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αἰτούντων, Γάιος Καῖσαρ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ τρίτα ὑμῖν ἀνῆκεν ὧν ἐκείνοις ἐφέρετε, τὰς δ' ὕβρεις ἔπαυσεν· ὑμῖν γὰρ τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων. καὶ τόνδε τοιόνδε ὄντα οἱ χρηστοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν τύραννον ἐκάλουν, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖς συνετελεῖτε χρήματα πολλά, σφαγεῦσί τε οὖσι τοῦ ὑμετέρου εὐεργέτου, καὶ καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν τιμωρούντων ἐκείνῳ.

5. "Τῆς δὲ δικαίας τύχης οὐχ, ὡς ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ', ὡς ἦν ἄξιον, κρινάσης τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ μὲν ὡς συναγωνισταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἔδει χρῆσθαι, κολάσεως ὑμῖν ἔδει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑκόντες πιστεύομεν ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀνάγκην τάδε πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων ἀφίεμεν, χρημάτων δὲ ἡμῖν δεῖ καὶ γῆς

Caesar, and Quintus, who had betrayed Dolabella to Cassius at Laodicea. Having assembled the Greeks and other peoples who inhabited the Asiatic country around Pergamos, and who were present on a peace embassy, and others who had been summoned thither, Antony addressed them as follows: "Your King Attalus, O Greeks, left you to us in his will, and straightway we proved better to you than Attalus had been, for we released you from the taxes that you had been paying to him, until the action of popular agitators also among us made these taxes necessary. But when they became necessary we did not impose them upon you according to a fixed valuation so that we could collect an absolutely certain sum, but we required you to contribute a portion of your yearly harvest in order that we might share with you the vicissitudes of the seasons. When the publicans, who farmed these collections by the authority of the Senate, wronged you by demanding more than was due, Gaius Caesar remitted to you one-third of what you had paid to them and put an end to their outrages: for he turned over to you the collection of the taxes from the cultivators of the soil. And this was the kind of man that our honourable citizens called a tyrant, and you contributed vast sums of money to the murderers of your benefactor and against us, who were seeking to avenge him.

CHAP. I

He makes a public speech at Ephesus

5. "Now that just fortune has decided the war, not as you wished, but as was right, if we were to treat you as allies of our enemies we should be obliged to punish you. But as we are willing to believe that you were constrained to this course by necessity, we will release you from the heavier

CAP. I καὶ πόλεων ἐς τὰ νικητήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ, τέλη δέ ἐστιν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὁπλιτῶν, ἃ μετὰ τῶν συντασσομένων εἰσὶ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τούτων ἄνευθεν οἱ ἱππέες καὶ ἕτερος ὅμιλος ἑτέρου στρατοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρείας συνορᾶν δύνασθε. τὴν δὲ γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς διαδώσων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄπεισιν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ χρὴ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον εἰπεῖν, ἀναστήσων τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὑμᾶς δ', ἵνα μὴ γῆς καὶ πόλεων καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τάφων ἀνίστησθε, ἐς τὰ χρήματα ἐλογισάμεθα, οὐδὲ ἐς ἅπαντα (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δύναισθε), ἀλλὰ μέρος αὐτῶν καὶ βραχύτατον, ὃ καὶ πυθομένους ὑμᾶς ἀγαπήσειν οἴομαι. ἃ γὰρ ἔδοτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς ἐν ἔτεσι δύο (ἔδοτε δὲ φόρους δέκα ἐτῶν), ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἀρκέσει μόνα, ἀλλ' ἑνὶ ἔτει· ἐπείγουσι γὰρ αἱ χρεῖαι. συνεῖσι δὲ τῆς χάριτος ὑμῖν τοσοῦτον ἂν ἐπείποιμι, ὅτι μηδενὸς ἁμαρτήματος ἴσον ἐπιτίμιον ὁρίζεται."

6. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν τὴν χάριν περιφέρων, ὅτι, οἶμαι, τρία καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε ἐν Μουτίνῃ συνηλλάσσοντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ τάδε ὑπισχνοῦντο, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος αὐτὰ ἐς τοσοῦτον ὑπενηνόχει· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐρρίπτουν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνάγκην καὶ βίαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βρούτου καὶ Κασσίου γενομένας ἐπιλέγοντες οὐκ ἐπιτιμίων ἀξίας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐλέου, δύντες δ' ἂν τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἑκόντες ἀπορεῖν διὰ τοὺς πολεμίους, οἷς οὐ τὰ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ

penalty, but we need money and land and cities as rewards for our soldiers. There are twenty-eight legions of infantry which, with the auxiliaries, amount to upwards of 170,000 men, besides cavalry and various other arms of the service. The vast sum that we need for such a vast number of men you can easily imagine. Octavian has gone to Italy to provide them with the land and the cities—to expropriate Italy, if we must speak plainly. That we may not be under the necessity of expelling you from your lands, cities, houses, temples, and tombs, we have assessed you for contribution not of all that you have (for you could not pay that), but a part, a very small part, which when you learn it, I think you will cheerfully pay. For what you contributed to our enemies in two years (and you gave them the taxes of ten years in that time) will be quite sufficient for us; but it must be paid in one year, because we are pressed by necessity. As you are sensible of our leniency toward you, I will merely add that the penalty imposed is not equal to any one of your deserts." CHAP. I

6. Antony spoke thus of providing a donative for twenty-eight legions of infantry, whereas I think that they had forty-three legions when they came to their agreement at Mutina and made these promises, but the war had probably reduced them to this number. The Greeks, while he was still speaking, threw themselves upon the ground, declaring that they had been subjected to force and violence by Brutus and Cassius, and that they were deserving of pity, not of punishment; that they would willingly give to their benefactors, but that they had been stripped by their enemies, to whom they had de- Distress of the inhabitants

CAP. 1 σκεύη καὶ τοὺς κόσμους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων, τοὺς δὲ αὐτὰ παρὰ σφίσιν ἐς νόμισμα χαλκεῦσαι. καὶ τέλος παρακαλοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐννέα ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν ἔτεσι δύο. βασιλεῦσι δὲ καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐλευθέραις ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἑκάστων δύναμιν ἐπετάχθη.

7. Περιιόντι δ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη Λεύκιός τε ὁ Κασσίου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν δεδιότων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συγγνώμης ἐπύθοντο, ἱκέται προσῄεσαν. καὶ ἀπέλυε πάντας, πλὴν τοὺς συνεγνωκότας ἐπὶ φόνῳ Καίσαρος· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ μόνοις ἀδιάλλακτος ἦν. παρηγόρει δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μάλιστα δεινὰ παθούσας, Λυκίους μὲν ἀτελεῖς φόρων ἀφιεὶς καὶ Ξάνθου οἰκίζειν παραινῶν, Ῥοδίοις δὲ διδοὺς Ἄνδρον τε καὶ Τῆνον καὶ Νάξον καὶ Μύνδον, ἃς οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀφῃρέθησαν ὡς σκληρότερον ἄρχοντες. Λαοδικέας δὲ καὶ Ταρσέας ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ ἀτελεῖς φόρων· καὶ Ταρσέων τοὺς πεπραμένους ἀπέλυε τῆς δουλείας διατάγματι. Ἀθηναίοις δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσι μετὰ Τῆνον Αἴγιναν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἶκον καὶ Κέω καὶ Σκίαθον καὶ Πεπάρηθον. ἐπιπαριὼν δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Γαλάτας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Καππαδοκίαν τε καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Συρίαν τὴν κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουραίαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα γένη Σύρων, ἅπασιν ἐσφορὰς ἐπέβαλλε βαρείας καὶ διήτα πόλεσι καὶ βασιλεῦσιν, ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθῃ τε καὶ Σισίνῃ, ὧν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν, καλῆς οἱ φανείσης τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνου

livered not only their money, but, in default of money, their plate and their ornaments, and who had coined these things into money in their presence. Finally, they prevailed by their entreaties that the amount should be reduced to nine years' taxes, payable in two years. It was ordered that the kings, princes, and free cities should make additional contributions according to their means, respectively. CHAP. I

7. While Antony was making the circuit of the provinces Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, and some others, who feared for their own safety, when they heard of the pardon of Ephesus, presented themselves to him as suppliants. He released them all except those who had been privy to the murder of Caesar: to these alone he was inexorable. He gave relief to the cities that had suffered most severely. He released the Lycians from taxes altogether, and urged the rebuilding of Xanthus; he gave to the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus, which were taken from them not long afterward because they ruled them too harshly; he made Laodicea and Tarsus free cities and released them from taxes entirely, and those inhabitants of Tarsus who had been sold into slavery he liberated by an order. To the Athenians when they came to him to ask for Tenos he gave Aegina and Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos. Proceeding onward to Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Coele-Syria, Palestine, Ituraea, and the other provinces of Syria, he imposed heavy contributions on all, and acted as arbiter between kings and cities,—in Cappadocia, for example, between Ariarthes and Sisina, awarding the kingdom to Sisina on account of his mother, Glaphyra, who struck him as a beautiful woman. In Antony makes a tour of the eastern provinces

CAP. I Γλαφύρας· ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τυράννους.

8. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας ἐμέμψατο μὲν ὡς οὐ μετασχούσης τῶν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι πόνων· τῆς δὲ οὐκ ἀπολογουμένης μᾶλλον ἢ καταλογιζομένης αὐτοῖς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρὰ οἱ τέσσαρα τέλη πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν αὐτίκα πέμψειε, καὶ στόλον ἄλλον ἕτοιμον ἔχουσα κωλυθείη ὑπό τε ἀνέμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δολοβέλλα, ταχυτέρας ἥσσης τυχόντος, Κασσίῳ τε δὶς ἀπειλοῦντι μὴ συμμαχήσειε καὶ σφίσιν ἐκείνοις πολεμοῦσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον αὐτὴ τὸν στόλον ἔχουσα πλεύσειε μετὰ παρασκευῆς βαρυτάτης, οὔτε δείσασα Κάσσιον οὔτε φυλαξαμένη Μοῦρκον ναυλοχοῦντα, μέχρι χειμὼν τά τε ἄλλα διελυμήνατο καὶ αὐτὴν ἐς νόσον ἐνέβαλεν, ἧς δὴ χάριν οὐδ' ὕστερον ἐπαναχθῆναι νενικηκότων ἤδη, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τὴν σύνεσιν καταπλαγεὶς εὐθὺς αὐτῆς μειρακιωδῶς ἐαλώκει, καίπερ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς, λεγόμενος μὲν ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα ἀεὶ φῦναι, λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι, παῖδα ἔτι οὖσαν, ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Γαβινίῳ στρατεύοντι νέος ἱππαρχῶν εἵπετο.

9. Εὐθὺς οὖν Ἀντωνίῳ μὲν ἡ περὶ ἅπαντα τέως ἐπιμέλεια ἀθρόα ἠμβλύνετο, Κλεοπάτρα δ' ὅ τι προστάξειεν, ἐγίγνετο, οὐ διακριδὸν ἔτι περὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἢ δικαίων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Ἀρσινόην, ἱκέτιν οὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρυηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, πέμψας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνεῖλε, καὶ Σεραπίωνα, τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγὸν αὐτῆς,

Syria he delivered the cities from tyrants one after another. CHAP. I

8. Cleopatra came to meet him in Cilicia, and he blamed her for not sharing their labours in avenging Caesar. Instead of apologising she enumerated to him the things she had done, saying that she had sent the four legions that had been left with her to Dolabella forthwith, and that she had another fleet in readiness, but had been prevented from sending it by adverse winds and by the misfortune of Dolabella, whose defeat came suddenly; but that she did not lend assistance to Cassius, who had threatened her twice; that while the war was going on she had set sail for the Adriatic in person with a powerful fleet to assist them, in defiance of Cassius, and disregarding Murcus, who was lying in wait for her; but that a tempest shattered the fleet and prostrated herself with illness, for which reason she was not able to put to sea again till they had already gained their victory. Antony was amazed at her wit as well as her good looks, and became her captive as though he were a young man, although he was forty years of age. It is said that he was always very susceptible in this way, and that he had fallen in love with her at first sight long ago when she was still a girl and he was serving as master of horse under Gabinius at Alexandria. He meets Cleopatra in Cilicia and becomes her slave

9. Straightway Antony's former interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regardless of laws, human or divine. While her sister Arsinoe was a suppliant in the temple of Artemis Leucophryne at Miletus, Antony sent assassins thither and put her to death; and Scrapion, Cleopatra's prefect in Cyprus, who had assisted The murder of Arsinoe

CAP. I συμμαχήσαντα Κασσίῳ, Τυρίων ὄντα ἱκέτην, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Τυρίους ἐκδοῦναι τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἐκδοῦναι δὲ καὶ Ἀραδίους ἕτερον ἱκέτην, ὅν τινα, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀφανοῦς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Καίσαρα κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ναυμαχίᾳ γενομένου, οἱ Ἀράδιοι εἶχον λέγοντα Πτολεμαῖον εἶναι. καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα, ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται, ὑποδεξάμενόν ποτε τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασιλίδα ἀχθῆναι μὲν ἐκέλευσεν, Ἐφεσίων δ' αὐτὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἱκετευσάντων μεθῆκεν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνήλλακτο ταχέως, καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἔπειτα κακῶν ἐγένετο. ἀποπλευσάσης δὲ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἱππέας Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ὄντες ἐφόριοι ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον (ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων), ἔργῳ δ' ἐπινοῶν τοὺς ἱππέας περιουσιάσαι. Παλμυρηνῶν δὲ προμαθόντων καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετενεγκάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης, εἴ τις ἐπιχειροίη σκευασαμένων τόξοις, πρὸς ἃ πεφύκασιν ἐξαιρέτως, οἱ ἱππέες τὴν πόλιν κενὴν καταλαβόντες ὑπέστρεψαν, οὔτε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες οὔτε τι λαβόντες.

10. Καὶ δοκεῖ τόδε τὸ ἔργον Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν μετ' οὐ πολὺ Παρθυικὸν πόλεμον ἐξάψαι, πολλῶν ἐκ

Cassius and was now a suppliant at Tyre, Antony ordered the Tyrians to deliver to her. He commanded the Aradians to deliver up another suppliant, who when Ptolemy, the brother of Cleopatra, disappeared at the battle with Caesar on the Nile, said that he was Ptolemy, and whom the Arcadians now held. He ordered the priest of Artemis at Ephesus, whom they called the Megabyzus,[1] and who had once received Arsinoe as queen, to be brought before him, but in response to the supplications of the Ephesians, addressed to Cleopatra herself, released him. So swiftly was Antony transformed, and this passion was the beginning and the end of evils that afterwards befell him. When Cleopatra returned home Antony sent a cavalry force to Palmyra, situated not far from the Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusation against its inhabitants, that being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring the products of India and Arabia from Persia and dispose of them in the Roman territory; but in fact, Antony's intention was to enrich his horsemen. However, the Palmyreans were forewarned and they transported their property across the river, and, stationing themselves on the bank, prepared to shoot anybody who should attack them, for they are expert bowmen. The cavalry found nothing in the city. They turned round and came back, having met no foe, and empty-handed.

CHAP. 1

Unsuccessful attack upon Palmyra

10. It seems that this course on Antony's part caused the outbreak of the Parthian war not long afterward, as many of the rulers expelled from

[1] A title.

CAP. I Συρίας τυράννων ἐς αὐτοὺς συμφυγόντων. ἡ γὰρ Συρία μέχρι μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐβασιλεύετο, ὥς μοι περὶ Σύρων λέγοντι εἴρηται· Πομπηίου δ' αὐτὴν Ῥωμαίοις προσλαβόντος καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῇ Σκαῦρον ἀποδείξαντος, ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ Σκαῦρον ἔπεμψεν ἑτέρους καὶ Γαβίνιον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι πολεμήσαντα, ἐπὶ δὲ Γαβινίῳ Κράσσον τὸν ἐν Παρθυαίοις ἀποθανόντα καὶ Βύβλον ἐπὶ τῷ Κράσσῳ. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἄρα τελευτὴν καὶ στάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κατὰ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννων εἴχετο, συλλαμβανόντων τοῖς τυράννοις τῶν Παρθυαίων· ἐσέβαλον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν οἱ Παρθυαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν καὶ συνέπραξαν τοῖς τυράννοις. οὓς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξελαύνων ὑποφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐσφορὰς βαρυτάτας καὶ ἐς Παλμυρηνοὺς τάδε ἁμαρτών, οὐδ' ἐπέμεινε συστῆσαι τὴν χώραν θορυβουμένην, ἀλλὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διελὼν χειμάσοντα αὐτὸς ἐς Αἴγυπτον ᾔει πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν.

11. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπεδέχετο λαμπρῶς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ σημείων ἡγεμονίας, ἰδιώτου σχῆμα καὶ βίον ἔχων, εἶθ' ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τε ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, εἴτε τὴν χειμασίαν ὡς πανήγυριν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ φροντίδας ἀπετέθειτο καὶ ἡγεμόνων θεραπείαν, καὶ στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίου, καὶ ὑπόδημα ἦν αὐτῷ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ὃ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἔχουσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐς

Syria had taken refuge with the Parthians. Syria, until the reign of Antiochus Pius and his son, Antiochus, had been ruled by the descendants of Seleucus Nicator, as I have related in my Syrian history. Pompey added it to the Roman sway, and Scaurus was appointed praetor over it. After Scaurus the Senate sent others, including Gabinius, who made war against the Alexandrians, and after Gabinius, Crassus, who lost his life in the Parthian war, and after Crassus, Bibulus. At the time of Caesar's death and the intestine strife which followed, tyrants had possession of the cities one by one, and they were assisted by the Parthians, who made an irruption into Syria after the disaster to Crassus and co-operated with the tyrants. Antony drove out the latter, who took refuge in Parthia. He then imposed very heavy tribute on the masses and committed the outrage already mentioned against the Palmyreans, and did not wait for the disturbed country to become quiet, but distributed his army in winter quarters in the provinces, and himself went to Egypt to join Cleopatra.

CHAP. I

Antony goes to Egypt to join Cleopatra

11. She gave him a magnificent reception, and he spent the winter there without the insignia of his office and with the habit and mode of life of a private person, either because he was in a foreign jurisdiction, in a city under royal sway, or because he regarded his wintering as a festal occasion; for he even laid aside the cares and escort of a general, and wore the square-cut garment of the Greeks instead of the costume of his own country, and the white Attic shoe of the Athenian and Alexandrian priests, which they call the *phaecasium*. He went out only to the temples, the schools, and the discussions of the

CAP. I ἱερὰ ἢ γυμνάσια ἢ φιλολόγων διατριβὰς μόναι καὶ δίαιτα μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ᾗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἀνετίθει.

II

CAP. II 12. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντώνιον ἦν τοιάδε· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανιόντι ἥ τε νόσος αὖθις ἤκμαζεν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μάλιστα ἐπικινδύνως, καὶ φήμη διήνεγκεν αὐτὸν καὶ τεθνάναι. ῥαΐσας δ' ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τὰ γράμματα ἐδείκνυε τὰ Ἀντωνίου. οἱ δὲ Καληνόν τε προσέτασσον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δύο τέλη τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέστελλον Σεξστίῳ Λιβύης καὶ αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἀποστῆναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐποίουν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἁμαρτεῖν δόξαντι Λεπίδῳ Λιβύην ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐνήλλασσε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς προγραφαῖς δεδημευμένων διεπίπρασκε. καταλέγοντι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπινέμοντι δυσεργὲς ἦν. οἵ τε γὰρ στρατιῶται τὰς πόλεις ᾔτουν, αἳ αὐτοῖς ἀριστίνδην ἦσαν ἐπειλεγμέναι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἠξίουν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ἐπινείμασθαι τὸ ἔργον ἢ ἐν ἀλλήλαις διαλαχεῖν τῆς τε γῆς τὴν τιμὴν τοὺς δωρουμένους ᾔτουν, καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ συνιόντες ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην οἵ τε νέοι καὶ γέροντες ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅμα τοῖς παιδίοις, ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ τὰ ἱερά, ἐθρήνουν, οὐδὲν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι λέγοντες, Ἰταλιῶται δὲ ὄντες ἀνίστασθαι γῆς τε καὶ ἑστίας οἷα δορίληπτοι. ἐφ'

learned, and spent his time with Greeks, out of deference to Cleopatra, to whom his sojourn in Alexandria was wholly devoted. CHAP. I

II

12. Such was the state of affairs with Antony. As Octavian was journeying to Rome his illness became acute at Brundusium, and a rumour gained currency that he was dead. On his recovery he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavian the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. This was the course of the Antonians while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavian transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the conscriptions. The task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. For the soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valour, and the cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it; and there was no money. They came to Rome in crowds, young and old, women and children, to the forum and the temples, uttering lamentations, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, like people conquered in war. The CHAP. II

Octavian returns to Rome

Consternation among the Italians

CAP. II οἷς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι συνήχθοντο καὶ ἐπεδάκρυον, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ἐπι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας τόν τε πόλεμον γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια διδόμενα καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας συνισταμένας τοῦ μηδ' αὖθις ἀνακῦψαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν, παρῳκισμένων τοῖς ἄρχουσι μισθοφόρων ἑτοίμων, ἐς ὅ τι χρῄζοιεν.

13. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξελογεῖτο τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ ἐδόκουν οὐδ' ὡς ἀρκέσειν. οὐδ' ἤρκουν, ἀλλὰ ὁ στρατὸς καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπέβαινε σὺν ὕβρει, πλεονά τε τῶν διδομένων σφίσι περισπώμενοι καὶ τὸ ἄμεινον ἐκλεγόμενοι. οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήσσοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δωρουμένου πολλὰ ἄλλα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπαύοντο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς δεομένων σφῶν ἐς τὸ ἐγκρατὲς τῆς ἀρχῆς, κατεφρόνουν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ πενταετία παρῴδευε, καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡ χρεία συνῆγεν ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἀλλήλων, τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, τῷ στρατῷ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ὧν ἔλαβον, ἡ τῶν δεδωκότων ἀρχὴ παραμένουσα. ὡς γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ βεβαίως ἐπικρατήσοντες, εἰ μὴ βεβαίως ἄρχοιεν οἱ δόντες, ὑπερεμάχουν ἀπ' εὐνοίας ἀναγκαίου. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις αὐτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο, δανειζόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ. ὅθεν τὴν γνώμην ὁ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ πλείων ὑπήντα χάρις ὡς γῆν ἅμα καὶ πόλεις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκήματα δωρουμένῳ καὶ καταβοωμένῳ

Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not in behalf of the commonwealth, but against themselves and for a change of the form of government; that the colonies were established to the end that democracy should never again lift its head,—colonies composed of hirelings settled there by the rulers to be in readiness for whatever purpose they might be wanted. CHAP. II

13. Octavian explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbours in an insolent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands; nor did they cease even when Octavian rebuked them and made them numerous other presents, since they were contemptuous of their rulers in the knowledge that they needed them to confirm their power, for the five years' term of the triumvirate was passing away, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual security. The chiefs depended on the soldiers for the continuance of their government, while, for the possession of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the permanence of the government of those who had given it. Believing that they could not keep a firm hold unless the givers had a strong government, they fought for them, from necessity, with good-will. Octavian made many other gifts to the indigent soldiers, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him, and the greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, and as the

Confiscation and division of the land

CAP. II

μὲν ἐπιφθόνως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφαιρουμένων, φέροντι δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς χάριν τοῦ στρατοῦ.

14. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶν ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Λεύκιος Ἀντώνιος, ὑπατεύων τότε, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Φουλβία καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐπιτροπεύων τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Μάνιος, ἵνα μὴ Καίσαρος δόξειε τὸ ἔργον ἅπαν εἶναι μηδὲ μόνος αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀποφέροιτο μηδ' ἔρημος ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐνοίας στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, τὰς κατοικίσεις ἐτέχναζον ἐς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν Ἀντωνίου διατρίβειν. οὐ δυνατοῦ δὲ φαινομένου διὰ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπείγοντα, τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν ἠξίουν Καίσαρα παρὰ σφῶν λαβεῖν, τῆς μὲν συνθήκης Ἀντωνίου μόνῳ Καίσαρι διδούσης, ἐπιμεμφόμενοι δὲ ὡς οὐ παρόντι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ. καὶ ἐς τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοὶ τήν τε Φουλβίαν παράγοντες καὶ τὰ παιδία τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μάλα ἐπιφθόνως ἱκέτευον μὴ περιιδεῖν Ἀντώνιον ἢ δόξης ἢ χάριτος τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφαιρούμενον. ἤκμαζε δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε μάλιστα τὸ κλέος τὸ Ἀντωνίου καὶ παρὰ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Φιλίπποις διὰ τὴν τότε Καίσαρος ἀρρωστίαν ἅπαν ἡγοῦντο Ἀντωνίου γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἠγνόει μὲν ἀδικούμενος ἐς τὰ συγκείμενα, εἶξε δὲ ἐς χάριν Ἀντωνίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀντωνίου τέλεσιν ἀπέφαινον, οἱ δὲ οἰκισταὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἵνα τι καὶ δοκοῖεν εὐνούστεροι τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶναι, συνεχώρουν ἔτι πλέον ἀδικεῖν. ἄλλο δὴ πλῆθος ἦν ἑτέρων πόλεων, αἳ

object of denunciation on the part of the despoiled, and as one who bore this contumely for the army's sake. CHAP. II

14. Observing this, Lucius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was then consul, and Fulvia, the wife of Antony, and Manius, his procurator during his absence, resorted to artifices to delay the settlement of the colonies till Antony should return home, in order that it might not seem to be wholly the work of Octavian, and that he might not reap the thanks alone, and Antony be bereft of the favour of the soldiers. As this evidently could not be done, on account of the haste of the soldiers, they asked that Octavian should take the colony leaders of Antony's legions from Antony's own friends, although the agreement with Antony yielded the selection to Octavian exclusively; they made it a matter of complaint that Antony was not present. They themselves brought Fulvia and Antony's children before the soldiers, and, in terms such as would cause ill feeling, besought them not to forget Antony or allow him to be deprived of the glory or the gratitude due to his service to them. The fame of Antony was then at its height, not only among the soldiers, but among all others. The victory of Philippi was considered wholly due to him, on account of Octavian's illness. Although Octavian was not ignorant that it was a violation of the agreement, he yielded as a matter of favour to Antony, and appointed friends of the latter as colony leaders for Antony's legions. These leaders, in order that they might appear more favourable to the soldiers than Octavian was, allowed them to commit still greater outrages. So there was another multitude from another group

Beginning of trouble with Lucius Antonius

CAP. 11 ταῖς νενεμημέναις γειτονεύουσαί τε καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀδικούμενοι κατεβόων τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀδικωτέρας εἶναι τὰς ἀποικίσεις τῶν προγραφῶν· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐχθροῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι γίγνεσθαι.

15. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἠγνόει ἀδικουμένους. ἀμήχανα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ· οὔτε γὰρ ἀργύριον ἦν ἐς τιμὴν τῆς γῆς δίδοσθαι τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οὔτε ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὰ ἐπινίκια διὰ τοὺς ἔτι πολέμους, Πομπηίου μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κρατοῦντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κλείοντος ἐς λιμόν, Ἀηνοβάρβου δὲ καὶ Μούρκου στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς ἄλλας ἀγειρόντων ἀθυμοτέρων δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐσόμενα ὄντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρότερα ἐπινίκια λάβοιεν. πολὺ δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ παροδεύειν σφίσιν ἤδη τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς πενταετίαν καὶ χρῄζειν αὖθις εὐνοίας στρατοῦ· διύπερ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως ἢ καταφρονήσεως ἐν τῷ τότε ἑκὼν ὑπερεώρα. ἔν γέ τοι τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρόντος αὐτοῦ, στρατιώτης ἀπορῶν οἰκείας ἕδρας παρῆλθεν ἐς τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας· καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐπεσημήνατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν στρατιώτην ἀνέστησεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἠγανάκτησε καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τοῦ θεάτρου τὸν στρατιώτην ἀπῄτουν, οὐχ ὁρώμενον ἡγούμενοι διεφθάρθαι. ἐπελθόντα δὲ ἐνόμιζον ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου νῦν προαχθῆναι

of communities, neighbours of the dispossessed ones, suffering many injuries at the hands of the soldiers, and crying out against Octavian, saying that the colonisation was worse than the proscription, since the latter was directed against foes, while the former was against unoffending persons.[1] CHAP. II

Outrages committed by the soldiers

15. Octavian knew that these citizens were suffering injustice, but he was without means to prevent it, for there was no money to pay the value of the land to the cultivators, nor could the rewards to the soldiers be postponed, on account of the enemies who were still on foot. Pompeius ruled the sea and was reducing the city to famine by cutting off supplies: Ahenobarbus and Murcus were collecting a new fleet and army: the soldiers would be less zealous in the future if they were not paid for their former service. It was a matter of much importance that the five years' term of office was running out, and that the good-will of the soldiers was needed to renew it, for which reason he was willing to overlook for the time being their insolence and arrogance. Once in the theatre when he was present, a soldier, not finding his own seat, went and took one in the place reserved for the knights. The people pointed him out and Octavian had him removed. The soldiers were angry. They gathered around Octavian as he was going away from the theatre and demanded their comrade, for, as they did not see him, they thought that he had been put to death. When he was produced before them they supposed that he had been brought from prison, but he denied that he had been imprisoned and related

Octavian powerless to prevent them.

[1] Among the dispossessed were the poets, Vergil, Horace, Tibullus, and Propertius.

CAP. 11 ἀρνούμενόν τε καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διηγούμενον ψεύδεσθαι διδαχθέντα ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν ὡς τὰ κοινὰ προδιδόντα· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γενόμενον τοιόνδε ἦν.

16. Κεκλημένοι δ' ἐπὶ νέμησιν τότε γῆς ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἄρειον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀφίκοντο, καὶ βραδύτερον αὐτοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιόντος ἠγανάκτουν. Νώνιος δὲ λοχαγὸς ἐπέπλησσεν αὐτοῖς σὺν παρρησίᾳ, τό τε πρέπον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸν ἄρχοντα προφέρων καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος ἀσθένειαν, οὐχ ὑπεροψίαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἔσκωπτον ὡς κόλακα, πλέονος δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ διερεθίσματος γενομένου ἐλοιδόρουν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον καὶ φεύγοντα ἐδίωκον ἔς τε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξαλόμενον ἐξειρύσαντες ἔκανον καὶ ἔρριψαν, ἔνθα παροδεύσειν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι τῷ Καίσαρι παρῄνουν μηδὲ ἐπελθεῖν ἐς αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκστῆναι μανιώδει φορᾷ. ὁ δ' ἐπῄει μέν, ἀναθρέψειν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἡγούμενος τὸ μανιῶδες, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ τὸν Νώνιον ἰδὼν ἐξέκλινεν, ὡς δὲ ὀλίγων ταῦτα δρασάντων ἐπεμέμφετο καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀλλήλων φείδεσθαι παρῄνει καὶ τὴν γῆν διένεμε, καὶ δωρεὰς αἰτεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπέτρεπε καὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων ἐνίοις ἐδίδου παρὰ γνώμην, μέχρι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκπλαγὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς

what had taken place. They said that he had been instructed to tell a lie and reproached him for betraying their common interests. Such was the example of their insolence in the theatre.[1] CHAP. II

16. Having been called, about that time, to the Campus Martius for a division of the land, they came in haste while it was still night, and they grew angry because Octavian delayed his coming. Nonius, a centurion, chided them with considerable freedom, urging decent treatment of the commander by the commanded, and saying that the cause of the delay was Octavian's illness, not any disregard of them. They first jeered at him as a sycophant; then, as the excitement waxed hot on both sides, they reviled him, threw stones at him, and pursued him when he fled. Finally he plunged into the river and they pulled him out and killed him and threw his body into the road where Octavian was about to pass along. So the friends of Octavian advised him not to go among them, but to keep out of the way of their mad career. But he went forward, thinking that their madness would be augmented if he did not come. When he saw the body of Nonius he turned aside. Then, assuming that the crime had been committed by a few, he chided them and advised them to exercise forbearance toward each other hereafter, and proceeded to divide the land. He allowed the meritorious ones to ask for rewards, and he gave to some who were not meritorious, contrary to their expectation. Finally the crowd were confounded; they repented and were ashamed of their

The murder of Nonius

[1] Suetonius (*Aug.* 14) relates this incident in the theatre. He says that Octavian narrowly escaped with his life, and was saved only by the sudden appearance of the man safe and sound.

CAP. II βαρύτητος μετενύει καὶ ἠδεῖτο καὶ κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸν Νώνιον ἁμαρτόντας ἠξίουν ἀνευρόντα κολάσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη καὶ κολάσειν αὐτῷ τῷ συνειδότι σφῶν μόνῳ καὶ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν καταγνώσει. οἱ δὲ συγγνώμης τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθέντες εὐθὺς αὐτὸν εὐφήμουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.

17. Καὶ δύο μὲν εἰκόνες ἐκ πλεόνων αἵδε ἔστων τῆς τότε δυσαρχίας· αἴτιον δ' ἦν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀχειροτόνητοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ὡς ἐν ἐμφυλίοις καὶ οἱ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν ἐκ καταλόγου συνήγοντο οὐδ' ἐπὶ χρείᾳ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲ τῷ δημοσίῳ στρατευόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς συνάγουσιν αὐτοὺς μόνοις, οὐδὲ τούτοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκῃ νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑποσχέσεσιν ἰδίαις, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους κοινούς, ἀλλὰ ἰδίους ἐχθρούς, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ξένους, ἀλλὰ πολίτας καὶ ὁμοτίμους. τάδε γὰρ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατιωτικὸν φόβον ἐξέλυεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι νομίζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ βοηθεῖν οἰκείᾳ χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἡγουμένοις ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιδεῖσθαι. τό τε αὐτομολεῖν, πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀδιάλλακτον ὄν, τότε καὶ δωρεῶν ἠξιοῦτο· καὶ ἔπρασσον αὐτὸ οἵ τε στρατοὶ κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔνιοι, νομίζοντες οὐκ αὐτομολίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐς τὰ ὅμοια μεταβολήν. ὅμοια γὰρ δὴ πάντα ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἕτερα αὐτῶν ἐς ἔχθραν κοινὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἀπεκέκριτο· ἥ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὑπόκρισις μία, ὡς ἁπάντων ἐς τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι βοηθούντων, εὐχερεστέρους ἐποίει πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν

importunity ; they condemned themselves and asked him to search out and punish the slayers of Nonius. He replied that he knew them and would punish them only with their own guilty consciences and the condemnation of their comrades. The soldiers, thus honoured with pardon, rewards, and gifts, changed at once to joyful acclamations. CHAP. II

17. Let these two instances out of many serve as examples of the prevailing insubordination. The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen ; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country ; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together ; and that they served these not by the force of law, but by reason of private promises ; not against the common enemy, but against private foes ; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favour and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made desertion easy in the thought that Insubordination and desertion and the causes thereof

CAP. II ὡς πανταχοῦ τῇ πατρίδι βοηθοῦντας. ἃ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνιέντες ἔφερον, ὡς οὐ νόμῳ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντες ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς.

III

CAP. III 18. Οὕτω μὲν ἐς στάσεις τότε πάντα, καὶ ἐς δυσαρχίαν τοῖς στασιάρχοις τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐτέτραπτο, τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῆς θαλάσσης τι αὐτοῖς φερούσης διὰ Πομπήιον, οὔτε τῆς Ἰταλίας διὰ τοὺς πολέμους γεωργουμένης. ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοὺς στρατοὺς ἐδαπανᾶτο. ἐκλώπευόν τε οἱ πολλοὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κλοπῆς ἔτι βιαιότερον ἠνώχλουν, καὶ ἠνώχλουν ἀδεῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφέρετο. ὁ δὲ λεὼς ἀπέκλειε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξανίστη, ὡς οὔτε ἀρχῶν οὔτε τεχνῶν χρῄζοντες ἐν ἀπορούσῃ καὶ λῃστευομένῃ πόλει.

19. Λευκίῳ δὲ ὄντι δημοτικῷ καὶ δυσχεραίνοντι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ παύσεσθαι νομιζομένῃ, προσκρούσματα ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγίγνετο καὶ διαφοραὶ μείζους· τούς τε γεωργούς, ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἀφῃροῦντο, ἱκέτας γιγνομένους τῶν δυνατῶν ἑκάστου μόνος ὑπεδέχετο καὶ βοηθήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο, κἀκείνων ὑπισχνουμένων ἀμυνεῖν, ἐς ὃ κελεύοι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ἀντωνίου κατεμέμφετο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἀντιπράσσοντα Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ Φουλβία ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα ἐν

one could serve his country in any party. Understanding these facts the generals tolerated this behaviour, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law. CHAP. II

III

18. Thus, everything was torn in factions, and the armies indulged in insubordination toward the leaders of the factions, while famine began to afflict Rome, the supplies by sea being cut off by Pompeius, and Italian agriculture ruined by the wars. Whatever food was produced was consumed by the troops. Most of them committed robberies by night in the city. There were acts of violence worse than robbery which went unpunished, and these were supposed to have been committed by soldiers. The people closed their shops and drove the magistrates from their places as though there were no need of courts of justice, or of the useful arts, in a city oppressed by hunger and infested with brigands. CHAP. III Famine in Rome

19. Lucius Antonius, who was a republican and ill affected toward the triumvirate, which seemed not likely to come to an end at the appointed time, fell into controversy, and even graver differences, with Octavian. He alone received kindly, and promised aid to the agriculturists who had been deprived of their lands and who were now the suppliants of every man of importance; and they promised to carry out his orders. So Antony's soldiers, and Octavian also, blamed him for working against Antony's interests, and Fulvia blamed him for stirring up war at an inopportune time, until Manius Lucius Antonius espouses the cause of the citizens

CAP. III

ἀκαίρῳ, μέχρι τὴν Φουλβίαν ὁ Μάνιος πανούργως μετεδίδαξεν ὡς εἰρηνευομένης μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιμενεῖν Ἀντώνιον Κλεοπάτρᾳ, πολεμουμένης δ' ἀφίξεσθαι κατὰ τάχος. τότε γὰρ δὴ γυναικός τι παθοῦσα ἡ Φουλβία τὸν Λεύκιον ἐπέτριβεν ἐς τὴν διαφοράν. ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κατοικίσεων, ἔπεμπεν ἐψομένους αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας ἅμα τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ στρατῷ πλέον ἔχοι. ἱππέων δὲ Καίσαρος ἐκτρεχόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττίων ἠιόνα, πορθουμένην ὑπὸ Πομπηίου, δόξας ὁ Λεύκιος ἢ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀντωνίου παῖδας τόδε τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀπεστάλθαι, διέδραμεν ἐς τὰς Ἀντωνίου κατοικίας, συλλεγόμενος φρουρὰν τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλεν ἐς ἀπιστίαν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεδίδασκεν αὐτούς, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πάντα εἶναι φίλια καὶ κοινά, Λεύκιον δὲ ὑφ' ἑτέρας γνώμης αὐτοὺς πολεμοποιεῖν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀντιπράσσοντα τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ, δι' ἣν οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὰς ἀποικίας ἔχουσι βεβαίους· καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἐν Βρεττίοις τὰ ἐντεταλμένα φυλάσσοντας.

20. Ὧν οἱ ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ πυνθανόμενοι διῄτησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν Τεανῷ καὶ συνήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους τὰ πάτρια διοικεῖν μὴ κωλυομένους ὑπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν, μηδενὶ δὲ γῆν ὑπὲρ τοὺς στρατευσαμένους ἐν Φιλίπποις ἐπινέμεσθαι, τά τε χρήματα τῶν δεδημευμένων καὶ τιμὰς τῶν ἔτι πιπρασκομένων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν Ἀντωνίου τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπ' ἴσης διανέ-

maliciously changed her mind by telling her that as long as Italy remained at peace Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if war should break out there he would come back speedily. Then Fulvia, moved by a woman's jealousy, incited Lucius to discord. While Octavian was leading out the last of the colonies she sent the children of Antony, together with Lucius, to follow him, so that he should not acquire too great éclat with the army by being seen alone. A body of Octavian's cavalry made an expedition to the coast of Bruttium, which Pompeius was ravaging, and Lucius either thought or pretended to think that it had been sent against himself and Antony's children. Accordingly, he betook himself to the Antonian colonies to collect a body-guard, and accused Octavian to the soldiers as being treacherous to Antony. Octavian replied that everything was on a friendly and harmonious footing between himself and Antony, and that Lucius was trying to stir up a war between them for another reason, in that he was working against the triumvirate, by virtue of which the soldiers had a firm hold upon their colonies, and that the cavalry were now in Bruttium executing the triumvirate's orders. CHAP. III

20. When the officers of the army learned these facts, they arbitrated between Lucius and Octavian at Teanum and brought them to an agreement on the following terms: That the consuls should exercise their office in the manner of the fathers and not be hindered by the triumvirs; that the land should be assigned only to those who fought at Philippi; that of the money derived from confiscated property, and of the value of that which was still to be sold, Antony's soldiers in Italy should have an equal share; An arbitration between Lucius and Octavian

CAP. III

μεσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἔτι καταλέγειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, στρατεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ Πομπήιον τῷ Καίσαρι δύο συμμαχεῖν τέλη παρὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἀνεῷχθαι δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος πεμπομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ μὴ κωλύειν αὐτοὺς ἔτι Ἀσίνιον Πολλίωνα, Λεύκιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνηλλαγμένον ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολιτεύειν ἀδεῶς. τάδε μὲν ἦν, ἃ συνέθεντο ἀλλήλοις διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπράχθη γε μὴν αὐτῶν δύο μόνα τὰ τελευταῖα· καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἄκων αὐτῷ συμπεριῆλθε τὰς Ἄλπεις.

21. Οὐ γιγνομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ βραδυνόντων, ἐς Πραινεστὸν ἀνεχώρει Λεύκιος, δεδιέναι λέγων Καίσαρα διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν δορυφορούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀφρούρητος ὤν. ἀνεχώρει δὲ καὶ Φουλβία πρὸς Λέπιδον, ἤδη λέγουσα περὶ τοῖς τέκνοις δεδιέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος προυτίθει. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐγράφετο παρ' ἑκατέρων Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ φίλοι μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπέμποντο, οἳ διδάξειν ἔμελλον περὶ ἑκάστων. καὶ οὐχ εὗρον ἐρευνώμενος, ὅ τι σαφῶς ἀντεγράφετο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ἡγεμόνες συνομόσαντες κρινεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὖθις, ὃ δοκοίη δίκαιον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐς αὐτὸ συναναγκάσειν, ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον. οὐ δεξαμένων δ' ἐκείνων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιφθόνως αὐτοὺς ἔν τε τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστοις ἐπεμέμφετο. οἱ

that neither Antony nor Octavian should draw soldiers from Italy by conscription hereafter; that two of Antony's legions should serve with Octavian in the campaign against Pompeius; that the passes of the Alps should be opened to the forces sent by Octavian into Spain, and that Asinius Pollio should not further interfere with them; that Lucius should be satisfied with those conditions, should dispense with his body-guard, and administer his office fearlessly. Such was the agreement which they made with each other through the influence of the officers of the army. Of these only the two last were carried into effect, Salvidienus crossing the Alps with him, but unwillingly. CHAP. III

21. As the other conditions were not carried into effect, or were delayed, Lucius departed to Praeneste, saying that he was in fear of Octavian, who, by virtue of his office, had a guard, while he himself was unprotected. Fulvia went there to meet Lepidus, saying now that she had fears for her children. She used him for a pretext this time instead of Octavian. Both of them wrote these things to Antony, and friends were sent to him with the letters, who were to give him particulars about each complaint. Although I have searched, I have not been able to find any clear account of what Antony wrote in reply. The officers of the armies bound themselves by an oath to act as umpires again between their magistrates, to decide what was right, and to coerce whichever should refuse to obey the decision; and they summoned Lucius and his friends to attend for this purpose. These refused to come, and Octavian reproached them in invidious terms to the officers of the army and in the presence of the optimates of

CAP. III δὲ ἐξέθεον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον καὶ παρεκάλουν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, δέξασθαι δὲ κοινῷ νόμῳ τὴν κρίσιν ἢ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γενέσθαι.

22. Αἰδουμένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκίου τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὁ Μάνιος μάλα θρασέως ἔφη τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ χρήματα μόνα ἀγείρειν ἐν ξένοις ἀνδράσι, τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τὰ ἐπίκαιρα τῆς Ἰταλίας ταῖς θεραπείαις προκαταλαμβάνειν· τήν τε γὰρ Κελτικὴν Ἀντωνίῳ πρότερον δεδομένην ἐλευθεροῦν μετ' ἐξαπάτης Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀντὶ μόνων ὀκτωκαίδεκα πόλεων τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις καταγράφειν, τέσσαρσί τε καὶ τριάκοντα τέλεσιν ἀντὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν συμμαχησάντων ἐπινέμειν οὐ γῆν μόνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρήματα, συλλέγοντα μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον, ἐφ' ὃν οὐδέ πω παρατάττεται λιμωττούσης ὧδε τῆς πόλεως, διαιροῦντα δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς ἐς θεραπείαν κατὰ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τὰ δεδημευμένα οὐ πιπράσκοντα μᾶλλον ἢ δωρούμενον αὐτοῖς. χρῆναι δέ, εἰ τῷ ὄντι εἰρηνεύειν ἐθέλοι, τῶν μὲν ἤδη διῳκημένων ὑποσχεῖν λόγον, ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον, ἃ ἂν κοινῇ βουλευομένοις δοκῇ, μόνα πράσσειν. οὕτω μὲν θρασέως ὁ Μάνιος ἠξίου μήτε τὸν Καίσαρά τινος εἶναι κύριον ἔργου μήτε τὴν Ἀντωνίου συνθήκην βέβαιον, ὡρισμένου τῶν ἐγκεχειρισμένων ἑκάτερον αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ τὸ

Rome. The latter hastened to Lucius and implored him to have pity on the city and on Italy, torn by the civil wars, and to consent that by common agreement the decision should rest with themselves or with the officers. CHAP. III

22. Although Lucius had respect for the speakers and for what they said, Manius boldly declared that while Antony was doing nothing but collecting money from foreigners, Octavian was, by his favours, preoccupying the affections of the army and the desirable places in Italy ; for that defrauding Antony he had freed Cisalpine Gaul, which had previously been given to Antony ; that he had assigned to the soldiers almost the whole of Italy instead of the eighteen cities ; that, instead of the twenty-eight legions that had participated in the battle, he had admitted thirty-four to a share of the lands and also of the money from the temples, which he had collected on the pretext of fighting Pompeius, against whom he had done nothing as yet, although the city was oppressed by famine ; that he had distributed this money in order to curry favour with the soldiers, to the prejudice of Antony, and that the property of the proscribed had been not so much sold as given to the soldiers outright ; and, finally, that if he really wanted peace he should give his account for what he had already done, and for the future do only what should be agreed upon in common. Thus arrogantly did Manius proclaim his views, implying that Octavian could not do anything by his own authority and that his agreement with Antony was of no validity, although it provided that each should have absolute power over the affairs committed to him, and that each should ratify what The trouble breaks out afresh

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πρασσόμενον ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων εἶναι κύριον. πανταχόθεν οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑώρα πολεμησείοντας αὐτούς, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι.

23. Δύο δὲ στρατοῦ τέλη τὰ ἐς Ἀγκῶνα πόλιν ᾠκισμένα, Καίσαρί τε ὄντα πατρῷα καὶ ἐστρατευμένα Ἀντωνίῳ, τῆς τε ἰδίας παρασκευῆς αὐτῶν πυθόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς ἑκάτερον σφῶν οἰκειότητα αἰδούμενοι, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οἳ ἔμελλον ἑκατέρων ἐς διαλύσεις δεήσεσθαι. Καίσαρος δ' αὐτοῖς εἰπόντος οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Λευκίου πολεμεῖσθαι, συμβαλόντες οἱ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ, κοινῇ πάντες ἐς Λεύκιον ἐπρέσβευον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐς δίκην Καίσαρι συνελθεῖν· δῆλοί τε ἦσαν, ὃ πράξειν ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ τὴν κρίσιν ὑποδέχοιτο. δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον, χωρίον τε ὥριστο τῇ δίκῃ Γάβιοι πόλις ἐν μέσῳ Ῥώμης τε καὶ Πραινεστοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἐγίνετο καὶ βήματα ἐν μέσῳ δύο τοῖς ἐροῦσιν ὡς ἐν δίκῃ. πρότερος δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλθὼν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὴν πάροδον τοῦ Λευκίου, ἐρευνησομένους ἄρα, μή τίς πωθεν ὁρῷτο ἐνέδρα. καὶ οἱ ἱππέες οἵδε ἑτέροις ἱππεῦσι τοῦ Λευκίου, προδρόμοις ἄρα ἢ καὶ τοῖσδε κατασκόποις, συμβαλόντες ἔκτειναν τινας αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀνεχώρησε δείσας ὁ Λεύκιος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐπιβουλήν· καλούμενός τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ, παραπέμψειν αὐτὸν ὑπισχνουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπείθετο.

24. Οὕτω μὲν ἦσαν αἱ διαλύσεις ἄπρακτοι, καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκεσαν καὶ διαγράμμασιν ἤδη πικροῖς

was done by the other. When Octavian saw that they were everywhere preparing for war, each side made similar preparations. CHAP III Preparations for war

23. Two legions of the army which had been colonised at Ancona and which had served under the elder Caesar and under Antony, hearing of the respective preparations for war, and being moved by friendship for each of them, sent ambassadors to Rome to beseech them both to come to an agreement. Octavian replied that he was not making war against Antony, but that Lucius was making war against him. The ambassadors then united with the officers of this army in a common embassy to Lucius asking him to submit his controversy with Octavian to a tribunal; and they made it plain what they would do if he should not accept the decision. Lucius and his friends accepted the proposal, and fixed the place for the trial at Gabii, a city midway between Rome and Praeneste. A council-chamber was prepared for the arbiters, and two platforms for the speakers in the centre, as in a regular trial. Octavian, who arrived first, sent some horsemen along the road by which Lucius was to come, in order to find out whether any stratagem was discoverable. These met certain horsemen of Lucius, either his advance guard or men spying like the others, and as the two parties came into collision killed some of them. Lucius retreated, saying that he was afraid of being entrapped, and, although recalled by the officers of the army, who promised to escort him, he could not be persuaded to come again. Another arbitration proposed

24. Thus the negotiations came to nothing, and Octavian and Lucius resolved upon war and issued proclamations even now full of bitterness against each The negotiations are fruitless

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κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐχρῶντο. στρατὸς δὲ ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ὁπλιτῶν ἓξ τέλη, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐλθὼν ἐστράτευσε, καὶ τὰ Ἀντωνίου ἔνδεκα ἕτερα, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Καληνός, σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν· Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν μὲν Καπύῃ τέσσαρα ἦν τέλη, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ στρατηγίδες, ἓξ δὲ ἕτερα Σαλουιδιηνὸς ἦγεν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας. καὶ χρήματα ἦν Λευκίῳ μὲν ἐξ ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ πολεμουμένων, Καίσαρι δέ, ἃ εἰλήχει, πάντα χωρὶς Σαρδοῦς ἐπολεμεῖτο, ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδανείζετο, σὺν χάριτι ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀπό τε Ῥώμης ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουβίου καὶ Νεμοῦς καὶ Τίβυρος, ἐν αἷς μάλιστα πόλεσι καὶ νῦν εἰσι θησαυροὶ χρημάτων ἱερῶν δαψιλεῖς.

25. Τετάρακτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔξω. Πομπήιος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν προγραφῶν καὶ κατοικίσεων τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς Λευκίου διαφορᾶς ἐπὶ μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἦρτο. οἱ γὰρ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες ἢ τὰ ὄντα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἢ τὴν πολιτείαν ὅλως ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐχώρουν μάλιστα· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη νεότης ὡρμημένη στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὰ κέρδη καὶ οὐδὲν ἡγούμενοι διαφέρειν, ὑφ' ὅτῳ στρατεύσονται, Ῥωμαίοις παντα χοῦ συστρατευόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρουν ὡς δικαιότερα αἱρούμενον. γεγένητό τε πλούσιος ἐκ τῆς θαλασσίου λείας καὶ ναῦς εἶχε πολλὰς καὶ πληρώματα ἐντελῆ. Μοῦρκός τε ἀφῖκτο αὐτῷ δύο ἄγων στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ

other. The army of Lucius consisted of six legions of infantry, which he commanded by virtue of his consulship, and eleven others belonging to Antony, which were under the command of Calenus; these were all in Italy. Octavian had four legions at Capua and his praetorian cohorts about his person. Salvidienus was leading six other legions to Spain.[1] Lucius had supplies of money from Antony's provinces where peace prevailed. But war was raging in all the provinces that had fallen to the lot of Octavian except Sardinia,[2] for which reason he borrowed money from the temples, promising to return it with thanks—from the Capitoline temple at Rome, from those of Antium, of Lanuvium, of Nemus,[3] and of Tibur, in which cities there are to-day the most abundant stores of consecrated money. CHAP. III

Growing power of Sextus Pompeius

25. The affairs of Octavian were in disorder outside of Italy also. For Pompeius, by reason of the proscription, the colonising of the soldiers, and these dissensions with Lucius, had gained much in reputation and power. Those who feared for their safety, or had been despoiled of their property, or who utterly abhorred the form of government, mostly went and joined him. Young men, also, eager for military service for the sake of gain, who thought that it made no difference under whom they served, since all service was Roman service, rather preferred to join Pompeius as representing the better cause. He had become rich by sea-robbery and had a numerous fleet and full crews. Murcus joined him with two legions of soldiers, 500 archers, a large

[1] The text says "*from* Spain," but this is obviously an error, perhaps Appian's own. See c. 27 below.

[2] There is perhaps a gap in the text here. [3] Near Aricia.

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ναῦς ὀγδοήκοντα· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ἐκ Κεφαληνίας μετεπέμπετο. ὅθεν τισὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν εὐμαρῶς ἂν τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῆσαι, ὑπό τε λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως διεφθαρμένης καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀφορώσης.

26. Ἀλλὰ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀμύνεσθαι μόνον ἐδόκει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦδε ἥσσων ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ Σέξστιος, ὕπαρχος Ἀντωνίου, παρεδεδώκει μὲν ἄρτι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπὸ Λευκίου κεκελευσμένος, Φάγγωνι τῷ Καίσαρος, ἐπισταλὲν αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι τῷ Φάγγωνι ἐπολέμει, συναγαγών τινας τῶν ἀπεστρατευμένων καὶ Λιβύων πλῆθος ἄλλο καὶ ἑτέρους παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἡττηθέντων δὲ τῶν κερῶν ἑκατέρων καὶ ληφθέντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὁ Φάγγων ἡγούμενος ἐκ προδοσίας τάδε παθεῖν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο. καὶ Λιβύης μὲν αὖθις ὁ Σέξστιος ἑκατέρας ἐκράτει· Βόκχον δὲ τὸν Μαυρουσίων βασιλέα Λεύκιος ἔπεισε πολεμεῖν Καρρίνᾳ τῷ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντι τῷ Καίσαρι. Ἀηνόβαρβός τε ἑβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ στρατοῦ δύο τέλεσι καὶ τοξόταις καὶ σφενδονήταις τισὶ καὶ ψιλοῖς καὶ μονομάχοις περιπλέων τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐπόρθει τὰ τοῖς τρισὶν ἀνδράσιν ὑπήκοα, ἔς τε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπιπλεύσας τῶν Καίσαρος τριήρων τὰς μὲν εἶλε, τὰς δὲ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τοὺς Βρεντεσίους ἐς τὰ τείχη κατέκλεισε καὶ τὴν χώραν προυνόμευεν.

27. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον στρατιωτῶν τέλος ἔπεμπε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνὸν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ὁδοῦ μετεκάλει. τούς τε στρατολογήσοντας σφίσιν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ

sum of money, and eighty ships; he also sent for the other army from Cephallenia. Accordingly, some persons think that if Pompeius had then invaded Italy, which was wasted with famine and civil strife, and was looking for him, he might easily have mastered it. CHAP. III

26. But Pompeius lacked wisdom. His idea was not to invade, but only to defend, and this he did till he failed in that also. In Africa Sextius, Antony's lieutenant, had just delivered his army, in pursuance of an order from Lucius, to Fango, a lieutenant of Octavian. He was ordered to resume the command, and as Fango would not relinquish it he collected a force composed of retired veterans, a miscellaneous crowd of Africans, and auxiliaries of the native princes, and made war on him. Fango, having been defeated on both wings and having lost his camp, thought that he had been betrayed, and committed suicide; and Sextius again became master of the two African provinces. Bocchus, king of Mauretania, at the instance of Lucius, made war on Carinas, who was Octavian's procurator in Spain. Ahenobarbus, who was patrolling the Adriatic with seventy ships, two legions of soldiers, and a force of archers and slingers, light-armed troops and gladiators, devastated the regions subject to the triumvirs. He sailed against Brundusium, captured some of the triremes of Octavian, burned others, shut the inhabitants up in their walls, and plundered their territory. Affairs in Africa

27. Octavian sent a legion of soldiers to Brundusium and hastily recalled Salvidienus from his march to Spain. Both Octavian and Lucius sent recruiting officers throughout Italy, who had skir- Beginning of hostilities

CAP. III Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος περιέπεμπον· πεῖραί τε τούτων τῶν ξεναγῶν ἦσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους βραχύτεραι καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐνέδραι πολλάκις. ἡ δὲ εὔνοια τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὡς ὑπὲρ σφῶν τοῖς κληρουχουμένοις πολεμοῦντα. καὶ οὐχ αἱ καταγραφόμεναι τῷ στρατῷ πόλεις ἔτι μόναι, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰταλία σχεδὸν ἅπασα ἀνίστατο, φοβουμένη τὰ ὅμοια· τούς τε τῷ Καίσαρι κιχραμένους ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἐκβάλλοντες ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἢ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰ τείχη σφῶν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν. ἐχώρουν δὲ καὶ οἱ κατοικιζόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐς οἰκεῖον ἤδη πόλεμον ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἑκάτεροι διαρούμενοι.

28. Καὶ τῶνδε γιγνομένων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὅμως ἔτι τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν ὧδε· "καταγινώσκομαι μέν, εὖ οἶδα, ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λεύκιον, οὐκ ἀμυνόμενος αὐτούς, εἰς ἀσθένειαν ἢ ἀτολμίαν, ἃ καὶ νῦν μου καταγνώσονται διὰ τήνδε τὴν σύνοδον ὑμῶν· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔρρωται μὲν ὁ στρατός, ὅσος τέ μοι συναδικεῖται τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀφαιρούμενος ὑπὸ Λευκίου καὶ ὁ ἄλλος, ὃν ἔχω, ἔρρωται δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τῆς γνώμης μόνης. οὐ γὰρ ἡδύ μοι πολεμεῖν ἐμφυλίους πολέμους χωρὶς ἀνάγκης βαρείας, οὐδὲ καταχρῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἔτι λοιποῖς κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐμφυλίου οὐκ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὑμῖν ἢ Θράκης ἀκουσθησομένου, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γενησομένου, ἣν πόσα χρὴ χωρὶς τῶν ἀπολλυμένων ἀνδρῶν κακοπαθῆσαι, γιγνομένην στάδιον ἡμῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ὀκνῶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μαρτύρομαι μηδὲν

mishes with each other of more or less importance, and frequent ambuscades. The good-will of the Italians was of great service to Lucius, as they believed that he was fighting for them against the new colonists. Not only the cities that had been designated for the army, but almost the whole of Italy, rose, fearing like treatment. They drove out of the towns, or killed, those who were borrowing money from the temples for Octavian, manned their walls, and joined Lucius. On the other hand, the colonised soldiers joined Octavian. Each one in both parties took sides as though this were his own war. CHAP. III

28. Though these events were taking place, Octavian nevertheless convoked the Senate and the equestrian order and addressed them as follows: "I know very well that I am accused by Lucius and his friends of weakness and want of courage because I do not fight them, and that I shall be still further accused on account of my calling you together. But I have strong forces who have suffered wrong in common with me, both those who have been dispossessed of their colonies by Lucius and the others whom I have in hand; and I am strong in all other respects except only in the purpose to fight. I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity, or of wasting the remainder of our citizens in conflicts with each other; least of all in this civil war, whose horrors will not be announced to us from Macedonia or Thrace, but will take place in Italy itself, which, if it becomes the field of battle, must suffer countless evils in addition to the loss of life. For these reasons I hesitate. And now I do still protest Octavian seeks peace

CAP. III

ἀδικεῖν Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἀντωνίου· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐλέγξαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Λεύκιον τάδε δι' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλάξαι μοι παρακαλῶ. καὶ εἰ μὴ πείθοιντο μηδὲ νῦν, ἐκείνοις μὲν αὐτίκα δείξω τὰ μέχρι νῦν εὐβουλίαν, οὐ δειλίαν οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ἀξιῶ μάρτυρας εἶναί μοι καὶ συνίστασθαι διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν Λευκίου."

29. Ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Καῖσαρ. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν δὴ πάλιν ἐς τὸ Πραινεστὸν ἐξέτρεχον· καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος τοσόνδε εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη προειλήφασιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποκρίνεται, τέλος ἄρτι πέμψας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον κωλύειν Ἀντώνιον ἐπανιόντα. ὁ δὲ Μάνιος καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐδείκνυε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, εἴτε πλασάμενος εἴτε ἀληθῆ, πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καθαιρῇ. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, εἰ καθαιροῖτό τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως Ἀντωνίου, καὶ προκαλουμένων ἐς δίκην περὶ τοῦδε, ἕτερα αὖ πολλὰ ἐσοφίζετο ὁ Μάνιος, ἕως οἱ μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, καὶ οὐ συνῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῷ Καίσαρι, εἴτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπαγγείλας ἕκαστος εἴτε δι' ἑτέραν γνώμην εἴτε ὑπὸ αἰδοῦς· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀνέῳκτο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῄει, φύλακα τῆς Ῥώμης Λέπιδον σὺν δύο τέλεσι καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τότε μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυον οὐκ ἀρέσκεσθαι τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῇ· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Λεύκιον ἐχώρουν.

that I do Antony no wrong, nor do I suffer any wrong from him, but I beseech you to reason with Lucius and his friends on your own account, and to bring them to a reconciliation with me. If you cannot even now persuade them, I shall presently show them that I have hitherto been moved by good-will, not by cowardice; and I ask you to be witnesses for me not only among yourselves, but also to Antony, and to sustain me on account of the arrogance of Lucius." CHAP. III

29. So spake Octavian. Thereupon some of his hearers went again to Praeneste. Lucius said to them merely, that both sides had already begun hostilities, that Octavian was practising deception; for he had lately sent a legion to Brundusium to prevent Antony from coming home. Manius showed also a letter of Antony's, either true or fictitious, saying that they should fight if anybody assailed his dignity. When the senators asked if anybody had assailed Antony's dignity, and urged Manius to submit that question to trial, he indulged in many other quibbles till they went away unsuccessful. Nor did they collectively bring any answer to Octavian, either because they had communicated it each for himself, or because they were ashamed, or for some other reason. The war broke out and Octavian set forth to take part in it, leaving Lepidus with two legions to guard Rome. Most of the aristocrats then most clearly showed, by joining Lucius, that they were not pleased with the rule of the triumvirs. Ineffectual embassy to Lucius

IV

CAP. IV

30. Καὶ ἦν τὰ κεφαλαια τοῦ πολέμου τοιάδε. Λευκίου μὲν δὴ δύο τέλη περὶ Ἄλβην ἐστασίασε καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκβαλόντα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἐχώρει· ἐπειγομένων δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ Καίσαρός τε καὶ Λευκίου, φθάσας τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Λεύκιος ἀνεσώσατο αὐτὰ χρήμασί τε πολλοῖς καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι μεγάλαις. Φουρνίου δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ἄγοντος τῷ Λευκίῳ, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξήπτετο τῆς οὐραγίας· ἐς δὲ λόφον ἀναδραμόντι τῷ Φουρνίῳ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐς ὁμογνώμονα πόλιν ἐπειγομένῳ Σεντίαν, νυκτὸς μὲν οὐχ ἕσπετο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύων, ἡμέρας δὲ τήν τε Σεντίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατόπεδον ἐπολιόρκει. Λεύκιος δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπειγόμενος τρεῖς μὲν τάξεις προύπεμψεν, αἳ νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσδραμοῦσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ μονομάχοις εἵπετο. καὶ αὐτὸν Νωνίου τοῦ φύλακος τῶν πυλῶν δεξαμένου τε καὶ τὸν ὑφ' αὑτῷ στρατὸν ἐγχειρίσαντος, ὁ μὲν Λέπιδος ἐς Καίσαρα ἔφευγεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος Ῥωμαίοις ἐδημηγόρει, Καίσαρα μὲν καὶ Λέπιδον αὐτίκα δώσειν δίκην ἀρχῆς βιαίου, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν αὐτὴν ἑκόντα ἀποθήσεσθαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ἀλλάξεσθαι, νομιμωτέραν ἀρχὴν παρανόμου καὶ πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς τυραννικῆς.

31. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε εἰπών, ἡδομένων ἁπάντων καὶ ἡγουμένων ἤδη λελύσθαι τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχήν, αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαγορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐχώρει καὶ στρατὸν ἤθροιζεν ἄλλον

IV

War begun

30. The following were the principal events of the war. A sedition broke out in two of Lucius' legions at Alba, which expelled their commanding officers and began to revolt. Both Octavian and Lucius hastened to them. Lucius arrived there first and kept them by a large donative and great promises. While Furnius was bringing a reinforcement to Lucius, Octavian fell upon his rearguard. Furnius took refuge on a hill and withdrew by night to Sentia, a city of his own faction. Octavian did not dare to follow by night, suspecting an ambush, but the next day he laid siege to Sentia and Furnius' camp together. Lucius, who was hastening toward Rome, sent forward three cohorts, which effected an entrance into the city clandestinely by night. He followed with his main army and some cavalry and gladiators. Nonius, who had charge of the gates, admitted him, and handed over to him the forces under his own command. Lepidus fled to Octavian. Lucius made a speech to the citizens, saying that he should visit punishment upon Octavian and Lepidus for their lawless rule, and that his brother would voluntarily resign his share of it and accept the consulship, exchanging an unlawful magistracy for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers.

Lucius declares his intention to restore the republic

31. All were delighted with this speech, and thought that the government of the triumvirs was already ended. Lucius was saluted as imperator by the people. He marched against Octavian, and collected a fresh army from the cities colonized

CAP. IV ἐκ τῶν ἀποικίδων Ἀντωνίου πόλεων καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκρατύνατο. αἱ δὲ δι' εὐνοίας μὲν ἦσαν Ἀντωνίῳ, Βαρβάτιος δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνίου ταμίας, Ἀντωνίῳ τι προσκρούσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐπανιών, ἔλεγε πυνθανομένοις τὸν Ἀντώνιον χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι τῷ Καίσαρι κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς σφῶν δυναστείας. καὶ οἱ μέν, ὅσοι μὴ τῆς ἐξαπάτης ᾔσθοντο τῆς Βαρβατίου, ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου μετετίθεντο· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ὑπήντα Σαλουιδιηνῷ μετὰ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἐκ Κελτῶν ἐπανιόντι. καὶ εἵποντο τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ Ἀσίνιός τε καὶ Οὐεντίδιος, Ἀντωνίου στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἵδε, κωλύοντες αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰέναι. Ἀγρίππας δέ, φίλτατος Καίσαρι, δείσας ἐπὶ τῷ Σαλουιδιηνῷ μὴ κυκλωθείη, Σούτριον κατέλαβε, χωρίον τι χρήσιμον τῷ Λευκίῳ, νομίσας τὸν Λεύκιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ περισπάσειν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ οἱ τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν βοηθήσειν, κατόπιν τοῦ Λευκίου γενόμενον. καὶ τάδε μέν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐγίγνετο ἅπαντα· ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀποτυχὼν ὧν ἐπενόει, πρὸς Ἀσίνιον καὶ Οὐεντίδιον ᾔει, ἐνοχλούντων αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν Σαλουιδιηνοῦ τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου καὶ φυλασσόντων, ὅτε μάλιστα περιλάβοιεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

32. Ἐκφανείσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὁ Λεύκιος οὐ θαρρῶν ἀμφοτέροις ἑκατέρωθεν οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἐς Περυσίαν παρῆλθεν, ἐχυρὰν πόλιν, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἐστρατοπέδευσε, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον περιμένων. ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν Περυσίαν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ ὁ Σαλουιδιηνὸς καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπελθὼν τρισὶ στρατοπέδοις ἐκυκλώ-

by Antony's soldiers, and strengthened their fortifications. These colonies were well affected toward Antony. Barbatius, Antony's quaestor, who had had some difficulty with him and was returning home for that reason, said, in answer to inquiries, that Antony was displeased with those who were making war on Octavian to the prejudice of their common sway: whereupon some, who were not aware of the deception practised by Barbatius, changed sides from Lucius to Octavian. Lucius put himself in the way of Salvidienus, who was returning to Octavian with a large army from Gaul. Asinius and Ventidius, also Antony's generals, were following Salvidienus to prevent him from advancing. Agrippa, who was the closest friend of Octavian, fearing lest Salvidienus should be surrounded, seized Sutrium, a stronghold very useful to Lucius, expecting that he would turn Lucius from Salvidienus and draw him upon himself, and that Salvidienus, who would then be in the rear of Lucius, would assist him (Agrippa). It all turned out as Agrippa had anticipated. So Lucius, having failed of his undertaking, marched to join Asinius and Ventidius. Salvidienus and Agrippa harassed him on both sides, watching especially for an opportunity to catch him in the defiles.

CHAP. IV

He seeks to intercept Salvidienus

Agrippa prevents him

32. When Lucius perceived their design he did not dare to come to an engagement with both of them closing in upon him; so he turned aside to Perusia, a strongly fortified city, and encamped near it, to wait there for Ventidius. Agrippa, Salvidienus, and Octavian advanced against him and against Perusia and enclosed them with three armies

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σαντο· καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στρατὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκάλει πανταχόθεν κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιον εἶχε περιειλημμένον. προύπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους, ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἐπιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ σφῶν ὤκνουν ἐπείγεσθαι, τόν τε πόλεμον ἀποδοκιμάζοντες ὅλως καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ παριέντες ἀλλήλοις κατ' ἀξίωσιν οὐδέτερος. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος οὔτ' ἐς μάχην ᾔει τοῖς περικαθημένοις, ἀμείνοσι καὶ πλέοσιν οὖσι καὶ γεγυμνασμένοις, νεοστράτευτον ἔχων τὸ πλέον, οὔτε ἐς ὁδοιπορίαν, ἐνοχλησόντων αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τοσῶνδε. Μάνιον δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον ἔπεμπεν, ἐπείγειν αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν πολιορκουμένῳ Λευκίῳ, καὶ Τισιηνὸν μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων, λεηλατεῖν τὰ Καίσαρος, ἵνα ἀνασταίη. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ὡς ἐν ὀχυρᾷ πόλει χειμάσων, εἰ δέοι, μέχρι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον ἀφικέσθαι.

33. Καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα μετὰ σπουδῆς ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ τὴν Περυσίαν ἀπετείχιζε χάρακι καὶ τάφρῳ, πεντήκοντα καὶ ἓξ σταδίους περιιὼν διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως λοφῶδες καὶ σκέλη μακρὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Τίβεριν ἐκτείνων, ἵνα τι ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν μὴ ἐσφέροιτο. ἀντεπονεῖτό γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος, ἑτέροις ὁμοίοις χαρακώμασι καὶ τάφροις τὴν πέζαν ὀχυρούμενος τοῦ λόφου. καὶ Φουλβία Οὐεντίδιον καὶ Ἀσίνιον καὶ Ἀτήιον καὶ Καληνὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς ἤπειγε βοηθεῖν Λευκίῳ καὶ στρατὸν ἄλλον ἀγείρασα Πλάγκον ἔπεμπεν ἄγειν Λευκίῳ. Πλάγκος μὲν δὴ τέλος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς Ῥώμην

and Octavian summoned reinforcements in haste from all directions, as against the vital point of the war, where he had Lucius surrounded. He sent others forward to hold in check the forces of Ventidius, who were approaching. The latter, however, hesitated on their own account to advance, as they altogether disapproved of the war and did not know what Antony thought about it, and on account of mutual rivalry were unwilling to yield to each other the military chieftainship. Lucius did not go out to battle with the forces surrounding him, because they were better and more numerous and well drilled, while his were for the most part new levies; nor did he resume his march, since so many enemies were on his flanks. He sent Manius to Ventidius and Asinius to hasten them to the aid of the besieged Lucius, and he sent Tisienus with 4000 horse to pillage the enemy's supplies, in order to force him to raise the siege. Lucius entered within the walls of Perusia so that he might winter in a strong place, if necessary, until Ventidius and Asinius should arrive. CHAP. IV

33. Octavian, with all haste and with his whole army, drew a line of palisade and ditch around Perusia fifty-six stades in circuit, on account of the hill on which it was situated; he extended long arms to the Tiber, that nothing might be introduced into the place. Lucius on his part built a similar line of countervallation, thus fortifying the foot of the hill. Fulvia urged Ventidius, Asinius, Ateius, and Calenus to hasten from Gaul to the assistance of Lucius, and collected reinforcements, which she sent to Lucius under the lead of Plancus. Plancus destroyed one of Octavian's legions, which Lucius besieged in Perusia

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ὁδεῦον διέφθειρεν. Ἀσινίου δὲ καὶ Οὐεντιδίου σὺν μὲν ὄκνῳ καὶ διχονοίᾳ τῆς Ἀντωνίου γνώμης, διὰ δὲ Φουλβίαν ὅμως καὶ διὰ Μάνιον ἐς τὸν Λεύκιον ἰόντων καὶ τοὺς ἀποκλείοντας βιαζομένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα σὺν Ἀγρίππᾳ, φυλακὴν τῆς Περυσίας καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ οὔτε πω συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις οὔτε σὺν προθυμίᾳ χωροῦντες, ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Ῥάβενναν, ὁ δ' ἐς Ἀρίμινον, ὁ δὲ Πλάγκος ἐς Σπωλήτιον συνέφυγον. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ στρατὸν ἐπιστήσας, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνέλθοιεν, ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν ἐπανῆλθε καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς τὰς τάφρους προσεσταύρου καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὸ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ὡς τριάκοντα πόδας ἀμφότερα εἶναι, τό τε περιτείχισμα ὕψου καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλίνους δι' ἑξήκοντα ποδῶν ἵστη χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· καὶ ἐπάλξεις τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυκναὶ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα διμέτωπος, ἔς τε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἐπίοι. ἐγίγνετο δὲ ταῦτα σὺν πείραις πολλαῖς καὶ μάχαις, ἀκοντισαι μὲν ἀμεινόνων ὄντων τῶν Καίσαρος, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων· καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον συμπλεκόμενοι.

34. Ὡς δὲ ἐξείργαστο πάντα τῷ Καίσαρι, λιμὸς ἥπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἤκμαζεν ἀγρίως ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τῆς πόλεως προπαρεσκευασμένης. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰσθόμενος ἀκριβεστέρας τὰς φυλακὰς ἐποίει. νουμηνίας δὲ ἔτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν οὔσης, φυλάξας ὁ Λεύκιος τὴν ἑορτὴν ὡς ἀμελείας τοῖς πολεμίοις

was on the march to Rome. While Asinius and Ventidius were proceeding, at the instance of Fulvia and Manius, to the relief of Lucius (but with hesitation and doubt as to Antony's intention), in order to raise the blockade, Octavian and Agrippa, leaving a guard at Perusia, threw themselves in the way. The former, who had not yet formed a junction with each other and were not proceeding with much alacrity, retreated—Asinius to Ravenna and Ventidius to Ariminum. Plancus took refuge in Spoletium. Octavian stationed a force in front of each, to prevent them from forming a junction, and returned to Perusia, where he speedily strengthened his investment of the place and doubled the depth and width of his ditch to the dimensions of thirty feet each way. He increased the height of his wall and built 1500 wooden towers on it, sixty feet apart. He had also strong redoubts and every other kind of intrenchment, with double front, to besiege those within and to repel assaults from without. While these works were under construction there were frequent sorties and fights, in which the forces of Octavian had the advantage in the use of missiles, and the gladiators of Lucius were better at hand-to-hand fighting. So these killed many at close quarters. CHAP. IV

He there awaits reinforcements

34. When the work of Octavian was finished famine fastened upon Lucius, and the evil grew more pressing, since neither he nor the city had made preparations beforehand. Knowing this fact Octavian kept the most vigilant watch. On the day preceding the Calends of January, Lucius thought to avail himself of the holiday, under

CAP. IV αἰτίαν ἐξέθορε νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας αὐτῶν ὡς διεκπαίσων αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπαξόμενος ἑτέραν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλησίον ἐφεδρεύοντος τέλους καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ σὺν ταῖς στρατηγίσι σπείραις ἐπιδραμόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος μάλα προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀνεώσθη. τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ σίτου τοῖς στρατευομένοις φυλασσομένου, τὸ πλῆθος τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ νίκῃ φανερῶς ἐπηρῶντο καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐστρέχοντες ἐπὶ ἐρεύνῃ σίτου, ὅσα εὕροιεν, ἥρπαζον.

35. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐεντίδιον αἰδούμενοι λιμῷ κάμνοντα Λεύκιον περιορᾶν, ἐχώρουν ἐς αὐτὸν ἅπαντες, βιαζόμενοι τοὺς Καίσαρος πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς περικειμένους καὶ ἐνοχλοῦντας. ὑπαντώντων δ' αὐτοῖς Ἀγρίππου τε καὶ Σαλουιδιηνοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔτι πλείονος, ἔδεισαν, μὴ κυκλωθεῖεν, καὶ ἐς Φουλκίνιόν τι χωρίον ἐξέκλιναν, ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους τῆς Περυσίας διεστηκός· ἔνθα αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περικαθημένων πυρὰ πολλὰ ἤγειραν, σύμβολα τῷ Λευκίῳ. καὶ γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεντίδιος μὲν καὶ Ἀσίνιος βαδίζειν καὶ ὡς μαχούμενοι, Πλάγκος δὲ ἔσεσθαι μέσους Καίσαρός τε καὶ Ἀγρίππου, χρῆναι δ' ἔτι καραδοκεῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα· καὶ ἐκράτει λέγων ὁ Πλάγκος. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ ἰδόντες ἥδοντο, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν βραδυνόντων εἴκασαν καὶ τούσδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ παυσαμένου τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρθαι. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τοῦ λιμοῦ πιέζοντος ἐννυκτομάχησεν αὖθις ἐκ

the belief that the enemy would be off their guard, to make a sally by night against their gates, hoping to break through them and bring in his other forces, of which he had abundance in many places. But the legion that was lying in wait near by, and Octavian himself with some praetorian cohorts, attacked him, and Lucius, although he fought valiantly, was driven back. About the same time the mass of the people in Rome openly denounced the war and the victory, because the grain was kept under guard for the soldiers. They broke into houses in search of food, and carried off whatever they could find. CHAP. IV

35. Ventidius and his friends, ashamed to look on while Lucius was perishing of hunger, all moved to his support, intending to overpower Caesar's forces surrounding and besieging him. Agrippa and Salvidienus went to meet them with still larger forces. Fearing lest they should be surrounded, they diverged to the stronghold of Fulginium, distant 160 stades from Perusia. There Agrippa besieged them, and they lighted many fires as signals to Lucius. Ventidius and Asinius were of the opinion that they should still go forward and fight, but Plancus said that, as they were between Octavian and Agrippa, they had best await events. The opinion of Plancus prevailed. Those in Perusia rejoiced when they saw the fires, but when Ventidius delayed his coming they conjectured that he, too, was in difficulties, and when the fires ceased they thought that he had been destroyed. Lucius, oppressed by hunger, again fought a night battle, extending from the first watch till daylight, B.C. 40

His lieutenants fail to assist him

CAP. IV πρώτης φυλακῆς ἐς ἕω περὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιτείχισμα· καὶ οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἀνέθορεν αὖθις ἐς τὴν Περυσίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους συλλογισάμενος τροφὰς ἀπεῖπε δίδοσθαι τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ἐφύλασσεν αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐκφυγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ γνωριμώτερον γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ δεινόν. ἠλῶντο οὖν οἱ θεράποντες κατὰ πλῆθος καὶ κατέπιπτον ἔν τε αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σφετέρου διατειχίσματος, πόαν εἴ τινα εὕροιεν ἢ φυλλίδα χλωράν, νεμόμενοι. καὶ τοὺς ἀποψύχοντας ὁ Λεύκιος ἐς τάφρους ἐπιμήκεις κατώρυσσεν, ἵνα μήτε καιομένων ἐπίδηλον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο, μήτε σηπομένων ἀτμὸς καὶ νόσος.

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ λιμοῦ τι τέλος ἦν οὔτε τῶν θανάτων, ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις οἱ ὁπλῖται παρεκάλουν τὸν Λεύκιον αὖθις ἀποπειρᾶσαι τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς διακόψοντες αὐτὰ πάντως. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἀποδεξάμενος, "οὐκ ἀξίως," ἔφη, "πρώην τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἠγωνισάμεθα," καὶ νῦν ἢ παραδιδόναι σφᾶς ἢ τοῦτο χεῖρον ἡγουμένους θανάτου μάχεσθαι μέχρι θανάτου. δεξαμένων δὲ προθύμως ἁπάντων καί, ἵνα μή τις ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πρόφασις γένοιτο, κατὰ φῶς ἄγειν σφᾶς κελευόντων, ὁ Λεύκιος ἦγε πρὸ ἡμέρας. σίδηρόν τε τειχομάχον εἶχον πολὺν καὶ κλίμακας ἐς εἴδη πάντα διεσκευασμένας. ἐφέρετο δὲ καὶ τάφρων ἐγχωστήρια ὄργανα καὶ πύργοι πτυκτοί, σανίδας ἐς τὰ τείχη μεθιέντες, καὶ βέλη παντοῖα καὶ λίθοι, καὶ γέρρα τοῖς σκόλοψιν ἐπιρριπτεῖσθαι. προσπεσόντες δὲ μεθ' ὁρμῆς βιαίου τὴν τάφρον ἐνέχωσαν καὶ τοὺς σταυροὺς ὑπερέβησαν καὶ

around the whole circumvallation; but he failed and was driven back into Perusia. There he took an account of the remaining provisions, and forbade the giving of any to the slaves, and prohibited them from escaping, lest the enemy should gain better knowledge of his desperate situation. The slaves wandered about in crowds, threw themselves upon the ground in the city, and between the city and their forts, and ate grass or green leaves wherever they could find them. Those who died Lucius buried in long trenches, lest, if he burned them, the enemy should discover what was taking place, and, if they were unburied, disease should result from the poisonous exhalations.

CHAP. IV

Famine in Perusia

36. As no end of the famine, or of the deaths, could be discerned, the soldiers became restive under the condition of affairs, and implored Lucius to make another attempt upon the enemy's works, believing that they could break through them completely. He approved of their ardour, saying, "In our recent battle we did not fight in a way corresponding to our present necessity. Now we must either surrender, or, if that seems worse than death, we must fight to the death." All assented eagerly, and, in order that no one should have the night for an excuse, they demanded to be led out by daylight. Lucius marched out at dawn. He took an abundance of iron tools, for wall fighting, and ladders of every form. He carried machines for filling the ditches, and folding towers from which planks could be let down to the walls; also all kinds of missiles and stones, and wickerwork to be thrown upon the palisades. They made a violent assault, filled up the ditch, scaled the

Lucius attempts to break out

CAP. IV τοῖς τείχεσι προσελθόντες οἱ μὲν ὑπώρυσσον, οἱ δὲ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπῆγον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πύργους· ἐνεχείρουν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἠμύνοντο λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ μολυβδαίναις σὺν πολλῇ θανάτου καταφρονήσει. καὶ τάδε ἐγίγνετο κατὰ μέρη πολλά· ἐπειδὴ δέ τινας . . . ἐς πολλὰ διαιρουμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσθενέστερα πάντα ἦν.

37. Ἐκταθεισῶν δέ που τῶν σανίδων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, βία τότε μάλιστα ἐπικίνδυνος ἦν τῶν Λευκιανῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς σανίσι μαχομένων, καὶ βέλη πλάγια πάντοθεν ἦν ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀκόντια. ἐβιάσαντο δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐξήλαντο ὀλίγοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς εἵποντο ἕτεροι· καὶ τάχα ἄν τι ἐξείργαστο αὐτοῖς μετὰ ἀπονοίας, εἰ μή, γνωσθέντος οὐ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα μηχανήματα, οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Καίσαρος ἐφεδρειῶν ἀκμῆτες ἐπήγοντο κεκμηκόσι. τότε γὰρ δὴ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς κατήρειψαν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα συνέτριψαν καὶ ἔβαλλον ἄνωθεν ἤδη σὺν καταφρονήσει. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεκέκοπτο, καὶ βοὴ σφᾶς ἐπελελοίπει, παρέμενον δ' ὅμως τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀνῃρημένων ἐσκυλευμένα κάτω διερριπτεῖτο, τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ ἀνετρέποντο ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως, καὶ μικρὸν ἔστησαν ἀποροῦντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ διαναπαυόμενοι. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας ἐλεῶν ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκάλει τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀναχωρεῖν. ἡσθέντων δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐπὶ τῷδε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα παταγησάντων οἷον ἐπὶ νίκῃ,

palisades, and advanced to the walls, which some of them undermined, while others applied the ladders, and others simultaneously moved up the towers and defended themselves with stones, arrows, and leaden balls, with absolute contempt of death. This was done at many different places, and the enemy being drawn in many different directions made a more feeble resistance.[1] CHAP. IV

37. The planks having been thrown upon the walls at some places, the struggle became very hazardous, for the forces of Lucius fighting on the bridges were exposed to missiles and javelins on every side. They forced their way, nevertheless, and a few leaped over the wall. Others followed, and they would speedily have accomplished something in their desperation, had not the fact become known to Octavian that they had not many such machines, so that the best of his reserves were brought fresh to the assistance of the tired men. These troops now flung the assailants down from the walls, broke their machines in pieces, and hurled missiles upon them contemptuously (fearing them no longer) from above. Their enemy, although their shields and bodies were pierced and even their cries had failed, held their ground bravely. When the corpses of those who had been killed on the wall were stripped and thrown down among them, they could not bear the indignity, but turned away from the spectacle and stood for a moment undecided, like athletes taking a breathing-spell in the gymnastic games. Lucius had pity on them in this condition and sounded a retreat. Then the troops of Octavian joyfully clashed their arms as for a victory, whereupon

He is defeated after desperate fighting

[1] The text here is incomplete.

CAP. IV ἐρεθισθέντες οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου τὰς κλίμακας αὖθις ἁρπάσαντες (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πύργους εἶχον) ἔφερον ἐς τὰ τείχη μετὰ ἀπονοίας, οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτοντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο. περιθέων δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Λεύκιος ἐδεῖτο μὴ ψυχομαχεῖν ἔτι καὶ οἰμῴζοντας ἀπῆγεν ἄκοντας.

38. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆσδε τῆς τειχομαχίας, ἐκθυμοτάτης γενομένης, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις ἐπιτολμήσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς τείχεσι, τὴν στρατιάν, ὅση τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐφήδρευε, παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἵδρυσε καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ κατὰ σύνθημα σάλπιγγος· συνεχῶς τε ἀπεπήδων οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἵνα διδαχή τε σφίσι καὶ φόβος εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀθυμία δὲ ἐπεῖχε τοὺς τοῦ Λευκίου, καί, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τῆς φυλακῆς οἱ φύλακες ἠμέλουν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀμελείας αὐτομολίαι πολλῶν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ οὐχ οἱ ἀφανέστεροι τοῦτο μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν τινες ἔδρων. ἐνεδίδου τε ὁ Λεύκιος ἤδη πρὸς διαλύσεις ἑλέῳ τοσοῦδε πλήθους ἀπολλυμένου, ἐχθρῶν δέ τινων Καίσαρος περὶ σφῶν δεδιότων ἔτι ἐπεῖχεν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤφθη τοὺς αὐτομόλους φιλανθρώπως ἐκδεχόμενος καὶ πλείων ὁρμὴ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐγίγνετο, δέος ἥπτετο τοῦ Λευκίου, μὴ ἀντιλέγων ἐκδοθείη.

V

CAP. V 39. Γενομένης οὖν τινος ἐς τοῦτο πείρας καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἀηδοῦς, τὸν στρατὸν συναγαγὼν

those of Lucius were roused to anger and again seized their ladders (although they had no more towers), and carried them to the walls with desperation. Yet they did not do any harm to the enemy, for they had not the strength. Lucius ran among them and besought them to sacrifice their lives no longer, and led them back groaning and reluctant. CHAP. IV

38. This was the end of this hotly contested siege. In order that the enemy might not make another attempt on his works, Octavian stationed a part of his army, that was held in reserve, alongside the fortifications, and instructed others in other places to leap upon the wall at the sound of the trumpet. Although no one urged them on, they went through this exercise continually, in order to become familiar with it, and to inspire the enemy with fear. The troops of Lucius began to grow down-hearted, and, as usually happens in such cases, the guards relaxed their vigilance, and thus desertion became more frequent, not only of the common soldiers, but, in some cases, of the higher officers also. And now Lucius inclined toward peace, out of pity for the perishing multitude, but the fears of some of the enemies of Octavian for their own safety still restrained him. But as Octavian was observed to treat the deserters kindly, and the desire for peace increased among all, Lucius began to fear lest, if he refused, he should be delivered up.

He begins to entertain thoughts of surrender

V

39. Accordingly, having made a sort of test which gave him satisfactory encouragement, Lucius called CHAP. V

CAP. V ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "γνώμη μὲν ἦν μοι τὴν πάτριον ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι πολιτείαν, ὧ συστρατιῶται, τυραννίδα τὴν τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδ', ἐφ' ᾗ συνέστη προφάσει, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου τεθνεώτων διαλυθεῖσαν. Λεπίδου γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφῃρημένου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πορρωτάτω χρήματα συλλέγοντος, εἷς οὗτος ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην διῴκει, τὰ δὲ πάτρια Ῥωμαίοις πρόσχημα μόνον ἦν καὶ γέλως. ἅπερ ἐγὼ μεταβάλλειν ἐς τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἐπινοῶν ἠξίουν τῶν ἐπινικίων διαδοθέντων ἐκλυθῆναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, ἐπειρώμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς καταναγκάσαι. ὁ δέ με τῷ στρατῷ διέβαλλε, κωλύειν τὰς κληρουχίας ἐλέῳ τῶν γεωργῶν· καὶ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐγὼ τήνδε ἠγνόησα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπιγνοὺς ἐπίστευσά τινα πιστεύσειν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένους, οἳ μεριεῖν ἔμελλον ὑμῖν τὰς κληρουχίας. ἀλλὰ ἐδημαγώγησε γάρ τινας ἡ διαβολή, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ᾤχοντο πολεμήσοντες ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζουσι, σὺν χρόνῳ δ' εἴσονται στρατευσάμενοι καθ' αὑτῶν. ὑμῖν δ' ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ μὲν ἑλομένοις τὰ ἀμείνονα καὶ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν κακοπαθήσασιν, ἡττήμεθα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐγκαταλελείμμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ καλῶς εἶχεν ἀγωνίσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ τελευταίου δαίμονος ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· καλὸν γάρ μοι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ

his army together and spoke as follows: "It was my intention, fellow-soldiers, to restore the republic to you when I saw that the government of the triumvirs was a tyranny, which was established, indeed, on the pretext of combating Brutus and Cassius, but was not relaxed after their death. Lepidus had been deprived of his share of the government, Antony was far away collecting money, and this one man was managing everything according to his own will, and the ancient system of Roman government was only a pretence and a laughing-stock. With the intention of reverting to the freedom and democratic government of our ancestors, I asked that after the rewards of victory had been distributed the monarchy should be dissolved. When my request was not granted, I sought to enforce it by virtue of my office. Octavian falsely accused me, before the army, of obstructing the colonies out of pity for the landowners. I was ignorant of this slander for a long time, and even when I learned of it I did not suppose that anybody could believe it, when one saw that the colony officers were men assigned by my very self to divide the lands among you. But the calumny misled some people, who joined Octavian in order to make war against you, as they think. But eventually they will find that they have been warring against their own interests. I affirm that you have chosen the better cause, and that you have suffered for it beyond your strength. We are vanquished, not by our enemies, but by hunger, to which we have been left a prey by our own generals. It would be becoming in me to fight to the last extremity for my country. Such an end would set a halo of

CHAP. V

He addresses his soldiers on the subject

CAP. V τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐποίει· οὐχ ὑφίσταμαι δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς, οὓς τῆς ἐμῆς προτίθημι εὐκλείας. πέμψω δὴ πρὸς τὸν κεκρατηκότα καὶ δεήσομαι ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀντὶ πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ὃ θέλει καταχρήσασθαι μόνῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἀμνηστίαν δοῦναι, πολίταις τε οὖσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ποτὲ γενομένοις καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδὲ πολεμήσασιν ἄνευ καλῆς αἰτίας οὐδὲ ἡσσημένοις πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λιμῷ."

40. Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπε τρεῖς ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων· ἡ δὲ πληθὺς ἀνῴμωζον, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτῶν χάριν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, γνώμῃ μὲν ὁμοῦ σφισιν ἀρίστου καὶ δημοκρατικοῦ φανέντος, ὑπὸ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης ἡττημένου. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐντυχόντες τῷ Καίσαρι ἀνεμίμνησκον τοῦ γένους τῶν στρατῶν ἑνὸς ἑκατέροις ὄντος καὶ στρατειῶν ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ φιλίας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρετῆς προγόνων οὐκ ἐς ἀνήκεστον τὰς διαφορὰς προαγαγόντων· ὅσα τε εἰκὸς ἦν ἄλλα ἐπαγωγά, τούτοις ὅμοια, ἔλεγον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ εἰδὼς τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν ἀπειροπολέμους ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους γεγυμνασμένους ἔφη τεχνάζων τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευσαμένοις διδόναι τὴν ἀμνηστίαν, ὡς χάριν ἐκείνῳ φέρων, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐπιτρέπειν σφᾶς ἑαυτῷ προσέτασσεν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ἅπασιν ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἕνα τῶν τριῶν ἀπολαβών, Φούρνιον, ἐς μείζονα φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπήλπισε τοὺς περὶ Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χωρὶς τῶν ἰδίων ἐχθρῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

fame upon my high purposes. To that destiny I do not submit, for the sake of you, whom I prefer to my own fame. I will send to the conqueror and beg that he will inflict such punishment as he chooses upon me alone, in place of all of you; that he will grant amnesty, not to me, but to you, his fellow-citizens and formerly his soldiers, who are not now in the wrong, who are not fighting without good cause, and are vanquished, not by war, but by hunger."

CHAP V

40. After speaking thus he at once selected three men from the optimates for this mission. The multitude wept, some on their own account, some on account of their general, who appeared to them to have been actuated by the most excellent and democratic purpose, and who now yielded to extreme necessity. The three envoys, when admitted to the presence of Octavian, reminded him that the soldiers on both sides were all of one race, and that they had made campaigns together. They called to mind the friendship of the nobility on either side and also the virtue of their ancestors, who did not allow their differences to become irreconcilable. They advanced other like arguments which were calculated to prevail with him. Octavian, knowing that some of the enemy were still raw recruits, while others were veteran colonists, replied artfully that he would grant amnesty to Antony's soldiers out of regard for him, but that the others must surrender at discretion. This he said in the presence of all, but, taking aside Furnius, one of the three, he led him to expect mild treatment for Lucius and the rest, except his own personal enemies.

He sends envoys to Octavian

CAP. V

41. Οἵδε οὖν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, τὴν ἰδίᾳ γενομένην ἔντευξιν τοῦ Φουρνίου ὑπονοοῦντες ἐπὶ σφίσι γενέσθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν Φούρνιον ἐλοιδόρουν ἐπανελθόντα καὶ τὸν Λεύκιον ἠξίουν ἢ σπονδὰς αὖθις αἰτεῖν ὁμοίας ἅπασιν ἢ πολεμεῖν μέχρι θανάτου· οὐ γὰρ ἴδιόν τινι τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἐπῄνει μὲν ἐλεῶν ἄνδρας ὁμοτίμους καὶ πέμψειν ἔλεγεν ἑτέρους, οὐδένα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀμείνονα ἔχειν ἑαυτοῦ, εὐθὺς ἄνευ κήρυκος ἦει, προθεόντων αὐτοῦ δρόμῳ τῶν ἀπαγγελούντων Καίσαρι κατιέναι Λεύκιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ὑπήντα. ἐωρῶντο οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἤδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ περιφανεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων καὶ τῆς στολῆς οὔσης ἑκατέρῳ στρατηγικῆς. καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἀποθέμενος τοὺς φίλους ἦει σὺν δύο ῥαβδούχοις μόνοις, ἐπιδεικνὺς ἅμα τὴν γνώμην ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ συνεὶς ἀντεμιμεῖτο ἐς δεῖγμα καὶ ὅδε τῆς εἰς τὸν Λεύκιον εὐνοίας ἐσομένης· ὡς δὲ καὶ σπεύδοντα εἶδε τὸν Λεύκιον παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ Καίσαρος χαράκωμα, ἵνα καὶ τῷδε φαίνοιτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπων ἤδη, προλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ χαρακώμακος, ἵνα ἐλεύθερον εἴη τῷ Λευκίῳ βουλεύεσθαί τε καὶ κρίνειν ἔτι περὶ αὐτοῦ. τοιάδε ἀλλήλοις προσιόντες ἀπό τε τῆς στολῆς καὶ τῶν σχημάτων προαπεδείκνυντο.

42. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον ἀφίκοντο, προσηγόρευσάν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔφη· "εἰ

CHAP. V

41. These personal enemies of Octavian, having learned of Furnius' private interview and suspecting that it related to themselves, reproached him when he came back, and demanded of Lucius either that he should ask a new treaty, which should include all alike, or fight to the death, saying that this had not been a private war for any individual, but a public one in behalf of their country. Lucius approved, pitying them as men of the same rank as himself, and said that he would send another embassy. Then he added that no one was better fitted for this task than himself, and went immediately without a herald, merely preceded by some persons who went in advance to announce to Octavian his coming. The latter at once advanced to meet him. There they saw each other surrounded by their friends and conspicuous by the standards and military equipment of generals on either side. Then Lucius, dismissing[1] his friends, went forward with two lictors only, showing his state of mind by his outward appearance. Octavian understood and imitated his example, showing his intended good-will toward Lucius. When he saw the latter hastening to pass inside his fortification, indicating thereby that he had already surrendered, Octavian anticipated him and went outside the fortification in order that Lucius might still be free to consult and decide concerning his own interests. Thus as they moved forward they foreshadowed their intentions to each other in advance, by their retinue and their outward appearance.

He makes a personal visit to Octavian

42. When they came to the ditch they saluted each other, and Lucius said: "If I had been a

Lucius speech

[1] Perhaps: "putting off his uniform and dismissing . . ."

CAP. V μὲν ξένος ὢν ἐπολέμησα, ὦ Καῖσαρ, αἰσχρὰν ἂν τὴν τοιαύτην ἡσσαν ἡγούμην καὶ αἰσχίονα ἔτι τὴν παράδοσιν· καὶ τῆσδε τῆς αἰσχύνης εἶχον ἀπαλλαγὴν εὔκολον παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολίτῃ διηνέχθην καὶ ὁμοτίμῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦμαι μετὰ τοιᾶσδε προφάσεως ὑπὸ τοιοῦδε ἡσσῆσθαι. καὶ τάδε λέγω οὐ παραιτούμενος παθεῖν, ὅ τι θέλοις (διὰ γάρ σοι τοῦτο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ σὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐμην), ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰτήσω συγγνώμην δικαίαν τε καὶ τοῖς σοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρουσαν. δεῖ δέ με τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύντα διελεῖν τὸν λόγον ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἵνα μόνον ἐμὲ τῶν γεγονότων αἴτιον ἐπιγνοὺς εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν συναγάγῃς. μὴ νομίσῃς δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι μετὰ παρρησίας (ἄκαιρον γάρ), ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀληθείας, ἧς οὐκ ἔνι μοι χωρὶς εἰπεῖν.

43. "'Εγὼ τὸν πρὸς σὲ πόλεμον ἠράμην, οὐχ ἵνα σε καθελὼν διαδέξωμαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἀναλάβω τῇ πατρίδι, λελυμένην ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀνατείποις· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε συνίστασθε αὐτήν, ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι παράνομον, ὡς ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πρόσκαιρον ἐτίθεσθε, Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου περιόντων ἔτι καὶ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις οὐ δυναμένων συναλλαγῆναι. ἀποθανόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, οἳ τὸ τῆς στάσεως κεφάλαιον ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων εἴ τινα λείψανα ἔστιν, οὐ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμούντων, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς δεδιότων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ

foreigner waging war against you, Octavian, I should consider it disgraceful to be vanquished in this way and still more disgraceful to surrender, and I should have for myself an easy means of deliverance from such humiliation. But since I have been contending with a countryman, my equal in rank, on behalf of our country, I do not consider it disgraceful to be beaten in such a cause by such a man. This I say not to deprecate any suffering that you may choose to inflict upon me (for you see that I have come to your camp without any guarantee), but to ask for others such pardon as may be just, and conducive to your own interests. That I may make this clear to you it is necessary to separate their cause from mine, so that, when you know that I am the only one to blame, you may visit your wrath upon me, and not think that I have come here to bandy words (for that would be inopportune), but to tell the truth, for it is not in my power to speak otherwise. CHAP. V

43. "I undertook this war against you, not in order to succeed to the leadership by destroying you but to restore to the country the patrician government which had been subverted by the triumvirate, as not even yourself will deny. For when you created the triumvirate you acknowledged that it was not in accordance with law, but you established it as something necessary and temporary because Cassius and Brutus were still alive and you could not be reconciled to them. When they, who had been the head of the faction, were dead, and the remainder, if there were any left, were bearing arms, not against the state, but because they feared you, and moreover the five years' term was running out, I

CAP. V τῆς πενταετίας παριούσης, ἀνακῦψαι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τὰ πάτρια ἠξίουν, οὐ προτιμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων μὲν ἐπανελθόντα πείσειν ἑκόντα, ἐπειγόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι. καὶ εἰ κατῆρξας σύ, μόνος ἂν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶχες. ἐπεὶ δὲ δή σε οὐκ ἔπειθον, ᾤμην ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην καὶ ἀναγκάσαι, πολίτης τε ὢν καὶ γνώριμος καὶ ὕπατος. αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι, δι' ἃς ἐπολέμησα, αὗται μόναι, καὶ οὔτε ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὔτε Μάνιος οὔτε Φουλβία, οὔτε ἡ κληρουχία τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις πεπολεμηκότων οὔτε ἔλεος τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κλήματα ἀφαιρουμένων, ἐπεὶ κἀγὼ τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τέλεσιν οἰκιστὰς ἔδωκα, οἱ τὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι τοῖς στρατευσαμένοις διένεμον. ἀλλά με σὺ τήνδε τὴν διαβολὴν αὐτοῖς διέβαλλες, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν κληρουχίαν ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἑλὼν ἐμοῦ κεκράτηκας· ἀνεπείσθησαν γὰρ πολεμεῖσθαί τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀμύνεσθαί με ἀδικοῦντα. τεχνάζειν μὲν δή σε ἔδει πολεμοῦντα· νικήσαντα δέ, εἰ μὲν ἐχθρὸς εἶ τῆς πατρίδος, κἀμὲ ἡγεῖσθαι πολέμιον, ἃ ἔδοξα συνοίσειν αὐτῇ, βουληθέντα μέν, οὐ δυνηθέντα δὲ διὰ λιμόν.

44. "Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἐγχειρίζων μὲν ἐμαυτόν σοι, καθάπερ εἶπον, εἰς ὅ τι θέλοις, ὑποδεικνὺς δέ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἐφρόνησα περὶ σοῦ καὶ φρονῶν ἔτι μόνος ἀφικόμην. καὶ περὶ μὲν

demanded that the magistracies should be revived in accordance with the custom of our fathers, not even preferring my brother to my country, but hoping to persuade him to assent upon his return and hastening to bring this about during my own term of office. If you had begun this reform you alone would have reaped the glory. Since I was not able to persuade you, I thought to march against the city and to use force, being a citizen, a nobleman, and a consul. These are the causes of the war I waged and these alone: not my brother, nor Manius, nor Fulvia, nor the colonization of those who fought at Philippi, nor pity for the cultivators who were deprived of their holdings, since I myself appointed the leaders of colonies to my brother's legions who deprived the cultivators of their possessions and divided them among the soldiers. Yet you brought this charge against me before the soldiers, shifting the cause of the war from yourself to the land distribution, and in this way chiefly you drew them to your side and overcame me, for they were persuaded that I was warring against them, and that they were defending themselves against my wrong-doing. You certainly needed to use artifice while you were waging war. Now that you have conquered, if you are the enemy of the country you must consider me your enemy also, since I wished what I thought was for her advantage, but was prevented by famine from accomplishing it. CHAP. V

44. "While I say these things I surrender myself to you, as I have already declared, to do with me whatever you wish. I came here alone merely to show what I have thought of you before the war, during the war, and at this moment. So much for Lucius surrenders unconditionally

CAP. V

ἐμοῦ τοσαῦτα· περὶ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντός, εἰ μὲν οὐχ ὑποπτεύσεις με λέγοντα, συμβουλεύσω τὰ σοὶ μάλιστα ὠφελιμώτατα, μηδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλονικίαν, μηδὲ ἄνθρωπον ὄντα καὶ τύχῃ χρώμενον, οὐ βεβαίῳ πράγματι, κωλῦσαι τοὺς κινδυνεύειν ἐν τύχαις ἢ χρείαις ἐθελήσοντάς ποτε ὑπὲρ σοῦ, μαθόντας ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ σοῦ νόμου δυσέλπιστον σῴζεσθαι μὴ κατορθοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ὕποπτος ἢ ἄπιστος ἐχθροῦ πᾶσα συμβουλή, οὐκ ὀκνῶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν σε μὴ τοὺς φιλοὺς τίνυσθαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τύχης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐμὲ συναγαγεῖν πάντα, τὸν πάντων αἴτιον. ἀφ' ἧς δὴ γνώμης αὐτοὺς ὑπελιπόμην, ἵνα μὴ δόξαιμι, σοὶ τάδε λέγων ἐκείνων ἀκουόντων, ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ τεχνάζων εἰπεῖν."

45. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Λευκίου καὶ σιωπήσαντος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεξεν· "ἄσπονδον μέν σε κατιόντα πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁρῶν, ὦ Λεύκιε, ὑπήντησα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρυμάτων ἔτι ἐκτὸς ὄντι κατὰ σπουδήν, ἵνα ἔτι κύριος ὢν σεαυτοῦ βουλεύοιο καὶ λέγοις καὶ πράττοις, ἃ νομίζεις σοι συνοίσειν. ἐπεὶ δ', ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογούντων, σαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις, οὐδὲν ἔτι δέομαι διελέγχειν, ὅσα σὺν τέχνῃ μου κατεψεύσω. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέ με βλάψειν ἑλόμενος καὶ νῦν ἔβλαψας. σπονδὰς γάρ μοι τιθέμενος ἔτυχες ἂν ἠδικημένου καὶ νενικηκότος·

myself. Concerning my friends and my whole army CHAP. V
if you will not discredit my words, I will give you some advice for your own best interests, and that is, that you inflict no severity upon them on account of the quarrel between you and me. As you are a mortal and in the hands of fortune, which is always fickle, do not deter those who might be willing to incur danger for you in hazardous or trying times hereafter, by teaching them that under your rule there is no hope of safety except for the victors. Even if all advice from an enemy is suspected or untrustworthy, I do not hesitate to implore you not to punish my friends for my fault and my ill fortune, but to put the whole punishment on me, who am alone to blame. I purposely left my friends behind so that I might not seem, by using these words in their presence, to be securing favour for myself in an underhand way."

45. After Lucius had thus spoken he relapsed into silence, and Octavian said: "When I saw you, Lucius, approaching without any guarantee I hastened to meet you while you were still outside my entrenchments, so that you might even now be master of your own counsels and be able to say or do whatever you should think best for your own interests. Since you deliver yourself to me (as is customary to those who acknowledge that they are in the wrong), it is not necessary that I should discuss the false accusations that you have brought against me with so much art. You began by injuring me and you continue to do so. If you were here negotiating a treaty, you would be dealing with a victor whom you

CAP. V

ἄσπονδον δὲ σαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρεπων ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἀφαιρῇ μὲν πᾶσαν ὀργήν, ἀφαιρῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν σπενδόμενος ἂν ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. συμπέπλεκται γὰρ οἷς ἄξιον ὑμᾶς παθεῖν, τὸ προσῆκον ὂν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν ἐστι ποιεῖν· ὃ δὴ προτιμήσω διά τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Λεύκιε, καὶ οὐ ψεύσω σε τῆς προσδοκίας, ἣν ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ κατελήλυθας."

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔλεξαν ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἦν ἐς τὸ δυνατὸν τῆσδε τῆς φωνῆς μεταβαλεῖν τεκμαιρομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν λελεγμένων. καὶ διεκρίθησαν, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ θαύματι τὸν Λεύκιον ἔχων, οὐδὲν ὡς ἐν συμφοραῖς ἀγεννὲς οὐδ' ἀσύνετον εἰπόντα, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος τὸν Καίσαρα τοῦ τε ἤθους καὶ βραχυλογίας. οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ἐτεκμαίροντο τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἑκατέρων.

46. Καὶ ὁ Λεύκιος ἔπεμπε τοὺς χιλάρχους τὸ σύνθημα τῷ στρατῷ ληψομένους παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος· οἱ δὲ ἔφερον αὐτῷ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστὶ τὸν αἰτοῦντα τὸ σύνθημα χιλίαρχον ἐπιδιδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιβλίον ἐφήμερον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ παρόντος. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸ σύνθημα λαβόντες τὰς φυλακὰς ἔτι διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον, οὕτω κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, νυκτοφυλακεῖν ἑκατέρους τὰ ἴδια· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ

had wronged. Now that you surrender yourself and your friends and your army without conditions, you take away not only all resentment, but also the power which, under negotiations for a treaty, you would necessarily have given me. There is involved in this question not only what you and your friends ought to suffer, but what it is becoming in me, as a just man, to do. I shall make the latter my chief consideration on account of the gods, on my own account, and on yours, Lucius, and I shall not disappoint the expectation with which you came to me." CHAP. V

These things they said to each other, as nearly as it is possible to gather the meaning of the speakers from the Memoirs and translate it into our language.[1] They then separated, and Octavian praised and admired Lucius because he had said nothing impolite or inconsiderate (as is usual in adversity), and Lucius praised Octavian for his mildness and brevity of speech. The others gathered the meaning of what had been said from the countenances of the two parties.

46. Lucius sent tribunes to receive the watchword for the army from Octavian, and they took the army roll to him, as it is still customary for the tribune who asks for the watchword to deliver to the commander the daily register of the number of troops present. After they had received the watchword they still kept their outposts on duty, for Octavian himself ordered that each army should keep its own guard that night, and the next morn-

[1] Probably the Memoirs here mentioned are those of Octavian himself, to which reference is made in *Illyr.* 14, and in *C. W.* iv. 110.

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ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔθυεν, ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος αὐτῷ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεμπε, τὰ μὲν ὅπλα φέροντα, ἐσκευασμένον δ' ὡς ἐν ὁδοιπορίᾳ. οἱ δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα πόρρωθεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ἔστησαν ἐν μέρει κατὰ τέλος, οὗ προσέταξεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, οἵ τε κληροῦχοι καὶ οἱ νεοστράτευτοι κεχωρισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκτελεσθείσης τῆς θυσίας στεψάμενος δάφνῃ, συμβόλῳ νίκης, προυκάθητο ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ προσέταξε μὲν ἅπασι θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, ἔνθα εἱστήκεσαν, θεμένων δὲ τοὺς κληρούχους, ἐκέλευσεν ἐγγυτέρω προσελθεῖν, διεγνωκὼς ἆρα ὀνειδίσαι τῆς ἀχαριστίας καὶ φοβῆσαι. προέγνωστο δὲ μέλλων ὧδε ποιήσειν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἴτε ἐξεπίτηδες, οἷα προδιδάσκονται πολλάκις, εἴτε ὑπὸ πάθους ὡς πρὸς οἰκείους ἄνδρας, ἀκρατεῖς τῆς δεδομένης σφίσι τάξεως γενόμενοι, προσιοῦσι τοῖς Λευκιανοῖς οἷα συνεστρατευμένοις ποτὲ περιχυθέντες ἠσπάζοντο καὶ συνέκλαιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν καὶ οὔτε βοῶντες ἔτι ἐπαύοντο οὔτε συμπλεκόμενοι, κοινωνούντων ἑκατέροις τοῦ πάθους ἤδη καὶ τῶν νεοστρατεύτων· οὐδὲ ἦν τι διακεκριμένον ἔτι οὐδ' εὔκριτον.

47. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι τῆς γνώμης ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ μόλις τὴν βοὴν καταπαύσας εἶπε τοῖς ἰδίοις. "ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, οὕτως ἀεί μοι προσενήνεχθε ὡς μηδενὸς ἀτυχῆσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν νεοστρατεύτους ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐστρατεῦσθαι Λευκίῳ νομίζω, τουτωνὶ δὲ τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τε πολλάκις ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν σῳζομένων ἐπενόουν πυθέσθαι,

ing Octavian offered sacrifice, and Lucius sent his soldiers to him bearing their arms, but prepared for marching. They saluted Octavian as imperator while still at some distance, and each legion took its separate position as Octavian had directed, the colonized veterans being apart from the new levies. When Octavian had finished the sacrifice he took his seat in front of the tribunal, crowned with laurel, the symbol of victory, and ordered them all to lay down their arms where they stood. When they had done so he ordered the veterans to draw nearer, intending, it seems, to reproach them for their ingratitude and to strike terror into them. It was known beforehand what he was about to do, and his own army, either purposely (as soldiers are often advised beforehand), or moved by sympathy as for their own relatives, broke from the formation in which they had been placed, crowded around Lucius' men as they approached their former fellow-soldiers, embraced them, wept with them, and implored Octavian in their behalf, and ceased not crying out and embracing them, the new levies sharing in the outburst of feeling, so that it was impossible to distinguish or discriminate between them.

CHAP. V

The soldiers of the two armies embrace one another

47. For this reason Octavian did not persist in his intention, but, after appeasing the tumult with difficulty, addressed his own men as follows: "You have always behaved in such a way to me, fellow-soldiers, that you can ask nothing from me in vain. I think that the new levies served Lucius under compulsion, but I intended to ask these old soldiers, who have often served with us and who are now saved from punishment by you,

CAP. V τί παθόντες ἐξ ἡμῶν ἢ τίνος χάριτος οὐκ ἀξιωθέντες ἢ τί μεῖζον παρ' ἑτέρου προσδοκῶντες ἐναντία ὅπλα ἤραντο καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς; ἃ γὰρ ἔκαμνον ἐγώ, πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρουχίας, ἧς τοῦ μέρους καὶ τούτοις μετῆν. καὶ εἰ συγχωρεῖτέ μοι, καὶ νῦν πεύσομαι." οὐκ ἐπιτρεπόντων δέ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαύστως παρακαλούντων, "συγχωρῶ ὑμῖν, ὅσα βούλεσθε," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀφείσθωσαν ἀπαθεῖς τῶν ἡμαρτημένων, ἂν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῖν ὅμοια φρονῶσιν." ὑπισχνουμένων δ' ἑκατέρων βοαί τε καὶ χάριτες ἦσαν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα· καί τισιν αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψέ τινας καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκέλευε σκηνοῦν, ἔνθα περ εἱστήκεσαν, ἄπωθεν, ἕως ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς πόλεις τε ἐς χειμασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπάξοντας ἐς τὰς πόλεις δοίη.

48. Καθεζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκάλει τὸν Λεύκιον ἐκ τῆς Περυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων. καὶ κατῄεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, ἐν ὄψει πάντες οἰκτρᾷ καὶ ἀξείᾳ μεταβολῇ. ἅμα δὲ ἐξῄεσαν οὗτοι τῆς Περυσίας, καὶ φρουρὰ τὴν πόλιν περιέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, Λεύκιον μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἑαυτῷ παρεστήσατο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν οἱ φίλοι Καίσαρος, τοὺς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέλαβον, προδεδιδαγμένοι πάντες ἐς τιμὴν ἀπάγειν ἅμα καὶ φυλακὴν ἄσημον. τοὺς δὲ Περυσίους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους παρακαλοῦντας ἐκέλευσεν

what they have suffered at our hands, or what favour they have asked in vain, or what greater favours they expected from anybody else that they have taken up arms against me, against you, against themselves. For all the trouble I have met with has grown out of the division of the lands, in which they had their share. And now if you will permit me I will yet ask them these questions." They would not allow him to do so, but continued their beseeching. "I grant what you wish," he said. "Let them be dismissed without punishment for their wrong-doing, provided they will hereafter be like-minded with you." They promised on both sides with acclamations and thanks to Octavian, who allowed some of his own men to entertain some of their men as guests. He ordered the remainder to pitch their tents where they had been stationed, at a certain distance from the others, until he should assign them towns for winter quarters and appoint persons to lead them thither. CHAP. V

48. Then, seated on his tribunal, Octavian summoned from Perusia Lucius and the Romans of responsibility who were with him. Many of the senators and knights came down, all presenting a pitiful appearance by reason of their sudden change of fortune. As soon as they passed out of Perusia a guard was stationed around it. When they reached the tribunal Octavian placed Lucius by his own side. Of the rest, some were taken in charge by the friends of Octavian, others by centurions, all of whom had been instructed beforehand to show them honour and to keep watch upon them unobserved. He commanded the Perusians who stretched out their hands to him from the walls, to come

Octavian pardons Lucius and all but a few leaders

CAP. V

ἥκειν, ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς μόνης· καὶ ἐλθοῦσι συνέγνω. οἱ δὲ βουλευταὶ τότε μὲν φύλαξι παρεδόθησαν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀνῃρέθησαν, χωρὶς Λιμιλίου Λευκίου, ὃς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δικάζων ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος τὴν καταδικάζουσαν ἤνεγκε φανερῶς καὶ πάντας φέρειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἐκλυομένους μύσος.

49. Τὴν δὲ Περυσίαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώκει μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς διαρπαγὴν ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ στρατῷ, Κέστιος δέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπομαργότερος, ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πεπολεμηκὼς καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε Μακεδονικὸν αὑτὸν ὀνομάζων, ἐνέπρησε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἄνεμοι τὴν φλόγα ὑπολαβόντες περιήνεγκαν ἐκ ὅλην Περυσίαν, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθη χωρὶς τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου μόνου. τόδε μὲν δὴ τῇ Περυσίᾳ τέλος ἦν, δόξαν ἀρχαιότητος ἐχούσῃ καὶ ἀξιώσεως· ὑπὸ γὰρ Τυρρηνῶν πάλαι φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρώταις δυώδεκα πόλεσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γενέθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοί· τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν Ἥφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐσπένδετο ἅπασιν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐπί τισι θορυβῶν, ἕως ἀνῃρέθησαν· καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μάλιστα Καίσαρος ἐχθροί, Καννούτιός τε καὶ Γάιος Φλάυιος καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ Βιθυνικὸς καὶ ἕτεροι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ Λευκίου πολιορκίας, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὧδε ἐξελέλυτο, χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ χρόνιος ἐλπισθεὶς ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ.

forward, all except their town council, and as they presented themselves he pardoned them; but the councillors were thrown into prison and soon afterward put to death, except Lucius Aemilius, who had sat as a judge at Rome in the trial of the murderers of Caesar, who had voted openly for condemnation, and had advised all the others to do the same in order to expiate the guilt. CHAP. V

49. Octavian intended to turn Perusia itself over to the soldiers for plunder, but Cestius, one of the citizens, who was somewhat out of his mind, who had fought in Macedonia and for that reason called himself the Macedonian, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames, and a strong wind fanned the conflagration and drove it over the whole of Perusia, which was entirely consumed, except the temple of Vulcan. Such was the end of Perusia, a city renowned for its antiquity and importance. It is said that it was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy in the olden time. For this reason the worship of Juno prevailed there, as among the Etruscans generally. But thereafter those who shared among themselves the remains of the city took Vulcan for their tutelary deity instead of Juno. On the following day Octavian made peace with all of them, but the soldiers did not desist from tumults against some of them until the latter were killed. These were the chief personal enemies of Octavian, namely, Cannutius, Gaius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus, and others. Such was the conclusion of the seige of Lucius in Perusia, and thus came to an end a war which had promised to be long-continued and most grievous to Italy. Perusia destroyed by fire

VI

CAP. VI

50. Καὶ γὰρ Ἀσίνιος αὐτίκα καὶ Πλάγκος καὶ Οὐεντίδιος καὶ Κράσσος καὶ Ἀτήιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆσδε τῆς γνώμης ὄντες ἕτεροι στρατὸν εἶχον οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀλλ' εἰς τρισκαίδεκα τέλη γεγυμνασμένα καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις, ἡγούμενοι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου Λεύκιον γενονέναι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ᾔεσαν, ἕτερος ἑτέρας ὁδούς, οἱ μὲν ἐς Βρεντέσιον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης, οἱ δ' ἐς Τάραντα καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς Μοῦρκον ἢ Ἀηνόβαρβον, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀντώνιον, διωκόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν Καίσαρος φίλων καὶ σπονδὰς προτεινόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνοχλούντων τὰ πεζὰ μάλιστα· ὧν δὴ καὶ μόνων Ἀγρίππας ἔπεισε μεταθέσθαι δύο τέλη Πλάγκου, ἀποληφθέντα ἐν Καμερίᾳ. ἔφευγε δὲ καὶ Φουλβία μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν καὶ ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἱππέων οἳ αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν πομποὶ ἀπεστάλησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ νεῶν πέντε μακρῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας οἱ μεταπέμπτων γενομένων ἐπιβᾶσα ἀνήγετο· καὶ αὐτῇ Πλάγκος συνέπλει, τὸν ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ στρατὸν ἐκλιπὼν ὑπὸ δειλίας. οἱ δὲ Οὐεντίδιον σφῶν εἵλοντο ἄρχειν. Ἀσίνιος δὲ Ἀηνοβάρβῳ συνετίθετο φιλίαν εἶναι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον· καὶ ἐπέστελλον ἄμφω τάδε τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ ἀποβάσεις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγορὰν ὡς αὐτίκα ἥξοντι εὐτρέπιζον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

51. Ἄλλῳ δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ πολλῷ περὶ

VI

CHAP. VI

The armies of Asinius, Plancus, and Ventidius

50. For Asinius, Plancus, Ventidius, Crassus, Ateius, and the others of that party, who had forces not to be despised, numbering about thirteen legions of disciplined troops and upward of 6500 horse, considering Lucius to have been the chief actor in the war, retired to the sea-coast by various routes, some to Brundusium, some to Ravenna, some to Tarentum, some to Murcus and Ahenobarbus, and still others to Antony. The friends of Octavian followed them, offering terms of peace, and, when they refused, harassing especially the infantry. From among them only two legions, belonging to Plancus, who were intercepted at Cameria, were persuaded by Agrippa to desert to him. Fulvia also fled with her children to Dicaearchia,[1] and thence to Brundusium, with 3000 horse, who were sent with her by the generals as an escort. At Brundusium there were five war-ships which had been sent for from Macedonia, and she embarked and put to sea, accompanied by Plancus, who abandoned the remains of his army through cowardice. These soldiers chose Ventidius as their commander. Asinius drew over Ahenobarbus to the side of Antony. Both Asinius and Ventidius wrote these facts to Antony, and they prepared landing-places, in expectation of his early arrival, and stores of provisions throughout Italy.

51. Octavian was planning to get possession of

[1] The Greek name of the modern Pozzuoli.

CAP. VI

Ἄλπεις, οὗ Φούφιος Καληνὸς ἡγεῖτο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεβούλευεν, ἤδη μὲν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὑπονοῶν, ἐλπίζων δὲ ἢ φίλῳ ἔτι ὄντι φυλάξειν ἢ πολεμοῦντος μεγάλην ἰσχὺν προσλήψεσθαι. διαμέλλοντος δὲ ὅμως ἔτι αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς περιορωμένου, ὁ Καληνὸς ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἐς ἀμφότερα πρόφασιν εὑρών, ἦει καὶ παρελάμβανε τόν τε στρατὸν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τάσδε οὔσας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίῳ, Φουφίου τοῦ παιδὸς Καληνοῦ καταπλαγέντος τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραδόντος ἅπαντα ἀμαχεί.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐνὶ τῷδε ἔργῳ ἔνδεκα τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας τοσάσδε λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν παρέλυε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἰδίους ἐπιστήσας ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρεφεν· 52. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος χειμῶνος μὲν ἔτι τοὺς πρέσβεις κατεῖχε τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κληρουχιῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντας, ἔτι ἐπικρύπτων, ἃ ἐφρόνει, ἦρι δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὥδευεν, ἐκ δὲ Τύρου διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ Ἀσίας ἤσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περυσίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐμέμφετο καὶ Φουλβίαν καὶ μάλιστα πάντων Μάνιον. Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗρεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ Βρεντεσίου φυγοῦσαν· Ἰουλίαν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα Πομπήιος, ἐς αὐτὸν διαφυγοῦσαν, ἔπεμπεν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ νεῶν μακρῶν, καὶ παρέπεμπον αὐτὴν οἱ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἄριστοι, Λεύκιός τε Λίβων, ὁ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ Σατουρνῖνος καὶ ἕτεροι, ὅσοι χρῄζοντες τῆς Ἀντωνίου μεγαλοπραγίας ἠξίουν αὐτὸν συναλλαγέντα Πομπηίῳ σύμμαχον ἐπὶ Καίσαρι λαβεῖν

another considerable army belonging to Antony, that was under the command of Fufius Calenus near the Alps. He already had suspicions of Antony, and he hoped, if the latter remained friendly, to preserve these forces for him, or, if war should break out, to add this large force to his own strength. While he was still delaying and looking around for a fair-seeming occasion, Calenus died; and Octavian, believing that he had found a good excuse for both transactions, went and took possession of the army and of Gaul and Spain besides, which were also Antony's provinces. Fufius, the son of Calenus, was terrified, and delivered everything over to him without a fight.

CHAP. VI

Octavian gains possession of the army of Calenus

Octavian, having acquired eleven legions of soldiers and these large provinces by one stroke, dismissed the chief officers from their commands, substituted his own, and returned to Rome. 52. As it was still winter, Antony retained the deputies of the colonized veterans, who had been sent to him, and still concealed his intentions. In the spring he set out from Alexandria and proceeded by land to Tyre, and thence by sea, touching at Cyprus and Rhodes, to the province of Asia. There he learned of the doings at Perusia and he blamed his brother and Fulvia, and, most of all, Manius. He found Fulvia at Athens, whither she had fled from Brundusium. His mother, Julia, who had fled to Pompeius, had been sent thither by him from Sicily with warships, and escorted by some of the optimates of his party, by Lucius Libo, his father-in-law, by Saturninus and others, who, being attracted by Antony's capacity for great deeds, sought to bring him into friendly relations with Pompeius and to form an alliance

Antony's wife and mother join him at Athens

CAP. VI

Πομπήιον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο χάριν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ μητρὶ γιγνώσκειν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἀποτίσειν ἐν χρόνῳ, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μὲν πολεμοίη Καίσαρι, χρήσεσθαι Πομπηίῳ συμμάχῳ, εἰ δ' ἐμμένοι τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡμολογημένοις ὁ Καῖσαρ, πειράσεσθαι καὶ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι συναλλάξαι.

53. Ὁ μὲν ὧδε ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανιὼν ᾔσθετο μὲν τῶν ἐς Ἀθήνας διαπεπλευκότων, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἀκριβὲς ἄρα οὐκ εἰδὼς ἐξώτρυνε τοὺς κληρούχους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς κατάγοντα μετὰ τῶν γεωργῶν Πομπήιον, ὧν αὐτοὶ τὰ χωρία ἔχουσιν· ἐς γὰρ δὴ Πομπήιον οἱ πλέονες τῶν γεωργῶν ἐπεφεύγεσαν. καὶ πιθανοῦ τοῦ διερεθίσματος ὄντος, οὐδ' ὡς οἱ κληροῦχοι προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐστράτευον· οὕτως ἡ δόξα τῶν ἐν Φιλίπποις γεγονότων ἐδημαγώγει τὸν Ἀντώνιον. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀντωνίου μὲν καὶ Πομπηίου καὶ Ἀηνοβάρβου κατὰ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν ὑπεροίσειν ἐνόμιζεν (ἦρχε γὰρ τελῶν ἐς τότε τεσσαράκοντα πλεόνων), ναῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχων οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἐς ναυπηγίαν ὠρρώδει, ναῦς ἐκείνων ἐχόντων πεντακοσίας, μὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπλέοντες ἐς λιμὸν περιενέγκαιεν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέλεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαικήνᾳ συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνίᾳ, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι

between them against Octavian. Antony replied that he thanked Pompeius for sending his mother and that he would requite him for the service in due time; that if there should be a war with Octavian he would ally himself with Pompeius, but that if Octavian should adhere to their agreements he would endeavour to reconcile him with Pompeius. CHAP. VI

53. Such was his answer, and when Octavian returned from Gaul to Rome he heard about those who had set sail for Athens. Not knowing exactly what answer Antony had given them, he began to excite the colonized soldiers against the latter, representing that Antony intended to bring back Pompeius with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had taken refuge with Pompeius. Although this cause of irritation was plausible, the soldiers would not even then take up arms against Antony with any zeal, so popular had he become by the reputation he had gained at Philippi. Octavian considered himself likely to be far superior to Antony, Pompeius, and Ahenobarbus in the number of troops, as he now had more than forty legions, but as he had not one ship and no time to make any, while they had 500, he feared lest they should bring famine upon Italy by patrolling the coast. While meditating on those things, and while proposals had been made to him about many girls in marriage, he wrote to Maecenas to make an engagement for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompeius, so that he might have the means of coming to an arrangement with the latter if need be. When Libo heard of this he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Octavian without hesitation. Octavian begins to suspect Antony

CAP. VI προθύμως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τῶν Ἀντωνίου φίλων καὶ στρατῶν ὅσους ὑπώπτευε, διέπεμπεν ἐπὶ προφάσεων ἄλλους ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ Λέπιδον ἐς τὴν ἐψηφισμένην αὐτῷ Λιβύην, ἄγοντα τῶν Ἀντωνίου τελῶν τὰ ὑποπτότατα ἕξ.

54. Λεύκιον δὲ καλέσας ἐπῄνει μὲν ἐς φιλαδελφίαν, εἰ τῇ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ ὑπομεμενηκὼς ἴδιον τὸ ἁμάρτημα ποιοῖτο, ὠνείδιζε δὲ ἐς ἀχαριστίαν, εἰ τοιούτου τυχὼν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ νῦν ὁμολογοίη περὶ Ἀντωνίου, σαφῶς ἤδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι λεγομένου. "ἐγὼ δέ σοι πιστεύων," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος τά τε ἔθνη τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα μὴ ἄναρχος εἴη, διὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων διῴκουν Ἀντωνίῳ. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκφανείσης τῆς ἐνέδρας ἐκεῖνά τε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα ποιοῦμαι καὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπιέναι θέλοντι συγχωρῶ μετὰ ἀδείας." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, εἴτε πειρώμενος τοῦ Λευκίου, εἴτε τὸ λεχθὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐθέλων ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ὁ δὲ οἷα καὶ πρότερον εἶπε· "Φουλβίας μὲν ᾐσθόμην οὔσης μοναρχικῆς, ἐγὼ δὲ συνεχρώμην τοῖς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατοῖς ἐς τὴν ἁπάντων ὑμῶν καθαίρεσιν. καὶ νῦν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς μοναρχίας ἔρχοιτο ὁ ἀδελφός, καὶ φανερῶς καὶ λαθὼν οἰχήσομαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀγωνιούμενος αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἤδη μοι γενόμενον εὐεργέτην. εἰ δ' ἐπιλέγοιτο κἀκεῖνος καὶ διακρίνοι τοὺς συμμοναρχήσοντας αὐτῷ, πολεμήσω σὺν σοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν ἡγῶμαι μηδὲ σὲ μοναρχίαν καθίστασθαι· τὸ γὰρ τῆς πατρίδος αἰεὶ προθήσω καὶ χάριτος

Then Octavian, on various pretexts, sent away to this place and that, such of Antony's friends and soldiers as he could not trust, and he sent Lepidus to Africa, the province assigned to him, and with him the six of Antony's legions who were most under suspicion. CHAP. VI

54. Then he summoned Lucius to his presence and praised him for his attachment to his brother, because he had taken the blame upon himself while carrying out Antony's wishes, but reproached him with ingratitude, if, after meeting such a favour from himself, he should now refuse to make confession concerning Antony, who was said to have formed an alliance openly with Pompeius. "Having confidence in you," he said, "when Calenus died I took charge of his provinces and army through my friends for Antony, so that they might not be without a head, but now that the plot is unveiled I shall keep them all for myself, and if you wish to go to your brother I will allow you to do so fearlessly." He spoke thus, either to test Lucius or in order that what he said might reach Antony. Lucius replied in the same spirit as before, saying, "I knew that Fulvia was in favour of the monarchy, but I joined with her and made use of my brother's soldiers to overthrow all of you. And now if my brother should come to dissolve the monarchy I will go to join him, either openly or secretly, and will fight you again in behalf of the country, although you have been a benefactor to me. But if he seeks allies to assist him in maintaining the tyranny, I will fight on your side against him as long as I think that you, too, are not trying to establish a monarchy. For I shall always set my country above gratitude and above family." He converses on the subject with Lucius

CAP. VI

καὶ γένους." ὧδε μὲν ὁ Λεύκιος εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν καὶ τέως ἐν θαύματι ἄγων οὐκ ἔφη μὲν οὐδὲ βουλόμενον ἐπάξεσθαι κατὰ ἀδελφοῦ, πιστεύσειν δὲ ὡς τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ πᾶσαν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατόν, ὑποστρατηγούντων αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡγουμένων αὐτῆς Πεδουκαίου τε καὶ Λευκίου.

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Λεύκιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέπεμπε σὺν τιμῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων ἐφύλασσεν ἀφανῶς· 55. Ἀντώνιος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κερκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει, στρατῷ μὲν οὐ πολλῷ, ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ἃς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀπαντᾶν αὐτῷ ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, οὐ δοκοῦντά τισιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς διαπεμφθείσαις σπονδαῖς εἶναι βέβαιον (ἦν γὰρ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῶν κατεγνωσμένων τε ἐκ δίκης ἐπὶ Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι φόνου καὶ προγεγραμμένων ἐπὶ τῇ καταδίκῃ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι πεπολεμηκότων), ὅμως ἔπλει, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπιβὰς ταῖς ἀρίσταις, ἵνα φαίνοιτο πιστεύων, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ διαστήματος ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας. καθορωμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου παντί τε τῷ στρατῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ μετ' ὀξείας εἰρεσίας προσπλέοντος, ἔδεισεν ὁ Πλάγκος Ἀντωνίῳ παρεστὼς καὶ ἐπισχεῖν αὐτὸν ἠξίου τὸν πλοῦν καὶ προπέμψαι τινὰς ἐς πεῖραν ὡς πρὸς ἀμφίβολον ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν αἱρεῖσθαι παρασπονδούμενος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ σώζεσθαι δειλὸς ὀφθείς,

So spake Lucius. Octavian, holding him in the same admiration as recently [at Perusia], said that he did not wish to incite him against his brother, but that he would entrust to Lucius, because he was what he was, the whole of Spain, and the army in it, with Peducaeus and Lucius, who now commanded it, as his lieutenants.[1] CHAP. VI

Thus Octavian dismissed Lucius with honour, but kept a secret watch upon him by means of his lieutenants. 55. Antony left Fulvia ill at Sicyon, and set sail from Corcyra into the Adriatic with an inconsiderable army and 200 ships that he had built in Asia. Antony learned that Ahenobarbus was coming to meet him with a fleet and a large number of soldiers. Then some of Antony's friends thought that it was not safe to trust even to the agreement exchanged between them, since Ahenobarbus had been condemned at the trial of Caesar's murderers, and after the condemnation had been placed on the list of the proscribed, and had fought against Antony and Octavian in the campaign of Philippi. Nevertheless, Antony advanced with five of his best ships in order to seem to have confidence in Ahenobarbus, and he ordered the others to follow at a certain distance. When Ahenobarbus was observed coming forward, rowing swiftly, with his whole army and fleet, Plancus, who was standing by the side of Antony, was alarmed and advised him to check his course and send a few men forward to make a test, as to a man whose intentions were doubtful. Antony replied that he would rather die by a breach of the treaty than be saved by an appearance of cowardice, and con-

Antony sets sail for Italy

Meets Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic

[1] Perhaps Lucius Carinas.

CAP. VI

ἔπλει. πλησίον τε ἦσαν ἀλλήλων ἤδη, καὶ αἱ ναυαρχίδες ἐκ τῶν σημείων ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἀλλήλαις προσέπλεον· καὶ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἑστώς, εἶτ' ἐκλιθόμενος, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος ἀνὴρ καὶ στρατοῦ κἀκεῖνος ἡγούμενος ἰδίου προσπλέοι, εἴτε ἀπὸ εὐγενεστέρου φρονήματος, ὡς ὑπηκόοις ἢ ἐλάσσοσιν ἀνδράσιν ὑπαντῶσι, προσέταξε καθελεῖν τὸ σημεῖον. οἱ δὲ καθῄρουν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Ἀντωνίου νεὼς περιέστρεφον. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιδόντες ἀλλήλους ἠσπάσαντο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἀηνοβάρβου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἡγεμόνα προσεῖπεν, ὁ μὲν Πλάγκος ἀνεθάρρει μόλις, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον ἀναδεξάμενος ἐς Παλόεντα κατέπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ καὶ τὸ πεζόν. καὶ ὁ Ἀηνόβαρβος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξίστατο Ἀντωνίῳ.

56. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Βρεντεσίου διέπλεον, φυλασσομένου πρὸς πέντε Καίσαρος τάξεων, καὶ οἱ Βρεντέσιοι τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλειον, Ἀηνοβάρβῳ μὲν ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμίῳ, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὡς πολέμιον ἐπάγοντι. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ἡγούμενος εἶναι τάδε καλλωπίσματα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀποκλείεσθαι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος φρουρῶν γνώμῃ Καίσαρος, διετάφρευε τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις χερρόνησος ἐν μηνοειδεῖ λιμένι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς ἐξ ἠπείρου προσελθεῖν ἀνάντει λόφῳ, διατετμημένῳ τε καὶ διατετειχισμένῳ. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ τὸν λιμένα μέγαν ὄντα φρουρίοις πυκνοῖς περιεφράξατο καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔς τε τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας περιέπεμπεν, οἷς εἴρητο τὰ εὔκαιρα

tinued his course. Now they were drawing near, and the vessels which bore the chiefs were distinguishable by their ensigns and approached each other. Antony's first lictor, who stood in the bows as was customary, either forgetful that Ahenobarbus was a man of doubtful purpose, and that he too was leading his own forces, or moved by a lofty spirit as though he were meeting subject or inferior men, ordered them to lower their flag. They did so, and laid their ship alongside of Antony's. When the two commanders saw each other they exchanged greetings, and the army of Ahenobarbus saluted Antony as imperator. Plancus recovered his courage with difficulty. Antony received Ahenobarbus in his own ship and sailed to Paloeis, where Ahenobarbus had his infantry, and here he yielded his tent to Antony. CHAP. VI

56. From thence they sailed to Brundusium, which was garrisoned by five cohorts of Octavian's troops. The citizens closed their gates against Ahenobarbus, as an old enemy, and against Antony, as one introducing an enemy. Antony was indignant, and considering this a pretence, and that he was in fact shut out by Octavian's garrison at the latter's instance, he drew a ditch and palisade across the isthmus that connects the town with the mainland. The city is situated on a peninsula which fronts a crescent-shaped harbour, and the people coming from the mainland could no longer reach the rising ground on which the city stands, as it had been cut off and walled in. Antony also surrounded the harbour, which is large, and the islands in it, with towers planted closely together. He sent forces along the coasts of Italy, whom he ordered to seize

Antony arrives at Brundusium and lays siege to it

CAP. VI καταλαμβάνειν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ Πομπήιον ἐπιπλεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος αὐτίκα Μηνόδωρον σὺν ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατοῦ τέσσαρσι τέλεσιν ἐκπέμψας Σαρδὼ Καίσαρος οὖσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο τέλη περιέσπασε τὴν συμφροσύνην Ἀντωνίου καταπλαγέντας. τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Σιποῦντα μὲν τῆς Αὐσονίας οἱ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατέλαβον, Θουρίους δὲ καὶ Κωνσεντίαν Πομπήιος ἐπολιόρκει καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπενέμετο τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν.

57. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὀξείας καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως γενομένης, ἐς μὲν τὴν Αὐσονίδα ἔπεμπεν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς πονουμένοις. καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας τοὺς ἐν ὁδῷ κληρούχους ἦγεν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἑπομένους ὡς ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ἰόντας· μαθόντες δὲ Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ τὰ γιγνόμενα εἶναι, ἀνέστρεφον αὐτίκα διαλανθάνοντες. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα κατέπληξε τὸν Καίσαρα. ὁδεύων δ' ὅμως ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, τοῖς κληρούχοις αὖθις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ μετεδίδασκε καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνῳκισμένους ἦγεν, αἰδουμένους καὶ γνώμην ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιουμένους Ἀντώνιον καὶ Καίσαρα συναλλάσσειν, εἰ δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀπειθῶν πολεμοίη, Καίσαρι ἀμύνειν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν μὲν Καυσίῳ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐνοσηλεύετο, παντὶ δὲ ὢν ἔτι κρείσσων Ἀντωνίου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, εὗρε τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀποτετειχισμένον καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ παρεστρατοπέδευε καὶ τοῖς γιγνόμενοις ἐφήδρευεν.

the advantageous positions. He called upon Pompeius also to move against Italy with his fleet and do whatever he could. Pompeius, with alacrity, despatched Menodorus with a numerous fleet and four legions of soldiers, who seized Sardinia, which belonged to Octavian, and two legions in it, who were panic-stricken at this agreement between Pompeius and Antony. In Italy Antony's men captured the town of Sipuntum of Ausonia. Pompeius besieged Thurii and Consentia and ravaged their territory with his cavalry. CHAP. VI

57. Octavian, attacked so suddenly and in so many places, sent Agrippa into Ausonia to succour the distressed inhabitants. Agrippa called out the colonized veterans along the road, and they followed at a certain interval, supposing that they were moving against Pompeius, but when they learned that what was happening was at Antony's instance, they turned around and went back secretly. Octavian was greatly alarmed by this. Nevertheless, while marching to Brundusium with another army he again fell in with the colonized veterans, and interceded with them, and prevailed upon those who had been colonized by himself to follow him. They were ashamed to refuse, but they had the secret intention to bring Antony and Octavian into harmony with each other, and if Antony should refuse and should go to war, then to defend Octavian. The latter was detained some days at Canusium by sickness. Although his forces considerably outnumbered those of Antony, he found Brundusium walled in, and he could do nothing but encamp alongside of it and await events. Octavian marches thither

CAP. VI

58. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐκράτει μὲν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ὡς πολὺ μείονας ἔχων ἀσφαλῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ ἐτέχναζεν ἑσπέρας ἀφανῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ναῦς μακράς τε καὶ στρογγύλας ἰδιωτικοῦ πλήθους, οἳ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλοι μετ' ἄλλους κατέπλεον ὡπλισμένοι καθάπερ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιόντες, ἐφορῶντος αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἤδη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα γεγένητο, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν ἔμελλε τοῖς Βρεντεσίοις, ἀχθομένου τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι μὴ εἶχεν ἐπαμύνειν. περὶ δὲ ἑσπέραν ἑκατέροις ἀγγέλλεται Σιποῦντα μὲν Ἀγρίππας ἀναλαβών, Πομπήιος δὲ Θουρίων μὲν ἀπεωσμένος, Κωνσεντίαν δ' ἔτι περικαθήμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐδυσχέραινεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σερουίλιος ἀπηγγέλθη προσιὼν τῷ Καίσαρι μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἱππέων, οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου, μεθ' ὧν εὗρεν ἑτοίμων φίλων καὶ ἱππέων τετρακοσίων, μάλα θρασέως ἐπειχθεὶς ἐπέπεσε τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις εὐναζομένοις ἔτι περὶ πόλιν Τρίαν καὶ ἐκπλήξας ἀμαχεὶ παρέλαβέ τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπανήγαγεν. οὕτω τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὡς ἄμαχον ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φιλίπποις δόξης ἔτι κατεπεπλήγεσαν.

59. Αἵ τε στρατηγίδες αὐτοῦ τάξεις, ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς δόξης ἐπαιρόμεναι, προσεπέλαζον τῷ χάρακι τῷ Καίσαρος κατὰ μέρη καὶ τοὺς συνεστρατευμένους σφίσιν ὠνείδιζον, εἰ πολεμήσοντες ἥκοιεν Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς περισώσαντι ἐν Φιλίπποις. τῶν δὲ ἀντεπικαλούντων, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ἥκουσι πολεμήσοντες, λόγοι συνισταμένων

58. Antony was enabled by means of his entrenchments to defend himself easily, although he was much inferior in numbers, and he summoned his army from Macedonia in haste, and in the meantime resorted to the stratagem of sending war-ships and merchant vessels to sea by night secretly with a multitude of private citizens on board, who returned, in batches, the next day, in sight of Octavian, fully armed, as though they had just come from Macedonia. Antony had his machines already prepared and was about to attack the Brundusians, to the great chagrin of Octavian, since he was not able to defend them. But toward evening the news reached both armies that Agrippa had captured Sipuntum and that Pompeius had been repulsed from Thurii, but was still besieging Consentia. Antony was disturbed by this news. When it was announced that Servilius was coming to the assistance of Octavian with 1500 horse, Antony could not restrain his rage, but sprang up from supper, and, with such friends as he could find ready and with 400 horse, he pressed forward with the utmost intrepidity, and fell upon the 1500, who were still asleep near the town of Hyria, threw them into a panic, captured them without a fight, and returned to Brundusium the same day. Thus did the reputation that Antony had gained at Philippi as invincible still inspire terror. CHAP. VI

Antony sends to Macedonia to bring his army

59. Antony's praetorian cohorts, proud of his prestige, approached the camp of Octavian in groups and reproached their former comrades for coming hither to fight Antony, to whom they all owed their safety at Philippi. When the latter replied that the others had come making war against themselves, The soldiers of the two armies fraternize

CAP. VI ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἀλλήλοις προύφερον, οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀπόκλεισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τοῦ Καληνοῦ στρατοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀποτείχισιν τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς Λυσονίδος καταδρομὴν καὶ τὸ συνθέσθαι μὲν Ἀηνοβάρβῳ σφαγεῖ Γαΐου Καίσαρος, συνθέσθαι δὲ Πομπηίῳ κοινῷ πολεμίῳ. καὶ τέλος οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὴν γνώμην σφῶν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἀνεκάλυπτον, ὅτι Καίσαρι συνέλθοιεν οὐκ ἀμνημονοῦντες Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ διαλλαγὰς ἐπινοοῦντες ἀμφοτέροις ἢ Ἀντώνιον ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ πολεμοῦντα ἀμυνούμενοι. καὶ τάδε καὶ αὐτοὶ προσπελάζοντες τοῖς Ἀντωνίου χαρακώμασι προύλεγον.

Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλλεται Φουλβία τεθνεῶσα, λεγομένη μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀντωνίου μέμψεσιν ἀθυμῆσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν νόσον ἐμπεσεῖν, νομιζομένη δὲ καὶ τὴν νόσον ἑκοῦσα ἐπιτρῖψαι διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωνίου· νοσοῦσάν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀπολελοίπει καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπολείπων ἐωράκει. ἐδόκει δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐς πολλὰ συνοίσειν ὁ θάνατος, γυναίου φιλοπράγμονος ἀπηλλαγμένοις, ἢ διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας ζῆλον ἐξερρίπισε τοσόνδε πόλεμον. τό γε μὴν πάθος ἀσθενῶς ἤνεγκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἡγούμενός τι καὶ αἴτιος γεγονέναι.

VII

CAP. VII 60. Λεύκιος δὲ ἦν Κοκκήιος ἑκατέρῳ φίλος καὶ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐς Φοινίκην τοῦ προτέρου θέρους

they fell to arguing and brought charges against each other. Antony's men said that Brundusium had been closed against him and that Calenus' troops had been taken from him, the others spoke of the investment and siege of Brundusium, the invasion of Southern Italy, the agreement with Ahenobarbus, one of Caesar's murderers, and the treaty with Pompeius, their common enemy. Finally Octavian's men revealed their purpose to the others, saying that they had come with Octavian, not because they were forgetful of Antony's merits, but with the intention of bringing them to an agreement, or, if Antony refused and continued the war, of defending Octavian against him. These things they openly said also when they approached Antony's works. CHAP. VI

While these events were in progress the news came that Fulvia was dead. It was said that she was dispirited by Antony's reproaches and fell sick, and it was thought that she had become a willing victim of disease on account of the anger of Antony, who had left her while she was sick and had not visited her even when he was going away. The death of this turbulent woman, who had stirred up so disastrous a war on account of her jealousy of Cleopatra, seemed extremely fortunate to both of the parties who were rid of her. Nevertheless, Antony was much saddened by this event because he considered himself in some sense the cause of it. Death of Fulvia

VII

60. There was a certain Lucius Cocceius, a friend of both, who had been sent, in company with CHAP. VII

CAP. VII πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ Καικίνα, ἐπανιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καικίνα παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ κατέμενεν. οὗτος τότε ὁ Κοκκήιος, τὸν καιρὸν οὐ μεθείς, ὑπεκρίνατο μεταπεμφθῆναι πρὸς Καίσαρος ἀσπασόμενος αὐτόν. συγχωροῦντος δ' ἀπιέναι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πειρώμενος ἤρετο, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Καίσαρι, κεκομισμένος δι' αὐτοῦ Κοκκηίου γράμματα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος "νῦν μέν," ἔφη, "τί ἂν ἀλλήλοις γράφοιμεν, ὄντες ἐχθροί, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἀγορεύοιμεν ἀλλήλους; ἀντέγραψα δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ Καικίνα· καὶ εἰ βούλει, λάβε τὰ ἀντίγραφα." ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπεχλεύασεν, ὁ δὲ Κοκκήιος οὐκ εἴα πω τὸν Καίσαρα καλεῖν ἐχθρόν, ἕς τε Λεύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀντωνίου φίλους τοιόνδε γεγενημένον. ὁ δέ "ἐκ Βρεντεσίου με," φησίν, "ἀποκλείων καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὸν Καληνοῦ στρατὸν ἀφαιρούμενος ἔτι τοῖς φίλοις ἐστὶν εὔνους μόνοις· οὐδὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐμοὶ περισῴζειν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ἐχθροποιεῖν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος, ἃ μὲν ἐπεμέμφετο μαθών, οὐδὲν δὲ ἔτι ὀξυτέραν φύσιν ἐπερεθίσας, ᾤχετο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

61. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐν θαύματι ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μὴ θᾶσσον ἔλθοι· "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀδελφόν, ἵν' ἐχθρὸς ᾖς μοι, περιέσωσα." ὁ δέ "πῶς," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους ποιῇ, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐχθροὺς ἀποκαλεῖς τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφαιρῇ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη;" καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, "Καληνοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐχρῆν

Caecina, by Octavian, the previous summer, to Antony in Phoenicia, and had remained with Antony after Caecina returned. This Cocceius, seizing his opportunity, pretended that he had been sent for by Octavian for the purpose of a friendly greeting. When Antony allowed him to go he asked, by way of testing his disposition, whether Antony would like to write any letter to Octavian making use of himself as his messenger. Antony replied: "What can we write to each other, now that we are enemies, except mutual recrimination? I wrote letters in reply to his of some time ago, which I sent by the hand of Caecina. Take copies of those if you like." This he said by way of jest, but Cocceius would not yet allow him to call Octavian an enemy after his generous behaviour towards Lucius and Antony's other friends. But Antony replied: "He has shut me out of Brundusium and taken my provinces and the army of Calenus from me. He is kind only to my friends, and evidently not to keep them friendly, but to make them enemies to me by his benefactions." Cocceius, after hearing these complaints, did not care to irritate further a naturally passionate disposition, but proceeded to make his visit to Octavian.

CHAP. VII

Cocceius attempts to mediate

61. When Octavian saw him he expressed astonishment that he had not come sooner. "I did not save your brother," he exclaimed, "in order that you should be my enemy."[1] Cocceius replied, "How is it that you, who make friends out of enemies, call your friends enemies and take from them their armies and provinces?" "It was not fitting," replied Octavian, "that after the death of Calenus

He has an interview with Octavian

[1] The brother was M. Cocceius Nerva, Antony's proquaestor.

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ἐπὶ μειρακίῳ τῷ Καλήνου παιδὶ γενέσθαι τοσαύτας ἀφορμάς, ἀπόντος ἔτι Ἀντωνίου· αἷς καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπαρθεὶς ἐμάνη, καὶ Ἀσίνιος καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβος γειτονεύοντες ἐχρῶντο καθ' ἡμῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Πλάγκου τέλη κατὰ σπουδὴν κατέλαβον, ἵνα μὴ οἴχοιτο πρὸς Πομπήιον· οἱ γοῦν ἱππέες αὐτῶν διέπλευσαν ἐς Σικελίαν." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος "ἑτέρως," ἔφη, "τάδε λογοποιούμενα οὐδὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευεν, ἕως ἀπεκλείσθη τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καθάπερ πολέμιος." καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτὸς ἔφη περὶ τοῦδε προστάξαι (οὐδὲ γὰρ προμαθεῖν προσπλέοντα οὐδ' ἀφικέσθαι μετὰ πολεμίων προσδοκῆσαι), Βρεντεσίους δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ὑπολελειμμένον αὐτοῖς διὰ τὰς Ἀηνοβάρβου καταδρομὰς ταξίαρχον αὐτοκελεύστους ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον, συνθέμενον μὲν ἐχθρῷ κοινῷ Πομπηίῳ, ἐπαγαγόντα δὲ Ἀηνόβαρβον φονέα τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει καὶ προγραφῇ κατεγνωσμένον καὶ πολιορκήσαντα μὲν τὸ Βρεντέσιον μετὰ Φιλίππους, πολιορκοῦντα δὲ ἔτι τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐν κύκλῳ, ἐμπρήσαντα δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς ναῦς καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν λεηλατήσαντα.

62. Ὁ δέ "σπένδεσθαι μέν," ἔφη, "συνεχωρήσατε ἀλλήλοις, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐθέλητε· καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀνδροφόνων Ἀντώνιος ἐσπείσατο, οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ἢ αὐτὸς σὺ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τιμῶν. Ἀηνόβαρβος δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἀνδροφόνων, ἡ δὲ ψῆφος αὐτῷ κατ' ὀργὴν ἐπῆκται· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς

such large resources should be left in the hands of such a stripling as Calenus' son while Antony was still far distant. Lucius was excited to frenzy by them and Asinius and Ahenobarbus, who were near by, were about to use them against us. So, too, I took sudden possession of the legions of Plancus, in order that they might not join the Pompeians. His cavalry has actually gone to Sicily." "These matters have been told differently," said Cocceius; "but even Antony did not credit the statements made to him until he was shut out of Brundusium as an enemy." "I gave no order on that subject," replied Octavian, "for I did not know beforehand that he was coming, nor did I anticipate that he would come here with enemies. The Brundusians themselves and the praefect, who had been left with them on account of the raids of Ahenobarbus, of their own motion excluded Antony, who was in league with the common enemy, Pompeius, and was bringing in Ahenobarbus, one of my father's murderers, who had been condemned by vote of the Senate, by judgment of the court, and by the proscription, who besieged Brundusium after the battle of Philippi, and is still blockading the Adriatic coast, who has burned my ships and plundered Italy." CHAP. VII

He argues for Antony's rectitude

62. "But it was agreed between you," said Cocceius, "that you might treat with whomsoever you chose. Yet Antony has not made a treaty with any of the murderers, and he holds your father in no less honour than you do. Ahenobarbus was not one of the murderers, but the vote was cast against him on account of personal animosity, for he had no share whatever in the plots of those

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βουλῆς πω τότε μετεῖχεν. εἰ δ' ὡς φίλῳ Βρούτου μὴ συγγνῶναι νομίζοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ὀλίγου δεῖν ἅπασι χαλεπαίνοντες; Πομπηίῳ δὲ οὐ συνέθετο μὲν συμμαχήσειν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, πολεμούμενος δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ προσλήψεσθαι σύμμαχον ἢ καὶ σοὶ συναλλάξειν, οὐδὲν ἀνήκεστον οὐδ' ἐκεῖνον εἰργασμένον. σὺ δὲ καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχεις· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπολεμήθη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐθάρρουν." καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔτι ἐπικαλῶν "τὴν μὲν Ἰταλίαν," ἔφη, "κἀμὲ σὺν αὐτῇ, Μανιος καὶ Φουλβία καὶ Λεύκιος ἐπολέμουν· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν ἐπιβέβηκε τῆς παραλίου." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος "οὐκ Ἀντωνίῳ θαρρῶν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου πεμφθείς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπικρύψω σε, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐπιδραμεῖται ναυτικῷ πολλῷ ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαν, εἰ μὴ διαλύσεσθε ὑμεῖς." ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ (οὐ γὰρ ἀμελῶς ἤκουσε τοῦ τεχνάσματος) ἐπισχὼν ὀλίγον εἶπεν· "ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσει Πομπήιος, κακὸς κακῶς καὶ νῦν ἐκ Θουρίων ἐξελαθείς." καὶ ὁ Κοκκήιος τὰ ἀμφίλογα πάντα κατιδὼν ἐπῆγε τὸν Φουλβίας θάνατον καὶ τρόπον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀντωτίου δυσχεράνασά τε νοσήσειε καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐπιτρίψειεν ὑπὸ τῆς δυσθυμίας, οὐκ ἰδόντος αὐτὴν οὐδὲ νοσοῦσαν Ἀντωνίου, ὡς αἴτιον τῇ γυναικὶ θανάτου γενόμενον· ἐκποδὼν δὲ κἀκείνης γενομένης, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν ἐνδεῖν ἔτι ἔφη "πρὸς ἀλλήλους πλὴν ἀληθεῦσαι, περὶ ὧν ὑπενοήσατε."

days. If we consider him unpardonable because he was a friend of Brutus, are we not in a fair way to be bitter against almost everybody? Antony made an agreement with Pompeius, not to make an aggressive war with him, but either to secure his help in case of an attack by you, or to bring him into good relations with you, since even he has done nothing which should make him irreconcilable. You are the one to blame for these things, for if there had been no war in Italy those men would not have ventured to send ambassadors to Antony." Octavian repeated his accusations, saying, "Manius and Fulvia and Lucius brought war against Italy, and against me as well as Italy; and Pompeius, who did not attack before, now makes descents upon the coast, encouraged by Antony." Cocceius replied, "Not encouraged by Antony, but directed by him; for I will not conceal from you the fact that the rest of Italy, which is destitute of naval defences, will be attacked by a powerful fleet unless you two agree to peace." Octavian, who gave due weight to this artful suggestion, reflected a moment, and then said, "But Pompeius will have the worst of it. He has just been repulsed from Thurii as he deserves." Then Cocceius, having gone over the whole controversy, led the conversation up to the death of Fulvia and the manner of it, saying that she fell sick because she could not bear the anger of Antony and wasted away with grief because he would not see her even when she was ill, and that he was in a manner the cause of his wife's death. "Now that she is dead," he continued, "it only remains for you to tell each other frankly what your suspicions are." CHAP. VII

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63. Οὕτω καθομιλῶν τὸν Καίσαρα ὁ Κοκκήιος ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξενίζετο παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεῖτο ἐπιστεῖλαί τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, νεώτερον ὄντα πρεσβυτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ πολεμοῦντι μὲν ἔτι οὐκ ἔφη γράψειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον· μέμψεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ τῇ μητρί, ὅτι συγγενὴς οὖσα καὶ προτιμηθεῖσα ἐκ πάντων ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, φύγοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν καθάπερ οὐ τευξομένη πάντων ὡς παρ' υἱοῦ. ὧδε μὲν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτέχναζε καὶ ἐπέστελλε τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ. ἐξιόντι δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Κοκκηίῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τὴν γνώμην ἐξέφερον τοῦ στρατοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τόδε αὐτὸ τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ μετέφερεν, ἵνα εἰδείη πολεμήσοντας οὐ συντιθεμένῳ. συνεβούλευεν οὖν Πομπήιον μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐπόρθει μετακαλεῖν, Ἀηνόβαρβον δέ ποι πέμπειν, ἕως αἱ συνθῆκαι γένοιντο. παρακαλούσης δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐς ταῦτα τὸν Ἀντώνιον (γένει γὰρ ἦν ἐκ τῶν Ἰουλίων), ᾐσχύνετο Ἀντώνιος, εἰ μὴ γενομένων τῶν συμβάσεων τὸν Πομπήιον αὖθις ἐς συμμαχίαν καλοίη. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς οὐκ ἀπελπιζούσης αὐτὰς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Κοκκηίου ἰσχυριζομένου τε περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλπιζομένου τι πλέον εἰδέναι, ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐνεδίδου καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐπιμελησόμενος τῶν συγκειμένων, καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἔπεμπεν ἡγεῖσθαι Βιθυνίας.

64. Ὧν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανό-

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Octavian writes to Antony's mother

63. In this way Cocceius won the confidence of Octavian and passed the day as his guest, and begged him to write to Antony as the younger man to the older. Octavian said that he would not write to one who was still waging war against him, because Antony had not written to him, but that he would make complaint to Antony's mother, because, although a relative and held in the highest honour by Octavian, she had fled from Italy, as though she could not have obtained everything from him as from her own son. This was his device also for opening a correspondence by writing to Julia. As Cocceius was going away from the camp many of the higher officers advised him of the purpose of the army, and he communicated this and other things he had learned to Antony, so that he might know that they would fight against him because he did not come to an agreement. So he advised Antony that Pompeius should be called back from his ravaging to Sicily, and that Ahenobarbus should be sent somewhither until the treaty of peace should be made. Antony's mother besought him to the same purpose, for she belonged to the Julian clan. Antony apprehended that if the negotiations should fail he would be put to the shame of calling on Pompeius for assistance again, but his mother encouraged him to believe that they would not fail, and Cocceius confirmed her, intimating that he knew more than he had told. So Antony yielded, and ordered Pompeius back to Sicily, implying that he would take care of their mutual concerns, and sent Ahenobarbus away as governor of Bithynia.

64. When Octavian's soldiers learned these facts

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μενοι πρέσβεις εἵλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἳ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὡς οὐ κρῖναι σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἠρημένοι, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μαικήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεῶτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἠσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίαι πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἄπαυστοι δι' ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν.

65. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὖθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν, ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ' ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν, καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μή τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδήσεως. Ἀρμενίᾳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως ἴσον ἑκάτερον.

Αἵδε μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τελευταῖαι Καίσαρί τε καὶ

they chose deputies and sent the same ones to both commanders. They took no notice of accusations because they had been chosen, not to decide a controversy, but to restore peace. Cocceius was added to their number as a friend of both, together with Pollio from Antony's party and Maecenas from that of Octavian. It was determined that there should be amnesty between Antony and Octavian for the past and friendship for the future. Moreover, as Marcellus, the husband of Octavian's sister Octavia, had recently died, the umpires decided that her brother should betroth her to Antony, which he did immediately. Then Antony and Octavian embraced each other. Thereupon shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to each of the generals, without intermission, through the entire day and night.

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Octavian and Antony reconciled

65. Now Octavian and Antony made a fresh partition of the whole Roman empire between themselves, the boundary line being Scodra, a city of Illyria which was supposed to be situated about midway up the Adriatic gulf. All provinces and islands east of this place, as far as the river Euphrates, were to belong to Antony and all west of it to the ocean to Octavian. Lepidus was to govern Africa, inasmuch as Octavian had given it to him. Octavian was to make war against Pompeius unless they should come to some agreement, and Antony was to make war against the Parthians to avenge their treachery toward Crassus. Octavian was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus that Antony had already made. Both of them might freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers.

They make a fresh partition of the empire

These were the last conditions of peace between

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Ἀντωνίῳ γενόμεναι συμβάσεις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοὺς φίλους ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν περιέπεμπεν, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος. ἀναστέλλειν Παρθυαίους τε καὶ Λαβιηνὸν τὸν Λαβιηνοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἀσχολίαις Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐπιδραμόντα.

Ἃ μὲν δὴ Λαβιηνός τε καὶ Παρθυαῖοι δράσαντες ἔπαθον, ἡ Παρθυικὴ δηλώσει γραφή· 66. Ἕλενον δὲ στρατηγὸν Καίσαρος, σὺν ὁρμῇ κατασχόντα Σαρδοῦς, αὖθις ἐξέβαλε τῆς Σαρδοῦς Μηνόδωρος ὁ Πομπηίου, καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα χαλεπαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς πείρας Ἀντωνίου συνάγοντος αὐτῷ Πομπήιον. ἐς δὲ Ῥώμην παρελθόντες ἐτέλουν τοὺς γάμους. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος Μάνιον μὲν ἔκτεινεν ὡς ἐρεθίσαντά τε Φουλβίαν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ τοσῶνδε αἴτιον γενόμενον, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐνέφηνε Σαλουιδιηνόν, τὸν ἡγούμενον τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦ περὶ Ῥοδανὸν στρατοῦ, ἀπόστασιν ἰδίᾳ βουλεῦσαι καί οἱ περὶ τοῦδε προσπέμψαι περικαθημένῳ τὸ Βρεντέσιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τόδε ἐξεῖπεν οὐ πρὸς πάντων ἐπαινούμενον, εὐφυὴς ὢν ἄρα καὶ ταχὺς ἐς εὔνοιαν· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτίκα τὸν Σαλουιδιηνὸν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν, ὡς ἐπὶ δή τι μόνου χρῄζων καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμψων αὖθις ἐς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα ἔκτεινε διελέγξας καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατὸν ὡς ὕποπτον ὄντα ἔχειν ἔδωκεν Ἀντωνίῳ.

Octavian and Antony. Straightway each of them sent his friends to attend to urgent business. Antony despatched Ventidius to Asia against the Parthians and against Labienus, the son of Labienus, who, with the Parthians, had made a hostile incursion into Syria and had advanced as far as Ionia during the late troubles. CHAP. VII

What Labienus and the Parthians did and suffered I will show in my Parthian history; 66. but in the meantime Helenus, a lieutenant of Octavian, who had repossessed Sardinia by a sudden onset, was driven out again by Menodorus, the lieutenant of Pompeius. Octavian was so exasperated by this that he rejected Antony's endeavours to bring him to an agreement with Pompeius. They proceeded to Rome together and celebrated the marriage. Antony put Manius to death because he had excited Fulvia by his accusations against Cleopatra and had been the cause of so many evils. He also revealed to Octavian the fact that Salvidienus, who was in command of Octavian's army on the Rhone, had had the intention of deserting him, and had sent word to that effect to Antony while he was besieging Brundusium. This secret Antony revealed not with universal approbation, but because of his real frankness and eagerness to show his good-will. Octavian instantly summoned Salvidienus to Rome pretending that he had some private communication to make to him, and that he should send him back to the army. When he came Octavian confronted him with proofs of his treachery and put him to death, and gave his army to Antony, as he considered it untrustworthy.

Antony marries Octavia

VIII

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67. Ῥωμαίους δ' ὁ λιμὸς ἐπίεζεν, οὔτε τῶν ἑῴων ἐμπόρων ἐπιπλεόντων δέει Πομπηίου καὶ Σικελίας, οὔτε τῶν ἐκ δύσεως διὰ Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον ἐχομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Πομπηίου, οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς περαίας Λιβύης διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν ναυκρατοῦντας. ἐπετίμητο δὴ πάντα, καὶ τῶνδε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐς τὴν ἔριν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀναφέροντες ἐβλασφήμουν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐς διαλύσεις πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐπέσπερχον. οὐκ ἐνδιδόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐδ' ὡς, ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἠξίου ταχύνειν γε τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. χρημάτων δ' ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων προυτέθη διάγραμμα, εἰσφέρειν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς θεράπουσι τοὺς κεκτημένους ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραχμῶν ὡρισμένων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν Κασσίου τε καὶ Βρούτου, ἐσφέρειν δὲ καὶ μοῖραν τοὺς ἐκ διαθήκης τι καρπουμένους. τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα σὺν ὁρμῇ μανιώδει καθεῖλεν ὁ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ τὰ κοινὰ ταμιεῖα κεκενωκότες καὶ τὰ ἔθνη σεσυληκότες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτὴν ἐσφοραῖς καὶ τέλεσι καὶ δημεύσεσι καταβαρήσαντες οὐκ ἐς πολέμους οὐδ' ἐς ἐπίκτητον ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας δυναστείας, ὑπὲρ ἧς δὴ καὶ προγραφὰς καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ λιμὸν ἐκ τῶνδε πανώδυνον γεγονέναι, ἔτι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ περιδύοιεν αὐτούς.

Συνιστάμενοί τε ἐβόων καὶ τοὺς οὐ συνιστα-
μένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠπείλουν διαρπάσειν αὐτῶν
τὰς οἰκίας καὶ καταπρήσειν, 68. ἕως τὸ μὲν

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Sextus Pompeius cuts off the corn supply of Rome

67. Now famine fell upon Rome, since the merchants of the Orient could not put to sea for fear of Pompeius, who controlled Sicily, and those of the west were deterred by Sardinia and Corsica, which the lieutenants of Pompeius held, while those of Africa opposite were prevented by the same hostile fleets, which infested both shores. Thus there was a great rise in cost of provisions, and the people considered the cause of it to be the strife between the chiefs, and cried out against them and urged them to make peace with Pompeius. As Octavian would by no means yield, Antony advised him to hasten the war on account of the scarcity. As there was no money for this purpose, an edict was published that the owners of slaves should pay a tax for each one, equal to one-half of the twenty-five drachmas that had been ordained for the war against Brutus and Cassius, and that those who acquired property by legacies should contribute a share thereof. The people tore down the edict with fury. They were exasperated that, after exhausting the public treasury, stripping the provinces, burdening Italy itself with contributions, taxes, and confiscations, not for foreign war, not for extending the empire, but for private enmities and to add to their own power (for which reason the proscriptions and murders and this terrible famine had come about), the triumvirs should deprive them of the remainder of their property.

Riot in the forum

They banded together, with loud cries, and stoned those who did not join them, and threatened to plunder and burn their houses, 68. until the whole

CAP. VIII πλῆθος ἅπαν ἠρέθιστο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ὀλίγοις ὑπασπισταῖς ἐς μέσους ἦλθεν, ἐντυχεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν μέμψιν ἐκλογίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ὀφθέντα ἔβαλλόν τε ἀφειδῶς πάνυ καὶ οὐδ' ὑπομένοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐμπαρέχοντα καὶ τιτρωσκόμενον ᾐδοῦντο. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐβοήθει κατὰ σπουδήν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τόνδε, κατιόντα τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδόν, οὐκ ἔβαλλον μὲν ὡς ἕτοιμον ἐς τὰς Πομπηίου διαλύσεις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον· καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον, τότε ἔβαλλον. ὁ δὲ ὁπλίτας πλέονας, οἳ ἦσαν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ἐκάλει. καὶ οὐ παριέντων οὐδ' ὡς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν ὁπλῖται διαιρεθέντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπεχείρουν ἐκ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα ἀνῄρουν· οἱ δ' οὐκέτι εὐμαρῶς οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ἐδύναντο, βεβυσμένοι τε ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ διαδρομὴν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἦν καὶ τραύματα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν οἰμωγαὶ καὶ βοαί. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος μόλις τε παρῆλθε, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν Καίσαρα περιφανῶς δὴ τότε μάλιστα οὗτος ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν περιέσωσε. διαφυγόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ πλήθους τὰ νεκρά, ἵνα μὴ ἐνοχλοίη θεωρούμενα, ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπερριπτεῖτο· καὶ ἕτερον πένθος ἦν ὁρωμένων ἀνὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα, καὶ περιδυόντων αὐτὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν κακοῦργοι τὰ εὐσχήμονα μάλιστα ὡς οἰκεῖα ἔφερον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαύετο σὺν

CHAP. VIII

Octavian stoned by the mob and rescued by Antony

populace was aroused, and Octavian with his friends and a few attendants came into the forum intending to intercede with the people and to show the unreasonableness of their complaints. As soon as he made his appearance they stoned him unmercifully, and they were not ashamed when they saw him enduring this treatment patiently, and offering himself to it, and even bleeding from wounds. When Antony learned what was going on he came with haste to his assistance. When the people saw him coming down the Via Sacra they did not throw stones at him, since he was in favour of a treaty with Pompeius, but they told him to go away. When he refused to do so they stoned him also. He called in a larger force of troops, who were outside the walls. As the people would not allow him even so to pass through, the soldiers divided right and left on either side of the street and the forum, and made their attaek from the narrow lane, striking down those whom they met. The people could no longer find ready escape on account of the crowd, nor was there any way out of the forum. There was a scene of slaughter and wounds, while shrieks and groans sounded from the housetops. Antony made his way into the forum with difficulty, and snatched Octavian from the most manifest danger, in which he then was, and brought him safe to his house. The mob having been dispersed, the corpses were thrown into the river in order to avoid their gruesome appearance. It was a fresh cause of lamentation to see them floating down the stream, and the soldiers stripping them, and certain miscreants, as well as the soldiers, carrying off the clothing of the better class as their own property.

CAP. XIII φόβῳ τε καὶ μίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων, ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἤκμαζε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔστενε καὶ ἠσύχαζεν.

69. Ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐδίδασκε τοὺς Λίβωνος οἰκείους Λίβωνα καλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπὶ συνησθήσει τοῦ κήδους, ἐργασόμενόν τι καὶ μεῖζον· τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς τῷ Λίβωνι ἀνεδέχετο αὐτός. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχέως ἐπέστελλον, καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τῷ Λίβωνι συνεχώρει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὁ Λίβων ἐς νῆσον ὡρμίσθη τὰς Πιθηκούσας, ἣ νῦν ἐστιν Λιναρῖα. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος αὖθις ἠθροίζετο καὶ παρεκάλει σὺν ὀλοφύρσει τὸν Καίσαρα πέμψαι Λίβωνι πίστιν, πρεσβεύειν ἐθέλοντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄκων ἔπεμπεν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος καὶ Μουκίαν, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Πομπηίου, καταπρήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, ἐξέπεμπον ἐργασομένην διαλύσεις. Λίβων μὲν δὴ συνεὶς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἠξίου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς συνελθεῖν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἐνδώσοντας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ· βιασαμένου δὲ καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τοῦ δήμου, ἐξῆεσαν ἐς Βαΐας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος.

70. Πομπήιον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς ἔπειθον ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην, Μηνόδωρος δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς ἐπέστελλεν ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἢ βραδύνειν ἔτι, ὡς τοῦ λιμοῦ σφῶν προπολεμοῦντος καὶ τῶν συμβάσεων, εἰ καραδοκοίη, κρεισσόνων ἐσομένων· Μοῦρκόν τε τούτοις ἐνιστάμενον ὑποβλέπειν ἐκέλευεν ὡς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περικτώμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως τὸν Μοῦρκον διά τε ἀξίωμα καὶ γνώμην

This insurrection was suppressed, but with terror and hatred for the triumvirs; the famine grew worse; the people groaned, but did not stir. CHAP VIII

69. Antony suggested to the relatives of Libo that they should summon him from Sicily for the purpose of congratulating his brother-in-law,[1] and to accomplish something more important; and he himself promised him a safe-conduct. His relatives wrote promptly and Pompeius acquiesced. Libo, on his arrival, cast anchor at the isle of Pithecusa, which is now called Aenaria.[2] When the people learned this, they assembled together again and besought Octavian with tears to send letters of safeguard to Libo, who desired to negotiate with him for peace. He did so reluctantly. The people also, threatening to burn Mucia, the mother of Pompeius, with her house, sent her to communicate with her son in the interest of peace. When Libo perceived that his enemies were on the point of yielding, he demanded that the leaders themselves should come together in order to make such concessions to each other as they could agree upon. The people compelled them to this course, and, accordingly, Octavian and Antony went to Baiae. B.C. 39 Negotiations with Sextus Pompeius

70. All the friends of Pompeius urged him with one accord to make peace, except Menodorus, who wrote to him from Sardinia either to prosecute the war vigorously or still to procrastinate, because famine was fighting for them, and he would thus get better terms if he should decide to make peace. Menodorus also advised him to distrust Murcus, who opposed these views, intimating that he was seeking power for himself. Pompeius, who had been vexed with

[1] The text is doubtful. [2] The modern Ischia.

CAP. VIII

ἐγκρατῆ βαρυνόμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶνδε ἀπερρίπτει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν, ὅ τι Μούρκῳ προσεῖχεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Μοῦρκος ἀχθόμενος ἐς Συρακούσας ὑπεχώρει καί τινας ἰδὼν φύλακας ἑπομένους ἐκ Πομπηίου, φανερῶς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐλοιδόρει. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχον καὶ λοχαγὸν αὐτοῦ Μούρκου διαφθείρας ἔπεμψεν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ φάσκειν ὑπὸ θεραπόντων ἀνῃρῆσθαι· ἔς τε πίστιν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τοὺς θεράποντας ἐσταύρου. οὐ μὴν ἐλάνθανε δεύτερον ἐπὶ Βιθυνικῷ τόδε μύσος ἐργασάμενος, περὶ ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ πολέμια λαμπρὸν καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἐγκρατῆ φίλον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν Πομπήιον εὐεργέτην τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἑκόντα ἐλθόντα ἐς Σικελίαν.

71. Μοῦρκος μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὰς διαλύσεις ἐπειγόντων καὶ τὸν Μηνόδωρον διαβαλλόντων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως αὐτὸς ἄρχοι στρατοῦ καὶ χώρας ἐνιστάμενον, ἐνδοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Λιναρίαν διέπλει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς ἀρίσταις, ἐξήρους λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβεβηκώς. καὶ Δικαιάρχειαν μὲν οὕτω σοβαρῶς παρέπλευσε περὶ ἑσπέραν, ἐφορώντων τῶν πολεμίων· ἅμα δὲ ἕῳ, καταπηχθέντων σταυρῶν ἐξ ὀλίγου διαστήματος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, σανίδες τοῖς σταυροῖς ἐπετέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τῶνδε τῶν καταστρωμάτων ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ πρὸς τῇ γῇ πεποιημένον, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Λίβων ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον, ὀλίγου ῥεύματος αὐτοὺς διείργοντος

Murcus lately on account of his high position and his stubbornness, became still more averse to him for this reason, and held no communication with him whatever, until, finally, Murcus retired in disgust to Syracuse. Here he saw some of Pompeius' guards following him, and he expressed his opinion of Pompeius to them freely. Then Pompeius bribed a tribune and a centurion of Murcus, and sent them to kill him and to say that he had been murdered by slaves. To give credibility to this falsehood he crucified the slaves. But he did not succeed in concealing this crime,—the next one committed by him after the murder of Bithynicus,—Murcus having been a man distinguished for his warlike deeds, who had been strongly attached to that party from the beginning, and had rendered great assistance to Pompeius himself in Spain, and had joined him in Sicily voluntarily.

CHAP. VIII

Sextus puts Murcus to death

71. Such was the death of Murcus. His other friends urged Pompeius to make peace, and they accused Menodorus of fondness of power and as opposing peace not so much from good-will to his master as from a desire to command an army and a province. Pompeius yielded and set sail for Aenaria with a large number of his best ships, having embarked himself on a magnificent one with six banks of oars. In this style, toward evening, he sailed proudly past Puteoli in sight of his enemies. Early in the morning two sets of piles were driven in the sea a short distance apart, and planks were placed upon them. Upon the platform nearest the shore Octavian and Antony took their places, while Pompeius and Libo occupied the seaward one, a small space of water separating them, so that they

Sextus goes to Puteoli and has a conference with Antony and Octavian

CAP. VIII μὴ κεκραγότας ἀλλήλων ἀκούειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥκειν ᾤετο αὐτὶ Λεπίδου, οἱ δὲ ὡς κάθοδον αὐτῷ δώσοντες μόνην, τότε μὲν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ διεκρίθησαν, διαπομπαὶ δὲ συχναὶ τῶν φίλων ἦσαν ἐπὶ ποικίλαις ἑκατέρων προκλήσεσιν. ἤτει δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν προγεγραμμένων τε καὶ οἳ συνόντων τοῖς μὲν ἀνδροφόνοις Γαΐου Καίσαρος φυγὴν ἄδολον, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς κάθοδόν τε ἔντιμον καὶ τὰς οὐσίας, ἃς ἀναλώκεσαν. ἐπειγόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰς συμβάσεις ὑπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐς τὸ τέταρτον μόλις ἐνεδίδουν ὡς ὠνησόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐχόντων· καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτων ἐπέστελλον, ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῆσειν. οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο πάντα, ἐπεὶ καὶ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἤδη διὰ τὸ Μούρκου μύσος· καὶ προσιόντες τῷ Πομπηίῳ συνθέσθαι παρεκάλουν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κατερρήξατο ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς καὶ τῶνδε προδιδόντων αὐτόν, ὧν προμάχεται, καὶ θαμινὰ τὸν Μηνόδωρον ὡς στρατηγικὸν καὶ μόνον εὔνουν ἀνεκάλει.

72. Μουκίας δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ Ἰουλίας τῆς γυναικὸς ἐναγουσῶν, αὖθις οἱ τρεῖς συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον Δικαιαρχέων χῶμα, περιορμουσῶν τῶν φυλακίδων νεῶν, καὶ συνέβησαν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· λελύσθαι μὲν τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς καὶ

could hear each other without shouting. As Pompeius thought that he had come in order to be admitted to a share of the government in place of Lepidus, while the others would concede nothing but his recall from exile, they separated for the time without accomplishing anything. Nevertheless, negotiations were continued on the part of friends, who advanced various proposals from one side to the other. Pompeius demanded that, of the proscripts and the men with him, those who had participated in the murder of Gaius Caesar should be allowed a safe place of exile, and the rest restoration to their homes and citizenship, and that the property they had lost should be restored to them. Urged on by the famine and by the people to an agreement, Octavian and Antony reluctantly conceded a fourth part of this property, promising to buy it from the present holders. They wrote to this effect to the proscripts themselves, hoping that this would satisfy them. The latter accepted all the terms, for they already had apprehensions of Pompeius on account of his crime against Murcus. So they gathered around Pompeius and besought him to come to an agreement. Then Pompeius rent his garments, declaring that he was betrayed by those for whom he had fought, and he frequently invoked the name of Menodorus as one most competent to command and his only friend. CHAP. VIII

72. Finally, at the instance of his mother, Mucia, and of his wife, Julia, again the three men (Octavian, Antony, and Pompeius) came together on the mole of Puteoli, washed by the waves on both sides, and with ships moored round it as guards. Here they came to an agreement on the following terms:

CAV. VIII κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας ἀκωλύτους εἶναι πανταχοῦ, Πομπήιον δὲ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὅσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰσί, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας ὑποδέχεσθαι μηδ' ἐφορμεῖν ναυσὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἄρχειν δὲ Σαρδοῦς καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Κύρνου καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων εἶχεν ἐς τότε νήσων, ἐς ὅσον ἄρχοιεν τῶν ἑτέρων Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, πέμποντα Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ τεταγμένον αὐταῖς φέρειν σῖτον, ἐπιλαβεῖν δὲ καὶ Πελοποννησου ἐπὶ ταύταις, ὑπατεῦσαι δ' ἀπόντα, δι' ὅτου κρίνοι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἱερωσύνης ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐγγραφῆναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν εἶναι Πομπηίῳ, κάθοδον δὲ τοῖς ἔτι φεύγουσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ψήφῳ καὶ κρίσει κατέγνωσται· καὶ τῆς περιουσίας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, ὅσοι κατὰ φόβον ἔφευγον καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ βίας ἀπωλώλει, τὸ ἐντελὲς ἀποδοθῆναι χωρὶς ἐπίπλων, τοῖς δὲ προγεγραμμένοις μοῖραν τετάρτην. καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Πομπηίῳ τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις, ὅτε παύσαιντο τῆς στρατείας, τὰ αὐτὰ δοθῆναι γέρα τοῖς ἐστρατευμένοις Καίσαρί τε καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ.

73. Ἐς ταῦτα συνέβησαν καὶ ταῦτα συνεγράψαντο καὶ ἐσημήναντο καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις φυλάσσειν ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐξένιζον δ' ἀλλήλους αὐτίκα, περὶ τῆς τάξεως διαλαχόντες,

That the war between them should cease at once both on land and sea, and that commerce should be everywhere unmolested; that Pompeius should remove his garrisons from Italy and no longer afford a refuge to fugitive slaves; that he should not blockade with his fleet the Italian coast, but should govern Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica, and any other islands then in his possession, as long as Antony and Octavian should hold sway over the other countries; that he should send to Rome the corn that had been long since required as tribute from those islands, and that he might have Peloponnesus in addition: that he might hold the consulship in his absence through any friend he might choose, and be inscribed as a member of the Augurs' College. Such were the conditions accorded to Pompeius himself; while the nobles who were still in exile were allowed to return, except those who had been condemned by vote of the Senate and judgment of the court for participation in the murder of Gaius Caesar. The property of the rest, who had fled merely from fear, and whose goods had been seized by violence, was all to be restored except movables, but proscripts were to receive a fourth part of theirs. Slaves who had served in the army of Pompeius were to be free, and free persons who had thus served should, upon their discharge, receive the same rewards as those who had served under Octavian and Antony.

CHAP. VIII

They come to an agreement

73. Such were the terms of the treaty, to which they attached their names and seals and sent it to Rome to be placed in the custody of the Vestal virgins. Then they entertained each other, casting lots to determine the order of the ceremony.

CAP. VIII πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ ἑξήρους Πομπήιος περιωρμισμένης ἐς τὸ χῶμα, ταῖς δὲ ἑξῆς Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ, σκηνοποιησάμενοι καὶ οἵδε ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς ἅπαντες ἐπὶ ἀκτῆς ἑστιῷντο, τάχα δ' ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ἀνύποπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὡς εἶχον ἀμελῶς, ἀλλ' αἵ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς παρώρμουν, καὶ οἱ φύλακες περιειστήκεσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς εἶχον ὑπεζωσμένα ξιφίδια. λέγεται δὲ Μηνόδωρος ἑστιωμένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πέμψαι Πομπηίῳ, προτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ τίσασθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἁμαρτίας, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῴαν δι' ὀξυτάτης ἀφορμῆς· ἐπιμελήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὧν μηδένα διαφυγεῖν. ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι τοῦ γένους ἅμα καὶ τῆς χρείας ἀξίως· "εἴθε Μηνόδωρον ἦν ἐργάσασθαι ταῦτα χωρὶς ἐμοῦ." Μηνοδώρῳ γὰρ ἁρμόζειν ἐπιορκεῖν, οὐ Πομπηίῳ. ἥρμοσαν δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ τὴν Πομπηίου θυγατέρα, Λίβωνος οὖσαν θυγατριδῆν, Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ προγόνῳ μὲν Ἀντωνίου, ἀδελφιδῷ δὲ Καίσαρος. ἀπέφηναν δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ὑπάτους ἐς τετραετὲς Ἀντώνιον μὲν καὶ Λίβωνα πρώτους, ἀντικαθιστάντος ὅμως Ἀντωνίου, ὃν ἂν βούλοιτο, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις Καίσαρά τε καὶ Πομπήιον, εἶτα Ἀηνόβαρβον καὶ Σόσιον, εἶτ' αὖθις Ἀντώνιόν τε καὶ Καίσαρα, τρίτον δὴ τότε μέλλοντας ὑπατεύσειν καὶ ἐλπιζομένους τότε καὶ ἀποδώσειν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν πολιτείαν.

CHAP. VIII

Banquets on board ship and on shore

The first banquet took place on Pompeius' six-banked ship, moored alongside the mole. On succeeding days Antony and Octavian gave banquets, they too on the mole, in tents, on the pretext that thus all might participate, but perhaps really for their better security and to quiet apprehensions; for they did not even then neglect precautions. Their ships were moored alongside and guards were stationed around them, and the banqueters were girded with concealed daggers. It is said that, while the three were feasting in the ship, Menodorus sent a message to Pompeius advising him to entrap these men and avenge the wrongs of his father and his brother, and to avail himself of this most favourable occasion to resume the sway that his father had exercised, saying that he, with his own ships, would take care that nobody should escape; but that Pompeius replied, in a manner worthy of his family and his position, "Would that Menodorus had done this without my knowledge." False swearing, that is, might suit Menodorus, but not Pompeius. At this banquet the daughter of Pompeius and granddaughter of Libo was betrothed to Marcellus, the stepson of Antony and nephew of Octavian. On the following day they designated the consuls for the next four years, for the first year Antony and Libo, Antony being privileged to substitute whomsoever he liked in his own place; next Octavian and Pompeius; next Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and, finally, Antony and Octavian again; and as they would then have been consuls the third time it was expected that they would then restore the government to the people.

CAP. VIII

74. Τάδε μὲν ἔπραξαν, καὶ διακριθέντες ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος ὦδευον ἐς Ῥώμην. πυθόμεναι δὲ ἥ τε πόλις καὶ ἡ Ἰταλία, ἐπαιάνιζον αὐτίκα ἅπαντες ὡς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ, πολέμου τε ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπιχωρίου καὶ ξεναγήσεως υἱῶν καὶ φρουρῶν ὕβρεως καὶ θεραπόντων αὐτομολίας καὶ λεηλασίας πεδίων καὶ γεωργίας ἀργίας, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πιέσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔσχατον, ὥστε παροδεύουσιν αὐτοῖς οἷα σωτῆρσιν ἐγίγνοντο θυσίαι· καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἔμελλεν ὑποδέξεσθαι περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ νυκτός, ἐκκλίνοντες τὸ φορτικόν, ἔλαθον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσελθόντες. μόνοι δὲ ἤχθοντο, ὅσοι τὰ τῶν ἐλευσομένων σὺν Πομπηίῳ χωρία κεκληρουχήκεσαν, ἡγούμεναι σφίσι τοὺς γεωμόρους ἀδιαλλάκτους ἐχθροὺς παροικήσειν καί, εἴ ποτε δυνηθεῖεν, ἐπιθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Πομπήιον φυγάδες αὐτίκα, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, οἱ πλείους ἐν τῇ Δικαιαρχείᾳ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσπασάμενοι κατέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ἑτέρα τοῦ πλήθους ἦν ἡδονὴ καὶ βοαὶ ποικίλαι, τοσῶνδε οὕτως ἐπιφανῶν ἐξ ἀέλπτου περισεσωσμένων.

75. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐξώρμα ταρασσομένην, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυαίων. καὶ αὐτῷ τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα ἔπραξέ τε καὶ πράξει, αὖθις στρατηγοὺς πανταχῇ περιέπεμπε καὶ τἆλλα ὡς ἐπενόει πάντα διεκόσμει. ἴστη δέ πῃ καὶ βασιλέας, οὓς δοκιμάσειεν, ἐπὶ

74. Having finished this business they separated, Pompeius going to Sicily by sea, Octavian and Antony to Rome by land. When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. So, as the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey sacrifices were offered in their honour as to saviours. The city would have given them a magnificent reception, had they not entered secretly by night in order to avoid jealousies. The only people disappointed were those to whom had been allotted lands belonging to men who were to be restored with Pompeius. They thought that they should have irreconcilable enemies dwelling alongside of them as landlords, who would do them injury whenever they could. The exiles who were with Pompeius, all but a few, took leave of him at Puteoli and set sail for Rome. Their coming was to the people a new source of joy and acclamations, so great a number of illustrious men having been unexpectedly saved from death. CHAP. VIII Great rejoicing at Rome

75. After these events Octavian set forth on an expedition to Gaul, which was in a disturbed state, and Antony started for the war against the Parthians. The Senate having voted to ratify all that he had done or should do, Antony again despatched his lieutenants in all directions and arranged everything else as he wished. He set up kings here and there as he pleased, on condition of their paying a Antony returns to the East

CAP. VIII φόροις ἄρα τεταγμένοις, Πόντου μὲν Δαρεῖον τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰδουμαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρέων Ἡρῴδην, Ἀμύνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρους Κιλικίας καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη. τὸν δὲ στρατόν, ὅσος ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ συγχειμάσειν, περιουσιάσαι τε βουλόμενος καὶ γυμάσαι, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Παρθηνοὺς ἔπεμπεν, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος Ἐπιδάμνῳ πάροικον, προθυμοτάτους γενομένους Βρούτῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ Δαρδανέας, ἕτερον Ἰλλυριῶν γένος, αἰεὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐπιτρέχοντας· τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ μένειν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς ἂν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας ἔχῃ, μέλλων αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις χειμάσειν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Φούρνιον ἐς Λιβύην, τὰ ὑπὸ Σεξστίῳ τέλη τέσσαρα ἄξοντα ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους· οὐ γάρ πω πέπυστο αὐτὰ Λέπιδον ἀφῃρῆσθαι Σεξστίου.

76. Ταῦτα διαθέμενος ἐχείμαζεν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας, καθὰ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιστελλόμενα ἐφορῶν μόνα, ἀφέλειαν δὲ ἰδιωτικὴν αὖθις ἐξ ἡγεμονίας καὶ σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἔχων καὶ ὑπόδημα Ἀττικὸν καὶ θύρας ἠρεμούσας. ἔξοδοί τε ἦσαν ὁμοίως ἄνευ σημείων αὐτῷ, σὺν δύο φίλοις καὶ σὺν ἀκολούθοις δύο, ἐς διδασκάλων διατριβὰς ἢ ἀκροάσεις. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μεθ' Ἑλλήνων ἡ γυμνασία πανηγύρεις τε σὺν θυμηδίᾳ μετὰ τῆς Ὀκταουίας· πολὺς γὰρ καὶ ἐς τήνδε ἐρρύη, ταχὺς ὢν ἐς ἔρωτας γυναικῶν. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ἑτέρῳ γενομένῳ, ἥ τε ἐσθὴς αὖθις καὶ

prescribed tribute: in Pontus, Darius, the son of Pharnaces and grandson of Mithridates: in Idumea and Samaria, Herod: in Pisidia, Amyntas; in a part of Cilicia, Polemon, and others in other countries. Desiring to enrich as well as to exercise the soldiers, who were to go with him into winter quarters, he sent some of them against the Partheni, an Illyrian tribe near Epidamnus, who had been very much attached to Brutus; others against the Dardani, another Illyrian tribe, who were for ever making incursions into Macedonia. Others he ordered to remain in Epirus, in order to have them all round him, as he intended to pass the winter himself in Athens. He sent Furnius to Africa to bring four legions, that were under the command of Sextius, for service against the Parthians. He did not know as yet that Lepidus had deprived Sextius of the command of these troops. CHAP. VIII

76. Having made these dispositions, he spent the winter at Athens with Octavia just as he had spent the previous one at Alexandria with Cleopatra, merely looking over the reports sent from the army, exchanging the display of a commander for the simplicity of private life, wearing the square-cut pallium and the Attic shoe, and with no crowd at his doors. He went out, in like manner, without the insignia of office, accompanied by two friends and two attendants, to the discussions and lectures of the public teachers. He took his meals in the Greek fashion, passed his leisure time with Greeks, and enjoyed their festivals in company with Octavia, with whom he was very much in love, being by nature excessively fond of women. At the end of the winter he was like another man. He changed B.C. 38 He winters at Athens

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μετὰ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἡ ὄψις ἐνηλλάσσετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτίκα σημείων τε καὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ δορυφόρων, καὶ φόβου πάντα μεστὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως· πρεσβεῖαί τ' ἐσεδέχοντο, αἳ τέως ἠρέμουν κεκελευσμέναι, καὶ δίκαι διεκρίνοντο, καὶ νῆες καθείλκοντο, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ πᾶσα συνεκινεῖτο.

IX

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77. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ διελύθησαν αἱ γενόμεναι σπονδαί, κατὰ μὲν αἰτίας, ὡς ὑπενοεῖτο, ἑτέρας, αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκφερόμεναι αἵδε ἦσαν. Πελοπόννησον Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐδίδου Πομπηίῳ, κελεύων, ὅσα ἔτι ὤφειλον αὐτῷ Πελοποννήσιοι δόντα ἢ αὐτὸν ἀναδεξάμενον ἀποδώσειν παραλαβεῖν ἢ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χώραν, ἡγούμενος αὐτῷ σὺν τοῖς ὀφλήμασι δεδόσθαι· χαλεπαίνων δέ, ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔλεγεν, εἴτε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἄπιστον εἴθ' ὑπὸ ζήλου τῶν ἑτέρων μεγάλους στρατοὺς ἐχόντων εἴτε Μηνοδώρου διερεθίζοντος αὐτὸν ἀνοχὰς μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαίους σπονδὰς εἶναι νομίζειν, ναῦς ἄλλας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἑρέτας συνέλεγε καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐδημηγόρησε χρῆναι παντὸς οὕνεκα παρασκευάζεσθαι. λῃστήριά τε αὖθις ἀφανῆ τὴν θάλασσαν ἠνώχλει, καὶ μικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν ἄκος τοῦ λιμοῦ γεγένητο Ῥωμαίοις,

his clothing, and with his clothing his whole appearance. There was straightway a crowd around his doors composed of lictors, army officers, guards, and all things that inspire terror and awe. Embassies were received which had previously been kept waiting by his orders, lawsuits were decided, ships were launched, and all other preparations for the campaign were put in motion. CHAP. VIII

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77. While Antony was thus occupied the treaty existing between Octavian and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, than those avowed by Octavian, which were the following: Antony had ceded the Peloponnesus to Pompeius on condition that the tribute then due from the Peloponnesians should either be given over at once, or that it should be guaranteed by Pompeius to Antony, or that Pompeius should wait till the collection had been made. But Pompeius had not accepted it on these conditions. He thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. Vexed, as Octavian said, whether at this state of things, or from his general faithlessness, or his jealousy because the others had large armies, or because Menodorus had prompted him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a lasting peace, he began to build ships and recruit crews, and once harangued his soldiers, telling them they must be prepared for everything. Mysterious robbery again infested the sea; and there was little or no relief from the famine among the Romans, who CHAP. IX

Peace broken between Sextus and Octavian

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ὥστε ἐβόων οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπίληψιν τετάρτου τυράννου κατὰ σπονδὰς γεγονέναι. καὶ ὁ Καῖσάρ τινα ληστήρια συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν, οἳ Πομπήιον σφᾶς ἔλεγον ἐπιπέμψαι· καὶ τάδε αὐτὰ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ δήμῳ προσέφερε καὶ ἐπέστελλεν αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐξελογεῖτο μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀντενεκάλει δὲ Πελοποννήσου χάριν.

78. Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν ἔτι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πειθόμενον τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις, διέφθειραν ἐνίους τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, εἴτε ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν εἴτε ἐς χάριν Καίσαρος, ἐξοτρύνειν ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρῳ, Κύρνου καὶ Σαρδοῦς ἔτι ἄρχοντι, τὸν δεσπότην. οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φθόνῳ τῆς Μηνοδώρου δυνάμεως ἐκόντες ἐποίουν. καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς ἀλλοτρίωσιν ὑπήγετο τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἡμερῶν Φιλάδελφος, ὁ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος, πρὸς τὸν Μηνόδωρον διέπλευσε σίτου κομιδῆς οὕνεκα καὶ Μικυλίων ὁ πιστότατος τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα περὶ αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ ἐγχειρεῖν Σαρδὼ καὶ Κύρνον καὶ τρία τέλη στρατοῦ καὶ ψιλῶν πλῆθος ἕτερον. καὶ τόδε ὂν ἔργον εἴτε Φιλαδέλφου εἴτε τῶν ἐς Μηνόδωρον παρὰ Πομπηίου διαβολῶν, ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ εὐθὺς μέν, ἐδέξατο δ' ὅμως, ἡγούμενος ἔργῳ τὴν εἰρήνην λελύσθαι. καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐς ἡμέραν ῥητὴν παρεκάλει, συμβουλευσόμενος αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ναῦς τε μακρὰς ἐκ Ῥαβέννης καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καὶ ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ὀξέως περιέπεμπεν, ὡς ἑκατέρω-

cried out that the treaty had brought no deliverance from their sufferings, but only a fourth partner to the tyranny. Octavian having caught certain pirates and put them to torture, they said that Pompeius had sent them out, and Octavian proclaimed this to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter complaint respecting the Peloponnesus. CHAP. IX

78. Those of the nobility who were still with Pompeius, seeing him always under the influence of his freedmen, bribed some of them, either for their own purposes or to gratify Octavian, to incite their master against Menodorus, who was still governing Corsica and Sardinia. The freedmen, for their part, did this gladly, because they were envious of the power of Menodorus. In this way Pompeius was brought to an estrangement with Menodorus, and about the same time Philadelphus, a freedman of Octavian, made a voyage to Menodorus to procure corn, and Micylio, the closest friend of Menodorus, visited Octavian to arrange for the desertion of Menodorus. The latter promised to hand over to him Sardinia, Corsica, three legions of soldiers, and a large number of light-armed troops. Whether this was the work of Philadelphus, or was a consequence of the calumnies against Menodorus, which Pompeius had listened to, Octavian accepted the offer, not immediately, but soon, since he considered the peace broken in fact. He invited Antony to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium on an appointed day, in order to take counsel with him about this war. At the same time he brought war-ships from Ravenna and an army from Gaul, and the remainder of his apparatus, rapidly to Brundusium and Puteoli,

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θεν ἐπιπλευσούμενος τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ἣν Ἀντωνίῳ συνδοκῇ.

79. Ὁ δὲ ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν τεταγμένην ἡμέραν σὺν ὀλίγοις, Καίσαρα δὲ οὐχ εὑρὼν οὐ περιέμεινεν, εἴτε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ πολέμου μεμψάμενος ὡς παράσπονδον εἴτε τὴν Καίσαρος παρασκευὴν ἰδὼν πολλὴν οὖσαν (οὐ γάρ ποτε αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυε φόβων ἡ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμία), εἴτε τι σημεῖον δειδισάμενος. τῶν γὰρ περικοιμωμένων αὐτοῦ τῇ σκηνῇ πρὸς θηρίων τις εὑρέθη δεδαπανημένος, ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου μόνου, καθάπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν παραλελειμμένου, οὔτε τι βοήσας οὔτε τινὸς τῶν συναναπαυομένων ἠσθημένου· καὶ λύκον ἔλεγον οἱ Βρεντέσιοι πρὸ ἕω φανῆναι τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἐκθέοντα. ἔγραφέ γε μὴν τῷ Καίσαρι μὴ λύειν τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ ἠπείλει Μηνόδωρον ἀπάξειν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ δραπέτην· γεγένητο γὰρ Πομπηίου Μάγνου, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μάγνου περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐώνητο νόμῳ πιπρασκομένην ὡς πολεμίου.

80. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνον τοὺς παραληψομένους, ἃ Μηνόδωρος ἐνεχείριζεν, ἐκρατύνετο δὲ τὰ παράλια τῆς Ἰταλίας φρουρίοις πολλοῖς, μὴ αὖθις αὐτὰ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιδράμοι. τριήρεις δὲ ἑτέρας ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ προσέτασσε γίγνεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν πολὺν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος μετεπέμπετο· Μηνόδωρόν τε ἐλθόντα ἐλεύθερον εὐθὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἐξ ἀπελευθέρου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἦγαγε νεῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑποστρατηγοῦντα τῷ ναυάρχῳ Καλουισίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καθιστάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ παρασκευὴν ἔτι πλέονα συνάγων ἐβράδυνε καὶ

intending to sail from both sides of Italy to Sicily if Antony should agree in opinion with him. CHAP. IX

79. Antony came at the appointed day with a small escort, but not finding Octavian there he did not wait, either because he did not approve of the war, considering it a violation of the treaty, or because he observed Octavian's great preparations (for the desire to be the sole ruler did not permit their fears to slumber at any time), or because he was alarmed by a prodigy. It was found that one of the guards who slept around his tent had been devoured by wild beasts except his face only, as though this had been left for the purpose of recognition, and that he had uttered no cry, nor did any of those who were asleep with him know of it. The Brundusians said that a wolf had been seen just before daybreak running away from the tents. Nevertheless Antony wrote to Octavian not to violate the treaty, and he threatened Menodorus with punishment as his own fugitive slave; for he had been the slave of Pompey the Great, whose property Antony had bought when it was sold under the law of war. Antony returns to Brundusium

80. Octavian sent officers to receive Sardinia and Corsica, which Menodorus turned over to them. He strengthened the Italian coast with numerous towers to prevent Pompeius from raiding it again. He ordered the building of new triremes at Rome and Ravenna, and he sent for a large army from Illyria. When Menodorus came he made the latter a free citizen instead of a freedman, and put him in command, under the admiral Calvisius, of the ships which he had brought with him. When he had finished these preparations and brought together a still larger amount of war material he yet delayed, Defection of Menodorus

CAP IX τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐ περιμείναντα ἐμέμφετο, τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἤδη παρασκευὴν ἐκέλευε Κορνιφίκιον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης μεταγαγεῖν ἐς Τάραντα. Κορνιφικίῳ μὲν δὴ χειμὼν περιπλέοντι ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ μόνη τῶν νεῶν ἡ ναυαρχὶς ἡ γενομένη Καίσαρι διεφθάρη· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῦτ' ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα σημῆναι. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ ὑπονοίας ἔτι, ὡς παρασπόνδως ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε γίγνοιτο, τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκλύων ἐπέστελλε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς ὁ Πομπήιος λῃστεύων τὴν θάλασσαν ἀναλύσειε καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ λῃσταὶ κατείποιεν αὐτοῦ, κατείποι δὲ καὶ Μηνόδωρος τὴν ὅλην γνώμην, μάθοι δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πελοπόννησον οὐ δοίη.

81. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἕτοιμα γεγένητο, ἐπέπλει τῇ Σικελίᾳ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκ Τάραντος, Καλουίσιος δὲ Σαβῖνος καὶ Μηνόδωρος ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας· περιῄει δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐταχύνετο ἅπαντα. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τῆς μὲν αὐτομολίας τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἐπιπλέοντος ἤδη Καίσαρος ᾔσθετο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπίπλουν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ τὸν Καίσαρα, Καλουισίῳ δὲ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ τὸν ἔχθιστον τῷ Μηνοδώρῳ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἑαυτοῦ Μενεκράτη προσέτασσεν ἁπανταῖν ἐπὶ στόλου πολλοῦ. ὅδε οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐπιφαίνεται τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν πελάγιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ὑπὲρ Κύμης συνέφυγον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀνεπαύοντο, καὶ Μενεκράτης ἐς Λιναρίαν παρῆλθεν· ἠοῦς δὲ ἀρχομένης οἱ μὲν τὸν κόλπον ἐν χρῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν

and he reproached Antony for not waiting. He ordered Cornificius to bring with him to Tarentum everything that was now in readiness. While Cornificius was making the voyage a storm overtook him which destroyed only the admiral's ship, which had been built for Octavian himself. This was considered an omen of what was to take place. As the belief still prevailed that this war was a violation of the treaty, Octavian sought to dispel the suspicion. He wrote to the city and he told his soldiers that Pompeius had violated the treaty by encouraging piracy, that the pirates had confessed this, that Menodorus had revealed the whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for that reason had refused to give up the Peloponnesus. CHAP. IX

81. When all things were in readiness he set sail for Sicily, going himself from Tarentum, while Calvisius Sabinus, and Menodorus sailed from Etruria. The infantry was sent on the march to Rhegium and great haste was displayed in all quarters. Pompeius had scarcely heard of the desertion of Menodorus when Octavian was already moving against him. While the hostile fleets were advancing from both sides, he awaited the attack of Octavian at Messana, and ordered Menecrates, who of all his freedmen was the bitterest enemy of Menodorus, to advance against Calvisius and Menodorus with a large fleet. This Menecrates then was observed by his enemies near nightfall on the open sea. They retired into the bay near Cumae, where they passed the night, Menecrates proceeding to Aenaria. At day-break they drew up their fleet, in the form of a crescent, as close to the shore as possible, in order to

Octavian makes war against Sextus

Sea-fight at Cumae between Menodorus and Menecrates

CAP. IX

μηνοειδεῖ στόλῳ παρέπλεον, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὺς διεκπλέοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἐπιφαίνεταί τε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπλησίαζεν ὑπὸ ῥύμης καὶ τάχους· δρᾶν δὲ οὐκ ἀναγομένους ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὐδὲν μέγα ἔχων, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐγχρίμπτων ἐξεώθει. οἱ δὲ ἐξώκελλόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς ἀπεμάχοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναχώρησίς τε καὶ ἐφόρμησις, ὅτε βούλοιντο, καὶ σκαφῶν ἑτέρων ἀλλαγὴ παρὰ μέρος· οἱ δὲ ἔκαμνον ἔκ τε τῶν πετρῶν, ἐφ' ἃς ἐπώκελλον, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκινησίας τῶν νεῶν· πεζομαχεῖν γὰρ πρὸς ναυμαχοῦντας ἐῴκεσαν, οὔτε διώκειν οὔτε ἐκκλίνειν ἔχοντες.

82. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Μηνόδωρος καὶ Μενεκράτης καθορῶσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόνον ἀφέντες αὐτίκα μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ βοῆς ἀλλήλοις ἐπέπλεον, ἐν τῷδε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τιθέμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσειν ἔμελλεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ νῆες ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ ῥύμης ἐνέπεσον καὶ συνέτριψαν ἡ μὲν τὸν ἔμβολον τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, ἡ δὲ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς Μενεκράτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐταῖς ἑκατέρωθεν χεῖρες ἐπεβλήθησαν σιδηραῖ, τῶν μὲν νεῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔργον ἦν, συνεστηκυίας ἑκατέρας, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πόνου καὶ ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον. ἀκόντιά τε γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόα καὶ λίθοι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καταρράκτας ἐρρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἐπιέναι δι' αὐτῶν. ὑψηλοτέρας δ' οὔσης τῆς Μηνοδώρου νεώς, οἵ τε καταρράκται τοῖς τολμῶσιν ἦσαν εὐεπιβατώτεροι καὶ τὰ βαλλόμενα ὡς ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βιαιότερα. τεθνεώτων δ' ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων

prevent the enemy breaking through them. Menecrates again showed himself, and immediately came on with a rush. As his enemies would not advance to the open sea, and he could do nothing of importance there, he made a charge in order to drive them upon the land. They beached their ships and fought back against the attacking prows. Menecrates had the opportunity to draw off and renew the attack as he pleased, and to bring up fresh ships by turns, while the enemy were distressed by the rocks, on which they had grounded, and by the inability to move. They were like land forces contending against sea forces, unable either to pursue or retreat. CHAP. IX

82. In this situation Menodorus and Menecrates came in sight of each other; and, abandoning the rest of the fight, drove at once against each other with fury and shouting, as though they had staked the issue of the battle on this encounter, whichever should be the victor. Their ships came into violent collision and were badly damaged, Menodorus losing his prow and Menecrates his oar-blades. Grappling-irons were thrown by both, and the ships, being fastened together, could no longer manœuvre, but the men, as in a battle on land, failed not in deeds of valour. Showers of javelins, stones, and arrows were discharged, and bridges for boarding were thrown from one ship to the other. As the ship of Menodorus was higher than the other his bridges made a better passage-way for those who ventured on them, and his missiles were more effective for the same reason. Many men were already slain, and

CAP. IX

κατατετρωμένων, ὁ μὲν Μηνόδωρος ὀβελῷ τὸν βραχίονα ἐτρώθη, καὶ ὁ ὀβελὸς ἐξηρέθη, ὁ δὲ Μενεκράτης τὸν μηρὸν ἀκοντίῳ πολυγλώχινι Ἰβηρικῷ ὁλοσιδήρῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν ἐπείξει. ἀχρεῖος οὖν ὁ Μενεκράτης ἐς μάχην γενόμενος ἐπέμενε καὶ ὥς, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐποτρύνων, μέχρι λαμβανομένης τῆς νεὼς ἐς τὸν βυθὸν τοῦ πελάγους ἑαυτὸν ἔρριψεν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἀνεδήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσεν, οὐδὲν ἔτι δρᾶν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος δυνάμενος.

83. Καὶ τὸ μὲν λαιὸν τῆς ναυμαχίας οὕτως ἐπεπράχει. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Καλουίσιος μέν, διαπλέων ἐς τὸ λαιόν, ἀπετέμετό τινας τῶν Μενεκράτους νεῶν καὶ ἐκφυγούσας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἐδίωκε, Δημοχάρης δ', ὁ τοῦ Μενεκράτους συνεξελεύθερός τε καὶ ὑποστράτηγος, ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ Καλουισίου συμπεσών, τὰς μὲν ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο, τὰς δὲ ἐς πέτρας συνήραξε, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξαλομένων ἐνεπίμπρα τὰ σκάφη, μέχρι Καλουίσιος ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανιὼν τάς τε φευγούσας τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπραμένας ἐκώλυσε. καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ηὐλίσαντο πάντες, ἔνθα καὶ τῆς προτέρας.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ναυμαχία ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, καὶ προὔχειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ Πομπηίου παρὰ πολύ· Δημοχάρης δὲ βαρυθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Μενεκράτους ὡς ἐπὶ ἥττῃ μεγίστῃ (δύο γὰρ οἵδε ἦσαν μάλιστα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θαλάσσης ἐργάται, Μενεκράτης τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος), ἅπαντα μεθεὶς ἐκ χειρῶν εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, καθάπερ οὐ τὸ Μενεκράτους σῶμα καὶ ναῦν μίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν στόλον ὅλον ἀποβαλών.

the remainder wounded, when Menodorus was pierced in the arm with a dart, which was, however, drawn out. Menecrates was struck in the thigh with a Spanish javelin, made wholly of iron with numerous barbs, which could not be readily extracted. Although Menecrates could no longer take part in the fight, he remained there all the same, encouraging the others, until his ship was captured, when he plunged into the depths of the sea. Menodorus towed the captured ship to the land, but was able to do nothing more himself.

CHAP. IX

Menodorus wounded and Menecrates drowned

83. Thus had fared the left wing of the naval fight. Calvisius directed his course from the right to the left and cut off some of Menecrates' ships from the main body, and when they fled pursued them to the open sea. Democharés, who was a fellow-freedman of Menecrates and his lieutenant, fell upon the remainder of Calvisius' ships, put some of them to flight, broke others in pieces on the rocks, and set fire to them after the crews had abandoned them. Finally Calvisius, returning from the pursuit, led back his own retreating ships and prevented the burning of any more. As night approached all rested in their stations of the previous night.

Such was the end of this naval fight, in which the forces of Pompeius had much the best of it; but Democharés, grieving over the death of Menecrates as the greatest possible defeat (for those two, Menecrates and Menodorus, had been the foremost of Pompeius' sea-captains) abandoned everything and sailed for Sicily immediately, as though he had lost not merely the body of Menecrates and one ship, but his whole fleet.

Octavian's fleet beaten

CAP. IX

84. Ὁ δὲ Καλουίσιος ἕως μὲν ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τὸν Δημοχάρην προσεδύκα, παρέμενεν, ἔνθαπερ ὥρμιστο, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ δυνάμενος· αἵ τε γὰρ κράτισται τῶν νεῶν αὐτῷ διωλώλεσαν, καὶ αἱ ἕτεραι πρὸς ναυμαχίαν εἶχον ἀχρείως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν οἰχόμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς καὶ παρέπλει τὴν γῆν, τοὺς κόλπους ἐξελίσσων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ μὲν Τάραντος ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον διεπεπλεύκει ναυσὶ πολλαῖς καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ καὶ Πομπηίου περὶ Μεσσήνην κατειλήφει ναῦς ἔχοντα τεσσαράκοντα μύνας, ὥστε αὐτῷ παρῆνουν οἱ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ μάλιστα, ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ Πομπηίῳ μετὰ τοσοῦδε στόλου, ναῦς ἔχοντι ὀλίγας, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκείνῳ ναυτικὸν οὐ πάρεστιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθετο, Καλουίσιον περιμένων καὶ λέγων οὐκ εὔβουλον εἶναι τὸ ῥιψοκίνδυνον, ἔνθα συμμαχίαν ἄλλην προσδοκῷη.

Ὡς δὲ Δημοχάρης ἐς Μεσσήνην κατέπλευσεν, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος αὐτόν τε Δημοχάρην καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην, καὶ τόνδε ἀπελεύθερον ἑαυτοῦ, ναυάρχους ἀπέφηνεν ἀντὶ Μηνοδώρου καὶ Μενεκράτους· 85. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἀμφὶ τῇ Κύμῃ πυθόμενος ἐξέπλει τὸν πορθμόν, ὑπαντήσων τῷ Καλουισίῳ. ἀνύσαντι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πόρου τὸ πλέον καὶ Στυλίδα ἤδη παραπλέοντι καὶ ἐς τὸ Σκύλλαιον ἐπικάμπτοντι, ἐκθορὼν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξήπτετο τῶν ὑστάτων καὶ τὰς πρόπλους ἐδίωκε καὶ πάσαις ἐνέβαλλε καὶ ἐς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο. αἱ δὲ καίπερ ἐνοχλούμεναι ἐς μὲν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐπέστρεφον, Καίσαρος οὐκ ἐῶντος, εἴτε δείσαντος ἐν στενῷ ναυμαχεῖν εἴτ' ἐπιμένοντος οἷς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διε-

84. Calvisius, as long as he expected that Demochares would renew his attack, remained at his station, unable to fight in the open sea, for his best ships had been destroyed and the others were unfit for battle. When he learned that his antagonist had gone to Sicily, he repaired his ships and coasted along the shore exploring the bays. Octavian, in the meantime, proceeded from Tarentum to Rhegium, with a large fleet and army, and near Messana came up with Pompeius, who had forty ships only. Octavian's friends advised him to improve this most favourable opportunity and attack Pompeius with his great fleet, while the latter had so few ships and before the rest of his naval force should arrive. He did not follow this advice, but waited for Calvisius, saying that it was not good policy to run a risk when he was expecting reinforcements. CHAP. IX

When Demochares arrived at Messana, Pompeius appointed him and Apollophanes, another of his freedmen, admirals in place of Menodorus and Menecrates; 85. and when Octavian heard of his disaster at Cumae he sailed out of the straits to meet Calvisius. After accomplishing the greater part of the distance, and while he was passing Stylis and turning into Scyllaeum, Pompeius darted out of Messana and fell upon his rear, pushed on to his front, attacked him all along the line, and challenged him to fight. Although beset in this way, Octavian's fleet did not give battle, since Octavian forbade it, either because he feared to fight in the straits or because he adhered

A second victory for Pompeius

CAP. IX γνώκει, μὴ ναυμαχεῖν δίχα τοῦ Καλουισίου· γνώμῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ παρά τε τὴν γῆν ὑπεχώρουν ἅπασαι καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευον καὶ κατὰ πρῷραν ἀπεμάχοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Δημοχάρους δ' ἐπιστήσαντος δύο ναῦς περὶ ἑκάστην ἐθορυβοῦντο ἤδη, πρός τε τὰς πέτρας ἀρασσόμεναι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας, θαλάσσης τε ἐνεπίμπλαντο· καὶ διεφθείροντο μετὰ ἀργίας καὶ αἴδε ὥσπερ αἱ περὶ Κύμην, ὁρμοῦσαί τε καὶ ἐμβαλλόμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐπιπλεόντων καὶ ἀναχωρούντων.

86. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐξήλατο τῆς νεὼς ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνελάμβανε καὶ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἄνω παρέπεμπε· Κορνιφίκιος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνευ προστάγματος ἀπέρρηξαν τὰ ἀγκύρια καὶ ἀνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δέον τι δρῶντας παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἑστῶτας ἀμαχεὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι προκεῖσθαι. τόλμῃ τε παραβόλῳ πρῶτον ὁ Κορνιφίκιος τὴν ναυαρχίδα τοῦ Δημοχάρους κατέσεισε καὶ εἶλε. καὶ Δημοχάρης μὲν ἐς ἑτέραν ἐξήλατο, τοιούτου δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῦ φθόρου ἐπεφαίνοντο ἐκ πόντου προσπλέοντες ἤδη Καλουίσιός τε καὶ Μηνόδωρος. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος οὐχ ἑώρων οὔτε ἀπὸ γῆς οὔτε ἐκ θαλάσσης, πελαγιώτεροι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου κατεῖδον καὶ ἰδόντες ἀνεχώρουν· συνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη, καὶ κεκμηκότες ἀκμῆσιν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν συμπλέκεσθαι.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ συγκύρημα τοῖς ὑπολοίποις ἐκ τοῦ τέως ἀχρείου χρηστὸν ἐπιγίγνεται· 87. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκπεσόντες

to his first determination not to fight without Calvisius. By his orders, however, all hugged the shore, rode at anchor, and defended themselves with their prows toward the enemy. Democharés, by setting two of his ships by turns against one of the enemy's, threw them into confusion. They dashed against the rocks and against each other, and began to fill with water. And so these ships were lost, like those at Cumae, without striking a blow, being stuck fast and battered by the enemy, who had freedom of movement to advance and retreat. CHAP IX

86. Octavian leaped from his ship upon the rocks and pulled out of the water those who swam ashore, and conducted them to the mountain above. However, Cornificius and the other generals who were there, encouraged each other, cut loose from their anchors without awaiting orders, and put to sea against the enemy, thinking that it was better to be conquered fighting than to fall unresisting before the blows of their assailants. First, with wonderful audacity, Cornificius rammed the flag-ship of Democharés and captured it. Democharés leaped upon another vessel. Then, while the struggle and carnage were in progress, Calvisius and Menodorus hove in sight, advancing from the open sea, although they had not been observed by Octavian's men either from the land or the water. The Pompeians, being farther out at sea, beheld them first, and, when they saw them, retreated, for darkness was approaching, and, fatigued as they were, they dared not encounter fresh men. Octavian is driven ashore and retreats to the mountains

This conjuncture happened very opportunely for those who had just now been in difficulties; 87. but at nightfall, those who had reached the shore from

CAP. IX

ἐς τὰ ὄρη συνέφευγον καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον σύμβολα τοῖς ἔτι οὖσιν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ διενυκτέρευον οὕτως ἄσιτοι καὶ ἀθεράπευτοι καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁμοίως ἔχων, παρεκάλει περιθέων ἐς τὴν ἕω κακοπαθῆσαι. ταλαιπωρουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα Καλουίσιος μὲν οὐδ' ὡς ἐγιγνώσκετο προσπλέων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τι χρηστὸν ἐγίγνετο, ἀσχολουμένων περὶ τὰ ναυάγια· ὑπὸ δὲ ἑτέρου δαίμονος ἀγαθοῦ τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον τέλος ἐπλησίαζε διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ πυθόμενοι τοὺς κρημνούς, τῷ πυρὶ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, διέδραμον καὶ καταλαβόντες τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας ὧδε ἔχοντας καμάτου καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορίας ἐθεράπευον, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διαλαβόντες, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐς αὐτοσχέδιον σκηνὴν ἐσαγαγόντες, οὐδενὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτῷ θεραπευτήρων παρόντων, ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τοσῷδε ταράχῳ διερριμμένων. περιπέμψας δ' εὐθὺς πανταχῇ τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας, ὅτι σῴζοιτο, πυνθάνεται Καλουίσιον σὺν ταῖς πρόπλοις καταπλέοντα καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ δύο χρηστοῖς καὶ ἀδοκήτοις ἀνεπαύετο.

X

CAP. X

88. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐφορῶν ἐθεᾶτο ναῦς ἐμπεπρησμένας τε καὶ ἡμιφλέκτους ἔτι καὶ ἡμικαύστους ἄλλας τε λελυμασμένας

the ships took refuge on the mountains and lighted numerous fires as signals to those who were still on the sea, and there passed the night without food, uncared for, and in want of everything. Octavian fared like the rest, and moved around exhorting them to endure their privations till morning. While he was undergoing these hardships it was not known that Calvisius had arrived, nor could anything needful be obtained from the ships busied as they were with their wrecks. But good luck came to them from another quarter. The thirteenth legion was approaching by way of the mountains, and, learning of the disaster and judging of their route by the fire, they made their way through the crags. They found their commander, and those who had taken refuge with him, suffering from fatigue and want of food, and ministered to them, dividing the work, some caring for some, others for others. The centurions brought their commander into an improvised tent, as none of his body-servants were present, these having been dispersed in the darkness and disorder. He sent messengers in all directions forthwith, to announce that he was safe, and he learned that Calvisius had arrived with the vanguard of his fleet; and, in view of these two helpful and unexpected events, he allowed himself some rest.

CHAP. IX

X

88. The next morning, when Octavian looked out upon the water, he beheld some of his ships burned, others partly burned, others still burning, and others

CHAP. X

CAP. X ἱστίων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πηδαλίων καὶ σκευῶν ἔμπλεων τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τῶν ἔτι σῳζομένων τὰ πολλὰ πεπονηκότα. προστησάμενος οὖν τὸν Καλουισίου στόλον, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰ ἐπείγοντα τῶν σκαφῶν πλαγιάσας, ἠρεμούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων, εἴτε διὰ Καλουίσιον εἴτε αὖθις ἀναγομένοις ἐπιθέσθαι διεγνωκότων. ὧδε δὲ ἐχόντων ἑκατέρων, ἐκ μέσης ἡμέρας νότος ἐμπεσὼν ἤγειρε κῦμα βίαιον ἐν ῥοώδει καὶ στενῷ χωρίῳ. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ λιμένων ἔνδον ἦν, αἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος νῆες αὖθις περὶ τραχεῖαν ἀκτὴν καὶ δύσορμον ἀρασσόμεναι ταῖς τε πέτραις καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἐπεφέροντο, οὐδὲ τῶν πληρωμάτων σφίσιν ὥστε διακρατεῖν ἐντελῶν ὄντων.

89. Μηνόδωρος μὲν οὖν, ἀρχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίσας πλεονάσειν, ἐς τὸ πελαγιώτερον ἀνήχθη καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυρῶν διεσάλευεν· ἀσθενέστερον δὲ ἔχων τὸ κῦμα διὰ τὸν βυθόν, εἱρεσίᾳ ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἐνίστατο καρτερᾷ μὴ παραφέρεσθαι, καί τινες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο ἕτεροι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, οἰόμενοι ταχέως τὸ πνεῦμα ἐνδώσειν ὡς ἐν ἔαρι, τὰς ναῦς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκύραις ἕκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διεκράτουν καὶ κοντοῖς ἐξεώθουν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων. τραχυτέρου δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος γενομένου συνεκέχυτο πάντα καὶ συνετρίβοντο αἱ νῆες, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀπορρηγνύουσαι καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἢ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλας τινασσόμεναι· βοή τε ἦν παμμιγὴς δεδιότων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰμῳζόντων καὶ παρακελευόντων ἀλλήλοις ἐς ἀνήκοον· οὐ γὰρ ἐφικνοῦντο ἔτι τῶν λεγομένων, οὐδὲ κυβερνήτης

broken in pieces: and the sea filled with sails, rudders, and tackle, while, of the ships that were saved, the greater part were damaged. Having ranged the fleet of Calvisius in front, he made repairs on those of his vessels that most needed them, canting them, the enemy meantime remaining quiet, either because they feared Calvisius, or because they had decided to attack again in the open sea. Thus they remained on either side until midday, when a south wind burst upon them, raising violent billows in that surging and confined channel. Pompeius was then inside the harbour of Messana. The ships of Octavian were again shattered on the rough and inhospitable coast, dashing against the rocks and against each other, for, as they were not fully manned, they were not under good control. CHAP. X

Terrible storm in the straits of Sicily

89. Menodorus, apprehending that this rising storm would increase in violence, moved farther seaward and rode at anchor: here, on account of the depth of water, the waves were less boisterous; and even here he had recourse to hard rowing to avoid being driven ashore, some of the others following his example, but most of them, thinking that the wind would soon subside, as it usually does in the springtime, moored themselves with anchors at either end, landward and seaward, pushing each other off with poles. As the wind grew more violent everything was thrown into confusion. The ships collided, broke their anchors, and were thrown quivering on the shore or against one another. Cries of alarm and groans of pain were mingled together, and exhortations that fell upon deaf ears. Orders could not be heard, and there was no distinction between pilot and common

Destruction of Octavian's fleet

CAP. X

ἰδιώτου διέφερεν οὔτε κατ' ἐπιστήμην οὔτε προστάσσων. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόρος ἦν ὅμοιος ἔν τε ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς καί, ὅτε τις αὐτῶν ἐκπέσοι κύματι καὶ κλύδωνι καὶ ξύλοις ἀρασσομένων· ἔγεμεν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἱστίων καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεκρῶν. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τάδε διαφυγὼν ἐκνήχοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, συνηράσσοντο καὶ οἵδε ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπάσμα τὴν θάλασσαν ἐλάμβανεν, ὃ συνήθως ἐπιγίγνεται τῷδε τῷ πορθμῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἀήθεις καὶ τύδε ἐξέπλησσε, τὰ δὲ σκάφη τότε μάλιστα περιφερόμενα συνέπιπτεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐς νύκτα χαλεπώτερον ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε μηδὲ κατὰ φῶς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐν σκότῳ διόλλυσθαι.

90. Οἰμωγαί τε ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἦσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων μετακλήσεις ἀνά τε τὴν γῆν διαθεόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καλούντων ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ θρηνούντων, ὅτε μὴ ἐπακούσειαν, ὡς ἀπολωλότας· ἔμπαλίν τε ἑτέρων ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ὑπερκυπτόντων τὸ κῦμα καὶ ἐς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ παρακαλούντων. ἀμήχανα δὲ πάντα ἦν ἑκατέροις· καὶ οὐχ ἡ θάλασσα μόνη τοῖς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθοῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκεσαν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοῦ κλύδωνος οὐχ ἧσσον ἦν ἀπορωτέρα, μὴ σφᾶς τὸ κῦμα συναράξειεν ἐπὶ τὰς πέτρας. ἐμόχθουν τε χειμῶνι τῶν πώποτε μάλιστα καινοτρόπῳ, γῆς ὄντες ἀγχοτάτω καὶ τὴν γῆν δεδιότες καὶ οὔτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἐς τὸ πέλαγος οὔτε ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαστῆναι· ἡ γὰρ στενότης ἡ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τὸ φύσει δυσέξοδον αὐτοῦ καὶ κλύδων ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὑπὸ

sailor, knowledge and authority being alike unavailing. The same destruction awaited those in the ships and those who fell overboard, the latter being crushed by wind, waves, and floating timber. The sea was full of sails, spars, and men, living and dead. Those who sought to escape by swimming to land were dashed against the rocks by the surf. When the convulsion seized the water,[1] as is usual in that strait, they were terrified, being unaccustomed to it, and then their vessels were whirled around and dashed against each other worse than ever. As night came on the wind increased in fury, so that they perished no longer in the light but in the darkness. CHAP. X

90. Groans were heard throughout the entire night, and the cries of men running along the shore and calling their friends and relatives upon the sea by name, and mourning for them as lost when they could hear no responses; and anon the cries of others lifting their heads above the waves and beseeching aid from those on shore. Nothing could be done on either land or water. Not only was the sea inexorable to those engulfed in it, as well as to those still in the ships, but the danger was almost as great on land as at sea, lest the surf should dash them against the rocks. So distressed were they by this unexampled tempest that those who were nearest the land feared the land, yet could not get sufficient offing to avoid collision with each other, for the narrowness of the place and its naturally difficult outlet, together with the force of the waves, the rotary motion of the wind, caused by the surrounding mountains, Great loss of life

[1] This refers to the whirlpool of Charybdis.

CAP. X τῶν περικειμένων ὀρῶν ἐς θυέλλας περικλώμενον, καὶ ὁ τοῦ βυθοῦ σπασμὸς ἐπὶ πάντα εἱλούμενος οὔτε μένειν οὔτε φεύγειν ἐπέτρεπε· τό τε σκότος ἠνώχλει νυκτὸς μάλιστα μελαίνης· ὅθεν ἔθνῃσκον οὐδὲ καθορῶντες ἀλλήλους ἔτι, οἱ μὲν θορυβούμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παριέμενοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐκδεχόμενοι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἐς αὐτὸ ἔνιοι ὡς ἀπολούμενοι πάντως. γενόμενον γὰρ τὸ κακὸν κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδα ἀφῃρεῖτο, μέχρι ποτὲ ἄφνω τὸ πνεῦμα προσιούσης ἡμέρας διελύετο καὶ μεθ' ἡλίου ἐπιτολὴν πάμπαν ἐμαραίνετο. καὶ τὸ κῦμα ὅμως καὶ τότε, τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκλυθέντος, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐτραχύνετο. καὶ τὸ δεινὸν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ποτὲ τηλικοῦτον ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι· γενόμενον δὲ ἔθους τε καὶ νόμου κρεῖσσον διέφθειρε τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν τὸ πλέον.

91. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς προτεραίας ἡμέρας πολλὰ τῷ πολέμῳ βλαβεὶς καὶ δύο τοῖσδε συμπτώμασιν ὁμοῦ συνενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱππώνειον εὐθὺς ᾔει διὰ ὀρῶν τῶν νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ σπουδήν, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενος τὴν συμφοράν, ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ φίλοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἐπέστελλε πᾶσι διὰ χειρὸς εἶναι, μή τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἑτέρωθεν ὡς ἐν κακοπραγίᾳ γένοιτο ἐπιβουλή. περιέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἅπασαν τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ παρόντα πεζά, μὴ ἐπιτολμήσειε καὶ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁ Πομπήιος. ὁ δὲ οὔτε περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνενόησεν οὔτε τοῖς λειψάνοις τοῦ ναυαγίου παρούσιν ἢ ἀπιοῦσι καταστάντος τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπ-

and the whirlpool of the deep, holding everything in its grasp, allowed neither tarrying nor escape. The darkness of a very black night added to their distress. And so they perished, no longer even seeing each other, some uttering confused cries, others yielding in silence, accepting their doom, some even hastening it, believing that they were irretrievably doomed. The disaster so far surpassed their experience that it bereft them of the hope of saving themselves even by chance. Finally, at the approach of daylight, the wind suddenly relaxed its force, and after sunrise wholly died away; yet even then, although the storm had ceased, the surges rolled a long time. The fury of the tempest surpassed the memory of the oldest inhabitants. It was altogether unexampled, and the greater part of Octavian's ships and men were destroyed by it. CHAP. X

Octavian retreats to Vibo

91. Octavian, who had lost heavily in the battle the previous day and had sustained two severe calamities together, took the road in haste to Vibo that same night, by way of the mountains, being unable to repair this disaster, for which there was no help at hand. He wrote to all his friends and generals to be on the alert lest a plot should be formed against him here or there, as is liable to be the case when adversity comes. He despatched the infantry he had with him to all points on the Italian coast, lest Pompeius should be emboldened by his good luck even to invade the mainland. But the latter had no thought of an expedition by land. He did not even attack the ships that were left from the wreck, nor those that went away after the storm had subsided.

CAP. X

ἐχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν διαζωννυμένους τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἀνέμῳ διαπλέοντας ἐς τὸ Ἱππώνειον, εἴτε τὴν συμφορὰν ἀρκεῖν οἱ νομίζων εἴτ' ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν εἴθ', ὥσπερ εἴρηταί μοι καὶ ἑτέρωθι, ἐπιχειρεῖν ὅλως μαλακὸς ὢν καὶ μόνον ἐγνωκὼς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας.

92. Καίσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἥμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν δ' ὅμως αὐτοῦ τινας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν ᾔει δυσφορῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεόμενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὖθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθάσαντος ὡς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ' ἔχρῃζε καὶ ἠπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἐώντων, οὓς ἐπινοήσειε. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μαικήναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἔναγχος ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεθεὶς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι. οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν καὶ νίκῃ κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας

CHAP. X

Pompeius does not pursue

On the contrary, he paid no attention to the enemy while they were frapping their ships with ropes as well as they could, and sailing with a favourable wind to Vibo. He neglected them either because he thought that the disaster was all-sufficient for him, or because he did not know how to follow up a victory, or, as I have said elsewhere, because he was altogether inefficient in attack and determined only to defend himself against assailants.

92. Less than half of Octavian's ships were saved, and these badly damaged. He left certain officers in charge of them and proceeded to Campania much cast down, for he had no other ships and he needed many; nor did he have time to build them, pressed as he was by the famine and by the people, who were again harassing him about a new treaty and mocking at the war as being in violation of the old one. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying the taxes, nor would they allow the use of the revenues that he had devised. But he was always clever at discovering what was for his advantage. He sent Maecenas to Antony to change the mind of the latter respecting the things about which they had lately had some bickering, and to bring him to an alliance. If Maecenas should not succeed, he intended to embark his infantry on merchant vessels, cross over to Sicily, abandon the sea, and wage war on land. While in this state of dejection the news reached him that Antony had agreed to the alliance, and he heard of a splendid victory over the Gauls of Aquitania, gained under the leadership of Agrippa.[1] His friends

Octavian appeals to Antony for aid

[1] There is probably a gap or error in the text.

CAP. X

ἄγων ἐφάνη. οἵ τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεών τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχνοῦντο καὶ ἐποίουν.

93. Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίη καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγνυτο· ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνηλλακτο τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τὰς ἔτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὖθις ὡς ἐπὶ ἕτοιμα καὶ ἀρκοῦντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἑτέρας ἀσχολίας προύφερε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἢ αὖθις ἐπιμεμφόμενός τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὅμως καὶ αὖθις αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγίᾳ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρῄζων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὀκταουία οὖν ἐχώρει πρὸς Καίσαρα διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλελύσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικήνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναι Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον· βουληθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ

and certain cities also promised him ships, and built them.

B.C. 36

Antony comes to his help with three hundred ships

Accordingly, Octavian cast off his despondency, and made more formidable preparations than his previous ones. 93. At the beginning of spring, Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships to assist Octavian as he had promised. But the latter had changed his mind and postponed his movement until his own ships should be finished. When called upon again and told that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he advanced other reasons for delay. It was evident that he was again offended with Antony about something, or that he disdained his assistance because his own resources were abundant. Antony was vexed, but he remained, nevertheless, and communicated with Octavian again, because the expense of his fleet was burdensome. Moreover, he needed Italian soldiers for his war against the Parthians, and he contemplated exchanging his fleet for a part of Octavian's army; for, although it was provided in their treaty that each of them might recruit soldiers in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so when Italy had fallen to the lot of Octavian. Accordingly, Octavia betook herself to her brother to act as mediator between them. Octavian complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits; she replied that that had been explained through Maecenas. Octavian said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus in Africa to induce the latter to make an alliance against him; she replied that she knew that Callias had been sent to make arrangements about a marriage, because Antony desired, before

CAP. X τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδόσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ παιδὶ Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὡμολόγητο. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἡ Ὀκταουία, Ἀντώνιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Καλλίαν ἔπεμπεν, ἐς βάσανον τῷ Καίσαρι διδούς· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο μέν, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ ἔφη καὶ συμμίξειν Ἀντωνίῳ μεταξὺ Μεταποντίου καὶ Τάραντος, μέσον ἔχων ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον.

94. Κατὰ δαίμονα δ' ἀμφοτέρων προσιόντων τῷ ῥεύματι, Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τῆς ἀπήνης καταθορὼν ἔς τι τῶν παρορμούντων σκαφῶν ἐσήλατο μόνος καὶ ἐπέρα πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, πιστεύων ὡς φίλῳ. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἰδὼν ἀντεμιμεῖτο, καὶ ξυμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ διήριζον, ἑκάτερος ἐκβῆναι βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἐνίκα δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ἥξων ἐς Τάραντα, ἐπί τε τῆς ἀπήνης Ἀντωνίου συνήδρευεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Τάραντι ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν αὐτοῦ παρῆλθέ τε ἀφύλακτος καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὁμοίως ἀνεπαύετο χωρὶς δορυφόρων παρ' αὐτῷ. τὰ δ' ὅμοια καὶ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐπεδείκνυτο. οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχὴς ἡ μεταβολή, πρός τε τὰς ὑπονοίας διὰ φιλαρχίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας.

95. Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπίπλουν τὸν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς νέωτα ἀνεβάλλετο· ὁ δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπιμένειν διὰ Παρθυαίους οὐ δυνάμενος, ἀντέδοσαν ὅμως ἀλλήλοις, Καίσαρι μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἃς αὐτίκα πέμψας εἰς Τάραντα παρέδωκεν, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ δισμυρίους Ἰταλοὺς ὁπλίτας, οὓς ἐπιπέμψειν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐδωρήσατο δὲ καὶ Ὀκταουία τὸν

setting out on his Parthian expedition, to marry his daughter to the son of Lepidus, as had been agreed. After Octavian had made this statement Antony sent Callias to Octavian with permission to put him to the question. Octavian would not receive him, but said that he would go and have an interview with Antony between Metapontum and Tarentum, at a place where there is the river whence the town is named[1] between them. CHAP. X

94. They both chanced to reach the river at the same time. Antony sprang down from his chariot and leaped alone into one of the skiffs moored near by, and rowed toward Octavian, showing confidence in him as a friend. When Octavian saw this he followed the example. So they met in the stream and contended with each other which of them should disembark on the other's bank. Octavian prevailed because he was going to make a visit to Octavia at Tarentum. He took a seat with Antony in the latter's chariot, and proceeded to his lodgings at Tarentum unprotected, and passed the night there without guards. On the following day Antony made the same exhibition of trust. Thus they were continually changing from suspicion born of rivalry to confidence due to their mutual needs. Meeting of Octavian and Antony

95. However, Octavian postponed his expedition against Pompeius till the following year. On account of the Parthian war Antony was not able to wait. Nevertheless, they made an exchange with each other, Antony giving to Octavian 120 ships, which he sent at once and delivered at Tarentum, in return for which Octavian promised to send him 20,000 Italian legionaries. Octavia, begging the

[1] The Taras.

CAP. X

ἀδελφόν, αἰτήσασα παρ' Ἀντωνίου, δέκα φασήλοις τριηριτικοῖς, ἐπιμίκτοις ἔκ τε φορτίδων νεῶν καὶ μακρῶν, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ χιλίοις λογάσι σωματοφύλαξιν, οὓς ἐπιλέξαιτο Ἀντώνιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ χρόνος αὐτοῖς ἔληγε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἢ τοῖς τρισὶν ἐψηφίστο ἀνδράσιν, ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῖς ὥριζον πενταετίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντες. οὕτω μὲν οὖν διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἠπείγετο, τὴν Ὀκταουίαν παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καταλιπὼν μετὰ θυγατρὸς ἤδη γενομένης αὐτοῖς.

96. Μηνόδωρος δέ, εἴτε τις ὢν φύσει παλιμπροδότης εἴτε δείσας τήν ποτε ἀπειλὴν Ἀντωνίου, ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὡς ἀνδράποδον πολεμοποιόν, εἴτε ἐλασσόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι νομίζων παρ' ἃ πρυσεδόκησεν, εἴτε τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸν ἐξελευθέρων τοῦ Πομπηίου συνεχῶς ὀνειδιζόντων ἐς ἀπιστίαν δεσπότου καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐπανελθεῖν Μενεκράτους ἀποθανόντος, πίστιν αἰτήσας καὶ λαβὼν ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς Πομπήιον σὺν ἑπτὰ ναυσί, Καλουίσιον τὸν ναύαρχον τοῦ Καίσαρος διαλαθών. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Καλουίσιον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἀντικατέστησεν Ἀγρίππαν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἕτοιμος ἦν ὁ στόλος, ἐκάθαιρεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε. οἱ μὲν βωμοὶ ψαύουσι τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ἡ πληθὺς αὐτοὺς περιέστηκε κατὰ ναῦν μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης· οἱ δὲ ἱερουργοὶ θύουσι μὲν ἑστῶτες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ τρὶς ἐπὶ σκαφῶν περιφέρουσιν ἀνὰ τὸν στόλον τὰ καθάρσια, συμπεριπλεόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐπαρωμένων ἐς τάδε τὰ καθάρσια, ἀντὶ τοῦ στόλου, τὰ

favour from Antony, made her brother a present of ten three-banked phaseli—a combination of war-ship and merchant vessel—and Octavian gave her in return 1000 picked men as a body-guard, to be selected by Antony. As the term of the triumvirate voted to them was about expiring, they renewed it for five years without again asking the people. And so they separated, Antony proceeding straightway to Syria and leaving Octavia with her brother, and also a daughter already born to them. CHAP. X

Antony returns to his Parthian expedition

96. But Menodorus,—either because he was a turn-coat by nature, or because he feared the former threat of Antony, who had said that he would punish him as a rebellious slave, or because he had received less consideration than he had expected, or because the other freedmen of Pompeius were continually reproaching him for unfaithfulness to his master and urging him to return,—now that Menecrates was dead, asked forgiveness, and, having obtained it, deserted to Pompeius with seven ships, without the knowledge of Octavian's admiral, Calvisius. For this reason Octavian dismissed the latter from his command and appointed Agrippa in his place.

Menodorus deserts to Pompeius

When the fleet was ready, Octavian performed a lustration for it in the following manner. The altars are erected on the margin of the sea, and the multitude ranged around them in a circle of ships, observing the most profound silence. The priests who perform the ceremony offer the sacrifice while standing at the water's edge, and carry the expiatory offerings in skiffs three times round the fleet, the generals sailing with them, beseeching the gods to turn the bad omens against the victims instead of the fleet. B.C. 36

CAP. X ἀπαίσια τραπῆναι. νείμαντες δὲ αὐτά, μέρος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρίπτουσι καὶ μέρος ἐς τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐπιθέντες ἅπτουσι, καὶ ὁ λεὼς ἐπευφημεῖ. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ναυτικὰ καθαίρουσιν.

XI

CAP. XI 97. Ἔμελλε δ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, ὁ δὲ Λέπιδος ἐκ Λιβύης, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ἐπιπλευσεῖσθαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἠοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ δύσεως καὶ μεσημβρίας περιλάβοιεν. καὶ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προείρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν, ἥν τινα Ῥωμαῖοι νουμηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ προτέρου Ἰούλιον ἀντὶ Κυιντιλίου καλοῦσι. τήνδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὥρισε τὴν ἡμέραν, αἰσιούμενος ἴσως διὰ τὸν πατέρα νικηφόρον αἰεὶ γενόμενον· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Λεπίδῳ μὲν ἀντέταττε Πλένιον ἐι Λιλυβαίῳ, τέλος ὁπλιτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐσκευασμένον κούφως, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἕω καὶ δύσιν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσαν ἐφρούρει, καὶ νήσους μάλιστα Λιπάραν τε καὶ Κοσσύραν, ἵνα μήτε Κοσσύρα Λεπίδῳ μήτε Λιπάρα Καίσαρι ἐνορμίσματα ἢ ναύσταθμα γένοιτο εὔκαιρα ἐπὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ. τὸ δ' ἄριστον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ἐπεδρεῦον ὅπῃ δεήσειεν.

98. Οὕτω μὲν ἑκάτεροι παρασκευῆς εἶχον, γενομένης δὲ τῆς νουμηνίας ἀνήγοντο πάντες ἅμα ἠοῖ, Λέπιδος μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης χιλίαις ὁλκάσι καὶ μακραῖς ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τέλεσι στρατοῦ δυώδεκα

Then, dividing the entrails, they cast a part of them into the sea, and put the remainder on the altars and burn them, while the multitude chant in unison. In this way the Romans perform lustrations of the fleet. CHAP. X

XI

97. It was intended that Octavian should set sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Taurus from Tarentum, against Sicily, in order to surround the enemy at once, from the east, the west, and the south. The day of Octavian's sailing had been previously communicated to all; it was the tenth day after the summer solstice. This, in the Roman calendar, was the calends of the month which, in honour of the first Caesar, they call July instead of Quintilis. Octavian fixed on this day, perhaps because he considered it propitious on account of his father, who was always victorious. Pompeius stationed Plenius at Lilybaeum with one legion and a considerable body of light-armed troops, to oppose Lepidus. He guarded the whole coast of Sicily, both east and west, and especially the islands of Lipara and Cossyra, lest they should become convenient harbours and naval stations, the one for Octavian the other for Lepidus against Sicily. The best part of his naval force he kept together at Messana watching its chances. CHAP. XI

Expedition against Sextus Pompeius

98. In this way they made their preparations on either side, and when the calends came they all set sail at daybreak, Lepidus from Africa with 1000 ships of burden, seventy war vessels, twelve legions of

Lepidus brings a fleet from Africa

CAP. XI καὶ ἱππεῦσι Νομάσι πεντακισχιλίοις καὶ ἑτέρᾳ παρασκευῇ πολλῇ, Ταῦρος δ' ἐκ Τάραντος ταῖς Ἀντωνίου ναυσὶν ἐξ ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα δύο μόναις καὶ ἑκατόν, ἐπεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ ἐρέται χειμῶνος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Δικαιαρχείας, θύων ἅμα καὶ σπένδων ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαρχίδος νεὼς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέμοις εὐδίοις καὶ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ ἀκύμονι θαλάσσῃ, συλλήπτορας αὑτῷ κατὰ ἐχθρῶν πατρῴων γενέσθαι. πρόπλοι δ' αὐτῷ τινες τοὺς μυχοὺς τῆς θαλάσσης διηρεύνων, καὶ Ἄππιος μετὰ πλήθους νεῶν ὀπισθοφυλακῶν εἵπετο. τρίτῃ δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡμέρᾳ νότος ἐμπεσὼν Λεπίδου μὲν ὁλκάδας ἀνέτρεψε πολλάς, ὡρμίσθη δὲ ὅμως ἐς Σικελίαν καί, Πλένιον ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ πολιορκῶν, τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ὑπήγετο καὶ ἑτέρας ἐβιάζετο. Ταῦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐς Τάραντα ἐπαλινδρόμει. Ἀππίου δ' ἄρτι τὸ Ἀθηναῖον ἄκρον περιπλέοντος αἱ μὲν συνετρίβοντο τῶν νεῶν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πέτραις, αἱ δ' ἐς τέλματα ἐξώκελλον ὑπὸ ῥύμης, αἱ δὲ καὶ διερρίφησαν οὐκ ἀσινεῖς. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀρχομένου μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐς τὸν Ἐλεάτην κόλπον ἐρυμνὸν ὄντα συμπεφεύγει, χωρὶς ἑξήρους μιᾶς, ἣ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ διελύθη· λιβὸς δὲ τὸν νότον μεταλαβόντος ὁ κόλπος ἐκυκᾶτο, ἐς τὴν ἑσπέραν ἀνεῳγμένος, καὶ οὔτε ἐκπλεῦσαι δυνατὸν ἦν ἔτι πρὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, οὔτε κῶπαι κατεῖχον οὔτε ἄγκυραι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀλλήλας ἢ ἐς τὰς πέτρας ἐνηράσσοντο αἱ νῆες. καὶ νυκτὸς ἦν ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν ἀτοπώτερον.

99. Ἐνδόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρὰ ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε,

soldiers, 500 Numidian horse, and a great quantity of apparatus; Taurus from Tarentum with only 102 of the 130 ships that Antony had left, since the oarsmen of the remainder had perished during the winter. Octavian sailed from Puteoli, offering sacrifices and pouring out libations from the admiral's ship into the water to the propitious winds, and to Saviour Neptune, and to Waveless Ocean, that they should be his allies against his father's enemies. Certain ships sent in advance made examination of the bays, and Appius with a large squadron followed as a rear guard. On the third day after their departure a south wind blew with violence and capsized a large number of ships of burden belonging to Lepidus. Nevertheless, he reached the Sicilian coast, laid siege to Plenius in Lilybaeum, and got possession of some towns by persuasion and others by force. When the wind began to blow Taurus returned to Tarentum. While Appius was doubling the promontory of Minerva, some of his ships were shattered against the rocks, others ran with violence on the shoals, and the rest were dispersed, not without injury. At the beginning of the storm, Octavian took refuge in the sheltered bay of Elea, except one six-banked ship, which was wrecked on the promontory. The south wind was succeeded by a south-wester, which threw the bay into commotion, as it opened toward the west. It was impossible to sail out of the bay with the wind still ahead, nor could the ships be held by oars or anchors. They crashed against each other or against the rocks, and by night confusion became worse confounded.

CHAP. XI

Another storm damages Octavian's ships and causes delay

99. When the tempest had subsided, Octavian buried the dead, cared for the wounded, clothed

CAP. XI καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐτίδυς, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἑτέροις ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρατο δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τάδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἤδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπείξεως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρῳ ναῦς κενὰς ἐξέπεμπεν. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι, Μαικήναν μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἱππώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πεζὰ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἤδη καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπίπλους.

100. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοιᾷδε εὐκαιρίᾳ τοσοῖσδε ναυαγίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἔθυε μόνον θαλάσσῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι, πειθόμενος οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ δὶς οὕτω θέρους πταῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους. φασὶ δ' αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τῶνδε χαυνούμενον, καὶ τὴν συνήθη

those who had swum ashore and furnished them with new weapons, and repaired his whole fleet with the means at his command. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones, and a still larger number of liburnian galleys had been destroyed. He was likely to consume nearly thirty days in these repairs; and now the end of summer was approaching, for which reason he deemed it best to postpone the war till the following summer, but as the people were suffering from scarcity he drew his ships upon the land and made his preparations rapidly, and sent the crews of the ships he had lost to fill the empty ones in the fleet of Taurus. In anticipation of more serious misfortune he sent Maecenas to Rome on account of those who were still under the spell of the memory of Pompey the Great, for the fame of that man had not yet lost its influence over them. Octavian himself visited the new colonies throughout Italy and dispelled their fears, which had been excited by the recent events. He also went to Tarentum and inspected the naval force under Taurus. Then he proceeded to Vibo, where he encouraged his infantry and hastened the preparations of his fleet, the time for his second invasion of Sicily being near at hand. CHAP. XI

Sextus fails to use his opportunities

100. Pompeius however did not deign to seize even the fine opportunity presented to him by so many shipwrecks. He merely offered sacrifice to the sea and to Neptune, assuming to call himself their son, and persuading himself that it was not without the special act of Providence that his enemies had been twice overwhelmed in this way in the summer months. It is said that he was so much puffed up by these circumstances that he exchanged the purple

CAP. XI τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλαμύδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῆν μεταλλάξαι, εἰσποιούμενον ἄρα ἑαυτὸν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. ἐλπίσας δ' ἀναζεύξειν τὸν Καίσαρα, ὡς ἐπύθετο ναυπηγούμενόν τε καὶ ἐπιπλευσούμενον αὖθις αὐτοῦ θέρους, ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν ὡς ἀμάχῳ γνώμῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ πολεμῶν, Μηνόδωρον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑπτὰ ὧν ἤγαγεν ἔπεμπε κατασκεψόμενον τὰ νεώλκια τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δράσοντα, ὅ τι καὶ δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ τέως ἀχθόμενος οὐκ ἀποδοθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ τότε αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι σὺν ὑποψίᾳ μόνων ἠξίωτο ὧν ἤγαγε νεῶν, ἐπεβούλευεν αὖθις αὐτομολίαν.

101. Ἐπινοῶν δὲ πρότερον, ὡς ἐς πάντα οἱ συνοῖσον, ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι, διέδωκε τοῖς συμπλέουσιν, ὅσον εἶχε χρυσίον, καὶ διέπλευσεν εἰρεσίᾳ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πεντακοσίους ἐπὶ χιλίοις σταδίους καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι τῶν ναυπηγουμένων Καίσαρι νεῶν οἷα σκηπτὸς ἀφανῶς ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐς ἀφανὲς ἀναχωρῶν ἥρει κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ναῦς τῶν φυλακίδων καὶ τὰς ὁλκάδας, αἳ τὸν σῖτον ἔφερον, ὁρμούσας ἢ παραπλεούσας κατέδυεν ἢ ἀνεδεῖτο ἢ ἐνεπίμπρη. θορύβου δὲ πάντα μεστὰ διὰ Μηνόδωρον ἦν, Καίσαρος ἀπόντος ἔτι καὶ Ἀγρίππα· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐπὶ ὕλην ἐπεπόρευτο. γαυρούμενος δὲ ὁ Μηνόδωρος ἐξώκειλέ ποτε τὴν ναῦν ἑκὼν ἐς ἕρμα γῆς ἁπαλὸν σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ κατέχεσθαι, μέχρι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καταθορόντων

cloak customary to Roman commanders for a dark blue one, to signify that he was the adopted son of Neptune. He hoped that Octavian would now take himself off, but when he learned that the latter was building ships and was about to renew the expedition against him that summer, he became alarmed at finding himself at war with a man of such indomitable spirit and such formidable preparations. He sent Menodorus, with the seven ships he had brought, to reconnoitre the dockyards of Octavian and to do whatever damage he could. Menodorus had been vexed for some time past because the naval command had not been given to him, and he now perceived that he was entrusted with only the ships that he had brought, because he was under suspicion. So he plotted a new desertion. CHAP. XI

Menodorus again turns traitor

101. Conceiving that however matters might turn out, he should first signalize himself by some act of valour, he distributed among his companions all the gold he had, and crossed by a three days' rowing, accomplishing a distance of 1500 stades, and fell like a thunderbolt, unperceived, on the vessels that were guarding Octavian's shipyards, and disappeared carrying off the guard-ships by twos and threes, sinking also, or capturing, or burning the merchant vessels, laden with corn, that were moored there or sailing along the coast. Everything was thrown into confusion by this raid of Menodorus, both Octavian and Agrippa being absent, for Agrippa had gone away to procure timber. In a spirit of bravado Menodorus once ran his ship upon a sandbank, voluntarily and contemptuously, and pretended to be stuck in the mud, until his enemies dashed down from the mountains upon him as to a certain

CAP. XI ὡς ἐπὶ Μηνοδώρου θήραν ἕτοιμον, ἀνακρουσάμενος ᾤχετο σὺν θαύματι.

Ὡς δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐπεδέδεικτο, οἷος ἐχθρός τε καὶ φίλος εἴη, Ῥέβιλον μὲν ἑλών, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ βουλῆς, μεθῆκε, μνώμενος ἤδη τὸ μέλλον. 102. Μινδίῳ δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ, τῶν ἑταίρων τινὶ τῶν Καίσαρος, φίλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ γεγονὼς αὐτομολίᾳ, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφη τὸν Μίνδιον βουλεύειν αὐτομολίαν καὶ προδοσίαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις προσπελάσας ἠξίου Μίνδιον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν ἔς τινα νησῖδα ἐπὶ λόγοις συνοίσουσι. καὶ συνελθόντι ἔλεγεν, οὐδενὸς ἀκούοντος ἑτέρου, φυγεῖν μὲν ἐς Πομπήιον ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε ναυάρχου Καλουισίου, τὴν δὲ ναυαρχίαν Ἀγρίππου μεταλαβόντος ἐπανελεύσεσθαι πρὸς Καίσαρα οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, εἰ πίστιν αὐτῷ κομίσειεν ὁ Μίνδιος παρὰ Μεσσάλα τοῦ τὴν ἀποδημίαν Ἀγρίππᾳ διοικοῦντος. ἔφη δ' ἐπανελθὼν μὲν ἰάσεσθαι λαμπροῖς τὸ ἁμάρτημα ἔργοις, μέχρι δὲ τῶν πίστεων λυμανεῖσθαί τινα τῶν Καίσαρος ὁμοίως ἐς τὸ ἀνύποπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὖθις ἐλυμαίνετο, Μεσσάλας δ' ἐνεδοίασε μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ αἰσχρῷ, ἐνέδωκε δ' ὅμως, εἴτε πολέμου ταῦτ' εἶναι νομίζων ἀνάγκας εἴτε καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος γνώμης τι προμαθὼν ἢ τεκμηράμενος. καὶ Μηνόδωρος μὲν αὖθις ἠτομόλει καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθόντα προσπίπτων ἠξίου συγγνῶναι μὴ λέγοντι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς φυγῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐς

prey, when he backed away, and left them in amaze- CHAP. XI
ment.

When he had sufficiently shown what he was capable of, as enemy or friend, he dismissed a senator whom he had taken prisoner, named Rebilus, having a view already to the future. 102. During his former desertion he had been a friend of Mindius Marcellus, one of the companions of Octavian, and he now told his own men that Mindius had the intention of betraying his party and deserting to that of Pompeius. Then he drew near to the enemy and invited Mindius to go with him to a small island in order to have a conference. When the latter came, and there was nobody else within carshot, Menodorus said that he had gone back to Pompeius because he was ill-treated by the admiral of those days, Calvisius, but that since Agrippa had been appointed to the command of the fleet he would come back to Octavian, who had done him no wrong, if Mindius would bring him a safe-conduct from Messala, who was commanding in Agrippa's absence. He said that on his return he would make amends for his fault by brilliant exploits, but that until the safe-conduct arrived he should be obliged to harrass the forces of Octavian as before in order to avoid suspicion; and this he did. Messala hesitated at so dirty a transaction, but he nevertheless yielded, either because he considered such things necessary in war, or because he had learned beforehand, or conjectured, the mind of Octavian. So Menodorus again deserted, and, upon the approach of Octavian, threw himself at his feet and begged that he would pardon him without asking for the reasons for his flight. Octavian conceded his safety

He surrenders his ships and himself to Octavian

CAP. XI

μὲν σωτηρίαν αὐτῷ συνεγίνωσκε διὰ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, τοῦς δὲ τριηράρχους αὐτοῦ μεθίει χωροῦντας ὅποι θέλοιεν.

103. Ἑτοίμου δὲ τοῦ στόλου γενομένου, αὖθις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνήγετο καὶ ἐς Ἱππώνειον παραπλεύσας δύο μὲν τέλη πεζῶν Μεσσάλαν ἔχοντα περᾶν ἐκέλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λεπίδου στρατόπεδον καὶ σταθμεύειν ἐς τὸν κόλπον διελθόντα τὸν εὐθὺ Ταυρομενίου, τρία δ' ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ Στυλίδα καὶ πορθμὸν ἄκρον ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς ἐσομένοις· Ταῦρον δ' ἐς τὸ Σκυλάκιον ὄρος, ὃ πέραν ἐστὶ Ταυρομενίου, περιπλεῖν ἐκ Τάραντος ἐκέλευε. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιέπλει διεσκευασμένος ἐς μάχην ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰρεσίαν· καὶ τὰ πεζὰ αὐτῷ παρωμάρτει, προερευνώντων τήν τε γῆν ἱππέων καὶ λιβυρνίδων τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὧδε ἔχοντι ἐξ Ἱππωνείου ἐπιδραμὼν ἐπιφαίνεται κατὰ τὸ Σκυλάκιον, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποδεξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Ἱππώνειον. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, ὥς μοι προείρηται, τάς τε ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάσεις ἐφύλασσεν ἁπάσας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ συνεῖχεν ὡς βοηθήσων, ὅποι δεήσειεν.

104. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς ἦσαν, Λεπίδῳ δὲ αὖθις ἐκ Λιβύης ἦγον αἱ ὁλκάδες τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη τέσσαρα. καὶ αὐταῖς ὑπήντα πελάγιος ἐκ Πομπηίου Παπίας καὶ διέφθειρεν ὡς φιλίους δεχομένας· ᾤοντο γὰρ σφίσι τὰς Λεπίδου συναντᾶν. αἱ δὲ βραδέως τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου καθείλκοντο, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὰς προσιούσας αἱ ὁλκάδες ὡς καὶ τάσδε ἄλλας πολεμίας

on account of the pledges made, but had him secretly watched. He dismissed the captains of his triremes and allowed them to go wherever they pleased.

Disposition of Octavian's forces

103. When the fleet was ready Octavian set sail again. He landed at Vibo and ordered Messala, who had two legions of infantry, to cross over to Sicily, join the army of Lepidus, pass through to the bay in front of Tauromenium, and station himself there, and three legions he sent to Stylis and the extremity of the straits, to await events. He ordered Taurus to sail round from Tarentum to Mount Scylacium, which is opposite Tauromenium. Taurus did so, having prepared himself for fighting as well as for rowing. His infantry kept even pace with him, cavalry reconnoitring by land and liburnians by sea. While he was making this movement Octavian, who had advanced from Vibo, made his appearance near Scylacium, and, after giving his approval to the good order of the forces, returned to Vibo. Pompeius, as I have already said, guarded all the landing places on the island and retained his fleet at Messana, in order to send aid where it might be needed.

104. Such were the preparations of Octavian and Pompeius. Meanwhile four more legions were en route to Lepidus from Africa in merchant ships, being the remainder of his army. Papias, one of Pompeius' captains, threw himself in their way on the sea, and, after they had received him as a friend (for they thought that these were ships sent by Lepidus to meet them), destroyed them. Some ships were despatched by Lepidus leisurely, and when these were approaching, the merchant ships that had escaped mistook them for

Disaster to Lepidus

CAP. XI ἐξέκλιναν, ἕως αἱ μὲν ἐκαύθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐλήφθησαν, αἱ δ' ἀνετράπησαν, αἱ δ' ἐς Λιβύην ἀνέπλευσαν. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ δύο μὲν τέλη διώλετο ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καί, εἴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐξενήχοντο, καὶ τούσδε Τισιηνὸς ὁ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατηγὸς ἐκνέοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς Λέπιδον κατήχθησαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δ' ὕστερον. καὶ Παπίας ἀπέπλευσε πρὸς Πομπήιον.

105. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν Στρογγύλην, ἣ τῶν πέντε νήσων ἐστὶ τῶν Λιόλου, παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ διέπλευσεν ἐξ Ἱππωνείου, προερευνωμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θαλάσσης· στρατὸν δὲ ἐπὶ μετώπου τῆς Σικελίας πλέονα ἰδὼν ἔν τε Πελωριάδι καὶ Μύλαις καὶ Τυνδαρίδι, εἴκασεν αὐτὸν παρεῖναι Πομπήιον καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐνθάδε Ἀγρίππᾳ διαστρατηγεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἱππώνειον αὖθις ἀπέπλει καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον ἐξ Ἱππωνείου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι μετὰ Μεσσάλα διετρόχαζεν, ὡς Ταυρομένιον αἱρήσων ἀπόντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ τὰς ἐμβολὰς αὐτῷ διχόθεν παρέξων. Ἀγρίππας μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Στρογγύλης εἰς Ἱερὰν διέπλει καὶ τῶν Πομπηίου φρουρῶν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑποστάντων εἶλε τὴν Ἱερὰν καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἔμελλεν ἐπιχειρήσειν ἐς Μύλας Δημοχάρει τῷ Πομπηίου, τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἔχοντι· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, τὸ βίαιον ὑφορώμενος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἔπεμπε τῷ Δημοχάρει ναῦς ἄλλας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἀπὸ Μεσσήνης ἐξελεύθερον ἄγοντα Ἀπολλοφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφείπετο ἄλλαις ἑβδομήκοντα.

106. Ἀγρίππας δ' ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἀνήγετο ταῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν νεῶν ὡς Παπίᾳ μόνῳ ναυμαχή-

other enemies and fled. So some of them were burned, some captured, some upset, and the rest returned to Africa. Two legions perished in the sea, or, if any of them could swim, Tisienus, the lieutenant of Pompeius, slew them when they reached the land. The other legions re-embarked and joined Lepidus, some sooner and some later. Papias sailed back to Pompeius. CHAP. XI

105. Octavian crossed from Vibo with his whole fleet to Strongyle,[1] one of the five Aeolian islands, having made a reconnaissance of the sea beforehand. Seeing large forces in front of him on the Sicilian shore at Pelorum, Mylae, and Tyndaris, he conjectured that Pompeius himself was there. So he left Agrippa in command and returned again to Vibo, and thence hastened with Messala and three legions to the camp of Taurus, intending to seize Tauromenium while Pompeius was still absent, and thus threaten him on two sides at once. In pursuance of this plan Agrippa moved forward from Strongyle to the island of Hiera, and as Pompeius' garrison made no resistance he occupied it and intended on the following day to attack, at Mylae, Democharcs, the lieutenant of Pompeius, who had forty ships. Pompeius observed the menacing attitude of Agrippa and sent to Democharcs from Messana forty-five ships, under the command of his freedman Apollophanes, and followed in person with seventy others. Agrippa occupies the island of Hiera

106. Agrippa, with half of his ships, sailed out of Hiera before daylight in order to have a naval engagement with Papias only. When he saw the

[1] The modern Stromboli.

CAP. XI σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπολλοφάνους εἶδε καὶ τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ἑτέρωθι, Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐδήλου Πομπήιον ἐπὶ τῶν Μυλῶν εἶναι σὺν τῷ πλέονι ναυτικῷ, τὰς δὲ βαρείας αὐτὸς ἦγε κατὰ μέσον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν· ἐσκεύαστο δ' ἀμφοτέροις πάντα λαμπρῶς, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν εἶχον κατά τε πρῷραν καὶ κατὰ πρύμναν. ὡς δὲ αὐτοῖς αἵ τε παρακελεύσεις, οἵας εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐγεγένηντο καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατὰ ναῦν ἦρτο, ἐξώρμων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν κατὰ μέτωπον, οἱ δ' ἐς περικύκλωσιν, σύν τε βοῇ καὶ ῥοθίῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει ποικίλῃ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ σκάφη Πομπηίῳ μὲν βραχύτερα καὶ κοῦφα καὶ ὀξέα ἐς τὰς ἐφορμήσεις τε καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ καὶ βραδύτερα, βιαιότερα δὲ ὅμως ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ τρωθῆναι δυσπαθέστερα. τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ναυτικώτεροι τῶν Καίσαρος ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ σθεναρώτεροι· καὶ κατὰ λόγον οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἐμβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ μόναις περιόδοις ἐπλεονέκτουν, καὶ ταρσοὺς τῶν μειζόνων ἢ πηδάλια ἀνέκλων ἢ κώπας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ ἀπεχώριζον ὅλως τὰ σκάφη καὶ ἔβλαπτον ἐμβολῆς οὐχ ἧσσονα· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτὰς ἐμβολαῖς ὡς βραχυτέρας ἀνέκοπτον ἢ κατέσειον ἢ διερρήγνυον καί, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, ἔβαλλόν τε ὡς ταπεινοτέρας ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ κόρακας ἢ χεῖρας σιδηρᾶς εὐκολώτερον ἐπερρίπτουν. οἱ δὲ ὅτε βιασθεῖεν, ἐξήλλοντο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. καὶ τούσδε μὲν τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοῦ

fleet of Apollophanes also, and seventy ships on the other wing, he sent word to Octavian at once that Pompeius was at Mylae with the greater part of his naval forces. Then he placed himself with his heavy ships in the centre, and summoned the remainder of his fleet from Hiera in all haste. The preparations on both sides were superb. The ships had towers on both stem and stern. When the usual exhortation had been given and the standards raised, they rushed against each other, some coming bow on, others making flank attacks, the shouts of the men and the spray from the ships adding terror to the scene. The Pompeian ships were shorter and lighter, and better adapted to blockading and darting about. Those of Octavian were larger and heavier, and, consequently, slower, yet stronger to give blows and not so easily damaged. The Pompeian crews were better sailors than those of Octavian, but the later were stronger. Accordingly, the former excelled not so much in close fighting as in the nimbleness of their movements, and they broke oar blades and rudders, cut off oar handles, or separated the enemy's ships entirely, doing them no less harm than by ramming. Those of Octavian sought to cut down with their beaks the hostile ships, which were smaller in size, or shatter them, or break through them. When they came to close quarters, being higher, they could hurl missiles down upon the enemy, and more easily throw the "ravens"[1] and the grappling-irons. The Pompeians whenever they were overpowered in this manner leaped into the sea.

CHAP. XI

He attacks the Pompeian fleet and wins a victory

They were picked up by their small boats, which

[1] A plank with a spike, for grappling.

CAP. XI Πομπηίου περιπλέοντα ἀνελάμβανεν, 107. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας ἴετο μάλιστα εὐθὺ τοῦ Παπίου καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπωτίδα ἐμπεσὼν κατέσεισε τὴν ναῦν καὶ ἐς τὰ κοῖλα ἀνέρρηξεν· ἡ δὲ τούς τε ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ἀπεσείσατο καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀθρόως ἐδέχετο, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν οἱ μὲν θαλαμίαι πάντες ἀπελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἕτεροι τὸ κατάστρωμα ἀναρρήξαντες ἐξενήχοντο. Παπίας δὲ ἐς τὴν παρορμοῦσαν ἀναληφθεὶς αὖθις ἐπῄει τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ὄρους ἐφορῶν τὰς μὲν ἰδίας μικρὰ ἐπωφελούσας καὶ ψιλουμένας τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, ὅτε συμπλακεῖεν, Ἀγρίππᾳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον στόλον ἐξ Ἱερᾶς προσπλέοντα, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐσήμηνε σὺν κόσμῳ. καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἐπιόντες τε καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον. Ἀγρίππα δ' ἐπιβαρήσαντος αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον, οὐκ ἐς τοὺς αἰγιαλούς, ἀλλ' ὅσα τῆς θαλάσσης οἱ ποταμοὶ τεναγώδη πεποιήκεσαν.

108. Καὶ Ἀγριππας, κωλυόντων αὐτὸν τῶν κυβερνητῶν μεγάλαις ναυσὶν ἐς ὀλίγον ὕδωρ ἐπιπλεῖν, πελάγιος ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ἐσάλευεν ὡς ἐφορμιούμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νυκτομαχήσων, εἰ δέοι. τῶν φίλων δ' αὐτῷ παραινούντων μὴ ἀλόγῳ θυμῷ συμφέρεσθαι μηδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτρύχειν ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ μηδὲ πιστεύειν πολυχείμωνι θαλάσσῃ, μόλις ἑσπέρας ἀνεζεύγνυε. καὶ οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ ἐς τοὺς λιμένας παρέπλεον, τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν ἀποβαλόντες, πέντε δὲ καταδύσαντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ βλάψαντες ἄλλα ἱκανὰ καὶ βλαβέντες ὅμοια. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπαινῶν, ὅτι τηλικαύταις ναυσὶν ἀντέσχον, τειχομαχῆσαι μᾶλλον ἔφασκεν

were hovering around for this purpose, 107. but Agrippa bore down directly upon Papias and struck his ship under the bow, shattering it and breaking into the hold. The men in the towers were shaken off, the water rushed into the ship, and all the oarsmen on the lower benches were cut off. The others broke through the deck and escaped by swimming. Papias escaped to a ship alongside of his own, and returned to the battle. Pompeius, who observed from a mountain that his ships were making little headway, and that whenever they came to close quarters with the enemy they were denuded of fighting men, and that reinforcements were coming to Agrippa from Hiera, gave the signal to retire in good order. This they did, advancing and retreating little by little. Agrippa continued to bear down upon them, and they took refuge, not on the beach, but among the shoals formed in the sea by river deposits. CHAP. XI

108. Agrippa's pilots prevented him from running his large ships on the shoals. He cast anchor in the open sea, intending to blockade the enemy and to fight a battle by night if necessary : but his friends advised him not to be carried away by rashness and not to wear out his soldiers with excessive toil and want of sleep, and not to trust to that tempestuous sea. So in the evening he reluctantly withdrew. The Pompeians made sail to their harbours, having lost thirty of their ships, and sunk five of the enemy's, and having inflicted considerable other damage and suffered as much in return. Pompeius praised his own men because they had resisted such formidable vessels, saying they had fought against walls rather than against ships ; and he rewarded

CAP. XI ἢ ναυμαχῆσαι καὶ ὡς νενικηκότας ἐδωρεῖτο, καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ. διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν κουφοτέρους ὄντας περιέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη τι προσθήσειν ἐς τὸ τῶν νεῶν ὕψος.

XII

CAP. XII Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῆς ναυμαχίας τέλος ἦν τῆς περὶ Μύλας Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Παπίᾳ γενομένης· 109. τὸν δὲ Καίσαρα ὁ Πομπήιος, ὥσπερ ἦν, ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὸ Ταύρου στρατόπεδον οἴχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ Ταυρομενίῳ, μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἐς Μεσσήνην περιέπλει, μέρος ἐν ταῖς Μύλαις ὑπολιπών, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἔτι παρεῖναι νομίζοι. Ἀγρίππας μὲν δὴ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατόν, ἐς ὅσον ἤπειγεν, ἐς Τυνδαρίδα ἐνδιδομένην ἔπλει· καὶ παρῆλθε μὲν εἴσω, μαχομένων δὲ λαμπρῶς τῶν φρουρῶν ἐξεώσθη. προσεχώρησαν δ' ἕτεραι πόλεις αὐτῷ καὶ φρουρὰς ἐδέξαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἱεράν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἤδη μὲν ἐς Λευκόπετραν ἐκ τοῦ Σκυλακίου διεπεπλεύκει, μαθὼν ἔτι ἀκριβέστερον, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐς Μύλας οἴχοιτο δι' Ἀγρίππαν· ἐκ δὲ Λευκοπέτρας ἔμελλε νυκτὸς περᾶν ὑπὲρ τὸν πορθμὸν ἐς τὸ Ταυρομένιον. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας μετέγνω μὴ κλέπτειν ἔτι τὸν διάπλουν νενικηκώς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φῶς θαρροῦντι τῷ στρατῷ περαιοῦσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πάντως ἡγεῖτο Πομπήιον Ἀγρίππᾳ παραμένειν. κατασκεψάμενος οὖν ἡμέρας τὸ πέλαγος ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν ἔγνω πολεμίων, ἔπλει

them as though they had been victorious. He encouraged them to believe that, as they were lighter, they would prevail over the enemy in the straits on account of the current. He said also that he would make some addition to the height of his ships. CHAP XI

XII

So ended the naval battle of Mylae, between Agrippa and Papias. 109. But Pompeius suspected that Octavian had gone to the camp of Taurus for the purpose of attacking Tauromenium, which was the case. So, directly after supper, he sailed to Messana, leaving a part of his forces at Mylae so that Agrippa might think that he was still there. Agrippa, as soon as he had given his army sufficient rest, set sail for Tyndaris, which was apparently ready to surrender. He entered the town, but the garrison fought valiantly and drove him out. Some other towns espoused his cause and received his garrisons, and he returned that evening to Hiera. In the meantime, Octavian had sailed from Scylacium to Leucopetra, having learned for a certainty that Pompeius had gone from Messana to Mylae on account of Agrippa. He was about to cross the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium by night, but learning of the sea-fight he changed his mind, thinking that a victor ought not to steal his passage, but to cross with his army boldly by daylight ; for he was fully convinced that Pompeius was still confronting Agrippa. Looking down from the mountains upon the sea at daybreak and finding that it was clear of enemies, he set sail with as many troops as

CHAP. XII

Octavian crosses the straits and demands the surrender of Tauromenium

CAP. XII στρατὸν ἔχων, ὅσον αἱ νῆες ἐδέχοντο, Μεσσάλαν ἐπὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ καταλιπών, ἕως ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἱ νῆες ἐπανέλθοιεν. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ Ταυρομένιον προσέπεμψε μὲν ὡς ὑπαξόμενος αὐτό, οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν φρουρῶν παρέπλει τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ὀνοβάλαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον καὶ ὡρμίσατο ἐς τὸν Ἀρχηγέτην, Ναξίων τὸν θεόν, ὡς χάρακα θησόμενος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποπειράσων τοῦ Ταυρομενίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχηγέτης Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιόν ἐστιν, ὃ πρῶτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῳκισμένοι.

110. Ἐνταῦθα τῆς νεὼς ἐκβαίνων ὁ Καῖσαρ ὤλισθε καὶ ἔπεσε καὶ ἀνέδραμε δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτῷ καθισταμένῳ ἔτι τὸ στρατόπεδον Πομπήιος ἐπέπλει στόλῳ πολλῷ, θαῦμα ἀδόκητον· ᾤετο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀγρίππα. παρήλαυνε δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἡ ἵππος, ἐς τάχος διερίζουσα τῷ ναυτικῷ, καὶ τὰ πεζὰ ἑτέρωθεν ἐφαίνετο, ὥστε δεῖσαι μὲν ἅπαντας, ἐν μέσῳ τριῶν στρατῶν πολεμίων γενομένους, δεῖσαι δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα, Μεσσάλαν οὐκ ἔχοντα μεταπέμψασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππέες εὐθὺς ἠνώχλουν οἱ Πομπηίου χαρακοποιουμένους ἔτι τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐφώρμησε, τάχα ἂν τι μεῖζον ἐξήνυστο τῷ Πομπηίῳ. νῦν δὲ ἀπείρως τε πολέμου, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ θορύβου τῶν Καίσαρος, καὶ ὄκνου, μὴ μάχης περὶ δείλην ἑσπέραν ἄρχειν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Κόκκυνον ἄκραν ὡρμίσαντο, οἱ πεζοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδεύειν ἐς Φοίνικα πόλιν ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν ἀνεπαύοντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν μὲν χάρακα ἐτέλουν, ὑπὸ δὲ

the ships could carry, leaving the rest with Messala until the fleet could return to him. Arriving at Tauromenium, he sent messengers to demand its surrender. As his guards were not admitted, he made sail to the river Onobalas and the temple of Venus, and moored his fleet at the shrine of the Archegetes, the god of the Naxians, intending to pitch his camp there and attack Tauromenium. The Archegetes is a small statue of Apollo, erected by the Naxians when they first migrated to Sicily. CHAP. XII

110. When Octavian disembarked from his ship he slipped and fell, but arose without assistance. While he was yet laying out his camp, Pompeius made his appearance with a large fleet—an astounding spectacle, since Octavian believed that he had been beaten by Agrippa. Pompeius' cavalry advanced at the same time, rivalling the fleet in rapidity of movement, and his infantry was seen on the other side; so that the forces of Octavian were terrified at finding themselves surrounded by enemies on three sides, and Octavian himself was alarmed because he could not send for Messala. The cavalry of Pompeius assailed Octavian's men while they were still fortifying their camp. If his infantry and his naval force had attacked simultaneously with the cavalry, Pompeius might have accomplished greater results, but as it was, being inexperienced in war and ignorant of the panic among the troops of Octavian, and hesitating to begin a battle at the approach of nightfall, one part of his forces stationed themselves at the promontory of Coccynus, while his infantry, deeming it unwise to encamp near the enemy, withdrew to the town of Phoenix. Night coming on, they went to rest, and Octavian's soldiers finished their camp, He is suddenly attacked by Pompeius on land and sea

CAP. XII

κόπου καὶ ἀγρυπνίας ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐβλάπτοντο. τέλη δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τρία καὶ ἱππέες χωρὶς ἵππων πεντακόσιοι καὶ κοῦφοι χίλιοι καὶ κληροῦχοι σύμμαχοι χωρὶς καταλόγου δισχίλιοι καὶ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ τούτοις.

111. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πεζὰ πάντα Κορνιφικίῳ παραδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν γῆν πολεμίους ἀπομάχεσθαι καὶ πράσσειν, ὅ τι ἐπείγοι· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας ἀνήγετο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, μὴ καὶ τοῦδε αὐτὸν ἀποκλείσαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεπε Τιτινίῳ, τὸ δὲ λαιὸν Καρισίῳ, λιβυρνίδος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπέβαινε καὶ περιέπλει πάντας παρακαλῶν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ παρακλήσει τὰ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μάλιστα ὤν, ἀπέθετο. ἐπαναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου δὶς μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐς νύκτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἁλισκομένων δὲ καὶ πιμπραμένων τῶν Καίσαρος νεῶν, αἱ μὲν ἀράμεναι τὰ βραχέα τῶν ἱστίων ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, τῶν παραγγελμάτων καταφρονοῦσαι· καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπ' ὀλίγον οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διώξαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τῶνδε τὰς μὲν ἥρουν ὁμοίως, τὰς δὲ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. ὅσοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσενήχοντο, τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱππέες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου διέφθειρον ἢ συνελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κορνιφικίου στρατόπεδον ἀνεπήδων, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Κορνιφίκιος ἐπιθέουσιν ἐπεχείρει, τοὺς κούφους ἐκπέμπων μόνους· οὐ γὰρ εὔκαιρον ἐδόκει κινεῖν φάλαγγα δύσθυμον ἀντικαθημένων πεζῶν μεγαλοφρονουμένων, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπὶ νίκῃ.

112. Καίσαρα δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ἐς πολὺ

but were incapacitated for battle by toil and want of sleep. They consisted of three legions, and 500 cavalry without horses, 1000 light-armed, and 2000 colonists serving as allies, but not enrolled, besides his fleet. CHAP. XII

111. Octavian placed all of his infantry under charge of Cornificius, and ordered him to drive back the enemy and do whatever the exigency required. He himself took ship before daylight and went seaward lest the enemy should enclose him on this side also, giving the right wing of the fleet to Titinius and the left to Carisius, and embarking himself on a liburnian, with which he sailed around the whole fleet, exhorting them to have courage. Having done this he lowered the general's ensign, as is customary in times of extreme danger. Pompeius put to sea against him, and they encountered each other twice, the battle ending with the night. Some of Octavian's ships were captured and burned; others spread their small sails and made for the Italian coast, contrary to orders. Those of Pompeius followed them a short distance and then turned against the remainder, capturing some and burning others. Some of the crews swam ashore, most of whom were slaughtered or taken prisoners by Pompeius' cavalry. Some of them set out to reach the camp of Cornificius, who sent only his light-armed troops to assist them as they came near, because he did not consider it prudent to move his disheartened legionaries against the enemy's infantry, who were naturally much encouraged by their victory.

Octavian's fleet beaten and dispersed

112. Octavian spent the greater part of the night

CAP. XII τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνακωχεύοντα καὶ βουλευόμενον, εἴτε ἐς Κορνιφίκιον ἐπανέλθοι διὰ μέσων τοσῶνδε ναυαγίων εἴτε ἐς Μεσσάλαν διαφύγοι, θεὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀβύλαν λιμένα παρήνεγκε μεθ' ἑνὸς ὁπλοφόρου, χωρὶς φίλων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ θεραπόντων. καί τινες ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς πύστιν τῶν γεγονότων καταθέοντες εὗρον αὐτὸν τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐσταλμένον, καὶ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐξ ἀκατίου μεταφέροντες, ἵνα διαλάθοι, μετεκόμισαν ἐς Μεσσάλαν οὐ μακρὰν ὄντα. ὁ δ' εὐθύς, ἔτι ἀθεράπευτος, ἔς τε Κορνιφίκιον ἔστελλε λιβυρνίδα καὶ πανταχοῦ διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν περιέπεμπεν, ὅτι σῴζοιτο, Κορνιφικίῳ τε πάντας ἐπικουρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραφεν αὐτίκα πέμψειν βοήθειαν. θεραπεύσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξῆει, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρόπλου τέλη· καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἠξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κορνιφικίῳ πέμπειν Λαρώνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικήναν δ' αὖθις ἐς Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας· καί τινες παρακινοῦντες ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσάλαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπεμπεν, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς Ἱππώνειον.

113. Μεσσάλας δὲ οὗτος ἦν, ὃν οἱ τρεῖς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγεγράφεσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ χρήματα τῷ κτείναντι καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικεκηρύχεσαν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον φυγών, ἀποθανόντων ἐκείνων, τὸν στόλον ἐπὶ σπουδαῖς Ἀντωνίῳ παραδεδώκει. καί μοι τοῦτο ἀναμνῆσαι νῦν

among his small boats, in doubt whether he should go back to Cornificius through the scattered remains of his fleet, or take refuge with Messala. Providence brought him to the harbour of Abala with a single armour-bearer, without friends, attendants, or slaves. Certain persons, who had come down from the mountain to learn the news, found him shattered in body and mind and brought him in rowboats (changing from one to another for the purpose of concealment) to the camp of Messala, which was not far distant. Straightway, and before he had attended to his bodily wants, he dispatched a liburnian to Cornificius, and set word throughout the mountains that he was safe, and ordered all his forces to help Cornificius, and wrote to him that he would send him aid forthwith. After attending to his own person and taking a little rest, he set forth by night, accompanied by Messala, to Stylis, where Carinas was stationed with three legions ready to embark, and ordered him to set sail to the other side, whither he would shortly follow. He wrote to Agrippa and urged him to send Laronius with an army to the rescue of Cornificius with all speed. He sent Maecenas again to Rome on account of the revolutionists; and some of these, who were stirring up disorder, were punished. He also sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the first legion to Vibo.

Octavian escapes to the shore and rallies his land forces

113. This was the same Messala whom the triumvirs proscribed at Rome, and for the killing of whom money and freedom were offered as rewards. He had fled to Cassius and Brutus, and after their death had delivered his fleet to Antony, in pursuance of an agreement made between them. It seems tting to recall this fact now in honour of Roman

CAP. XII

ἔδοξεν ἐς ζήλωμα. τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρετῆς, ὅπου Μεσσάλας, μόνον ἔχων ἐν τοσῇδε συμφορᾷ τὸν προγράψαντα, ἐθεράπευεν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα καὶ περιέσωζε.

Κορνιφίκιος δὲ ἀποτρέψασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εὐμαρῶς εἶχε τοὺς πολεμίους, κινδυνεύων δ' ἐξ ἀπορίας ἐς μάχην ἐξέτασσε καὶ προυκαλεῖτο. Πομπηίου δὲ οὐ συμπλεκομένου μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ μάχῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν, παραστήσεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ προσδοκῶντος, ὧδευεν ὁ Κορνιφίκιος, ἐν μέσῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν διαφυγόντας ἀνόπλους ἔχων βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πεδινοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τραχέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ κούφων, οἳ Νομάδες Λίβυες ὄντες ἠκόντιζόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ τοὺς ἐπεκθέοντας ὑπέφευγον.

114. Τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνυδρον γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἣν ῥύακα πυρὸς λέγουσι, ποτὲ μέχρι θαλάσσης κατιοῦσαν, ἐπικλύσαι καὶ σβέσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ νάματα. καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι μόνης ὁδεύουσι νυκτός, πυιγώδη τε οὖσαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ κονιορτοῦ σποδώδους γέμουσαν, οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κορνιφίκιον οὔτε νυκτὸς ἐθάρρουν, ἐν ἀσελήνῳ μάλιστα, ἰέναι διὰ ἀπειρίαν ὁδῶν καὶ ἐνέδρας, οὔτε ἡμέρας ὑπέμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπεπνίγοντο καὶ τὰς βάσεις ὡς ἐν θέρει καὶ καύματι ὑπεκαίοντο, μάλιστα οἱ γυμνοί. βραδύνειν τε οὐ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν δίψαν ἐνοχλοῦσαν, οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν βαλλόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπεξῄεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐτιτρώσκοντο

magnanimity, inasmuch as Messala, when he had in his power, alone and overwhelmed with misfortune, the man who had proscribed him, saved him and cared for him as his commander. CHAP. XII

Cornificius was able easily to defend his camp against attack; but, being in danger from want of supplies, he drew his men out for battle and challenged the enemy. But Pompeius did not care to come to an engagement with men whose only hope rested in battle and whom he expected to subdue by famine. Cornificius, having placed in the centre the unarmed men who had escaped to him from the ships, took to the road, grievously exposed to missiles in the open plains from the enemy's horsemen and in the broken country from the light-armed troops from Numidia in Africa, who hurled javelins from long distances and made their escape when charged by their enemies. Cornificius marches across Sicily

114. On the fourth day, with difficulty, they arrived at the waterless region which they say was formerly inundated by a stream of fire that ran down as far as the sea and dried up all the springs in the district. The inhabitants of the country traverse it only by night, on account of the stifling heat and the dust and ashes with which it abounds. Being ignorant of the roads and fearing ambush, Cornificius and his men did not dare to march through it by night, especially as there was no moon, nor could they endure it by day, but even suffocated, and the soles of their feet were burned (especially those who had no shoes), as it was now the hottest part of the summer; and since delay was impossible on account of the tormenting thirst, they no longer resisted their assailants, but re- Terrible sufferings of his troops

CAP. XII ἀφυλάκτως. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τῆς διακεκαυμένης ἕτεροι κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, ἀμελήσαντες τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων τε καὶ γυμνῶν ἀνεπήδων ἐς τοὺς αὐχένας οἱ δυνάμενοι τόλμῃ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἐβιάζοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐς ὅσον εἶχον δυνάμεως. κατεχομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐχένων ἀπεγίνωσκον αὑτῶν ἤδη καὶ μεθεῖντο ὑπὸ δίψης καὶ θέρους καὶ κόπου. προτρέποντος δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου καὶ πηγὴν πλησίον οὖσαν ἐπιδεικνύοντος, οἱ μὲν αὖθις ἐβιάζοντο, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολλύντες, ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν πηγὴν κατεῖχον πολέμιοι, καὶ παντελὴς ἤδη τοὺς τοῦ Κορνιφικίου κατεῖχον ἀθυμία, καὶ παρίεντο.

115. Ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι Λαρώνιος ἐπιφαίνεται μακρόθεν, ὑπὸ Ἀγρίππου σὺν τρισὶ τέλεσι πεμφθείς, οὔπω μὲν ἔνδηλος ὤν, ὅτι φίλος εἴη· ὑπὸ δὲ ἐλπίδος ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀνέφερον αὖθις αὑτῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπολιπόντας, ἵνα μὴ γένοιντο ἐχθρῶν ἐν μέσῳ, ἀνέκραγον μὲν ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὅσον ἔσθενον, ἀντιβοήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ Λαρωνίου δρόμῳ τὴν πηγὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκωλύοντο πίνειν ἀθρόως· ὅσοι δὲ ἠμέλησαν, ἔπινον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον.

Οὕτω μὲν ἐξ ἀέλπτου Κορνιφίκιος καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ φθάσαν μέρος περιεσώθη πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν ἐς Μύλας· 116. ἄρτι δὲ ὁ Ἀγρίππας Τυνδαρίδα εἰλήφει, τροφῶν μεστὸν χωρίον καὶ εὐφυῶς ἐς

ceived wounds without any means of defence. When they saw the place of exit from this burned district occupied by enemies, the able-bodied ones, heedless of their sick and unprotected companions, dashed at the defile with amazing courage and overpowered the enemy with all their remaining strength. When they found the next defile occupied by hostile forces they gave way to despair and succumbed to thirst and heat. Cornificius aroused them by showing them a spring of water near by; and again they overpowered the enemy, but with heavy loss to themselves. Another body of enemies held possession of the fountain, and now Cornificius' men lost all courage and gave way completely. CHAP XII

115. While they were in this state Laronius, who had been sent by Agrippa with three legions, made his appearance a long way off. Although it was not yet plain that he was a friend, still, as hope all the time led them to expect a friend, they once more recovered their spirits. When they saw the enemy abandon the water in order not to be exposed to attack on both sides, they shouted for joy with all their strength; and when the troops of Laronius shouted in return, they ran and seized the fountain. The leaders forbade the men to drink to excess: those who neglected this advice died while drinking. He is rescued by Agrippa

In this unexpected manner did Cornificius, and those of his army who managed to get away, escape to Agrippa at Mylae.[1] 116. Agrippa, however, had just taken Tyndaris, a stronghold full of provisions and admirably situated for naval warfare. Thither

[1] An error of Appian's: see below.

CAP. XII πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς αὐτὸ τὰ πεζὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας διεβίβαζεν. ἐγένοντό τε αὐτῷ πάντες ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὁπλιτῶν μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἓν τέλος. ἱππέες δὲ δισμύριοι καὶ κοῦφοι πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων. Μύλας δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μυλῶν ἐπί τε Ναυλόχους καὶ Πελωριάδα καὶ τὰ παράλια πάντα φρουραὶ Πομπηίου κατεῖχον, αἳ φόβῳ μάλιστα Ἀγρίππου πῦρ διηνεκὲς ἔκαιον ὡς ἐμπρήσοντες τοὺς ἐπιπλέοντας. ἐκράτει δὲ καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἑκατέρων ὁ Πομπήιος. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ Ταυρομένιον καὶ περὶ Μύλας τὰς περιόδους τῶν ὀρῶν ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ Τυνδαρίδος ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἰόντα ἠνώχλει, μὴ συμπλεκόμενον. Ἀγρίππου δὲ νομισθέντος ἐπελεῖν ἐς Πελωριάδα μετεπήδησεν, ἐκλιπὼν τὰ στενὰ περὶ Μύλας· καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τε κατέσχε καὶ Μυλῶν καὶ Ἀρτεμισίου, πολίχνης βραχυτάτης, ἐν ᾗ φασι τὰς Ἡλίου βοῦς γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὕπνον Ὀδυσσεῖ.

117. Ψευδοῦς δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππου δόξης φανείσης, ὁ Πομπήιος ἡσθεὶς τῶν στενῶν ἀφῃρημένος καὶ Τισιηνὸν ἐκάλει μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Τισιηνῷ δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπήντα καὶ διημάρτανε τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ ὄρος τὸ Μυκόνιον, ἔνθα ἄσκηνος ἐνυκτέρευσεν· ὄμβρου τε πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος, οἷος ἐν φθινοπώρῳ γίγνεται, τῶν ὁπλοφόρων τινὲς τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀσπίδα Κελτικὴν ὑπερέσχον αὐτοῦ. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ βρόμοι τῆς Αἴτνης σκληροὶ καὶ μυκήματα μακρὰ καὶ σέλα περιλάμποντα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Γερμανοὺς ἐξ εὐνίων

Octavian transported his infantry and cavalry. He had in Sicily altogether twenty-one legions of infantry, 20000 cavalry, and more than 5000 light-armed troops. The garrison of Pompeius still held Mylae, and all places from Mylae to Naulochi and Pelorus, and all the coast. These garrisons, in fear of Agrippa, kept fires burning continually, signifying that they would set fire to any ships that should sail against them. Pompeius was also master of the defiles on both sides of the island. The mountain passes in the neighbourhood of Tauromenium and around Mylae were fortified by him, and he harassed Octavian when the latter was making a forward movement from Tyndaris, but not coming to an engagement. Believing that Agrippa was moving his fleet against him, Pompeius changed his position to Pelorus, abandoning the defiles around Mylae; and Octavian occupied them and also Mylae and Artemisium, a very small town, in which, they say, were the cattle of the Sun and where Ulysses fell asleep. CHAP. XII

Octavian occupies small towns on the northern coast

117. When the report of Agrippa's movement turned out to be false, Pompeius was troubled that he had lost the defiles,[1] and he called to his assistance Tisienus, with his army. Octavian sought to intercept Tisienus, but lost his way around Mount Myconium. He passed the night there without tents. There was a heavy rainfall, as often occurs in the autumn, and some of his armour-bearers held a Gallic shield over his head the whole night. Harsh mutterings and prolonged roars from Mount Etna were heard, accompanied by flames which lighted up the camp, so that the Germans sprang from their

An eruption of Etna

[1] ἡσθείς is no doubt an error. The sense requires "annoyed," not "pleased."

CAP. XII

ἀναπηδᾶν ὑπὸ δέους, τοὺς δέ, ἀκοῇ τῶν περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης λεγομένων, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ἐν τοσοῖσδε παραδόξοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ῥύακα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστηνῶν γῆν ἔκειρε, καὶ Λέπιδος αὐτῷ συνήντετο σιτολογῶν, καὶ Μεσσήνῃ παρεστρατοπέδευον ἀμφότεροι.

118. Γιγνομένων δ' ἀν' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν ἀψιμαχιῶν πολλῶν, ἔργου δὲ μείζονος οὐδενός, Ταῦρον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔπεμψε τὰς ἀγορὰς τοῦ Πομπηίου περικόπτειν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς χορηγούσας προκαταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τῷδε μάλιστα κάμνων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκρινε μάχῃ μείζονι κριθῆναι περὶ ἁπάντων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πεζὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεδίει, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐπαιρόμενος ἤρετο πέμπων, εἰ δέχοιτο ναυμαχίᾳ κριθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ὠρρώδει μὲν τὰ ἐνάλια πάντα, οὐ σὺν τύχῃ μέχρι δεῦρο κεχρημένος αὐτοῖς, αἰσχρὸν δὲ νομίσας ἀντειπεῖν ἐδέχετο. καὶ ὡρίζετο αὐτοῖς ἡμέρα, ἐς ἣν τριακόσιαι νῆες ἑκατέρων ἰδίᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο, βέλη τε παντοῖα φέρουσαι καὶ πύργους καὶ μηχανάς, ὅσας ἐπενόουν. ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἅρπαγα ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ξύλον πεντάπηχυ σιδήρῳ περιβεβλημένον, κρίκους ἔχον περὶ κεραίας ἑκατέρας· τῶν δὲ κρίκων εἴχετο τοῦ μὲν ὁ ἅρπαξ, σιδήριον καμπύλον, τοῦ δὲ καλῴδια πολλά, μηχαναῖς ἐπισπώμενα τὸν ἅρπαγα, ὅτε τῆς πολεμίας νεὼς ἐκ καταπέλτου λάβοιτο.

119. Ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας πρῶτα μὲν ἦν ἐρετῶν ἅμιλλα καὶ βοή, καὶ βέλη τὰ μὲν ἐκ μηχανῆς, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν, ὅσα λίθοι καὶ πυρφόρα καὶ τοξεύματα. μετὰ δὲ αἱ νῆες αὐταὶ συνερρήγ-

beds in fear. Others, who had heard what had been related of Mount Etna, would not have been surprised, in presence of these remarkable phenomena, if even the torrent of fire had rolled upon them. After this Octavian ravaged the territory of the Palaestenians, where Lepidus, who was foraging, met him, and they both encamped near Messana. CHAP XII

118. As there had been many skirmishes throughout Sicily, but no general engagement, Octavian sent Taurus to cut off Pompeius' supplies by first capturing the towns that furnished them. Pompeius was so much inconvenienced by this that he decided to stake everything on a great battle. Since he feared the enemy's infantry, but had confidence in his own ships, he sent and asked Octavian if he would allow the war to be decided by a naval engagement. Octavian, although he dreaded all naval encounters, which until now had turned out badly for him, considered it base to refuse, and, accordingly, accepted the challenge. A day was fixed by them, for which 300 ships were put in readiness on either side, provided with missiles of all kinds, with towers and whatever machines they could think of. Agrippa devised one called the "grip," a piece of wood five cubits long bound with iron and having rings at the extremities. To one of these rings was attached the grip itself, an iron claw, to the other one numerous ropes, which drew it by machine power after it had been thrown by a catapult and had seized the enemy's ships. Pompeius challenges Octavian to a naval engagement; the challenge is accepted

119. When the appointed day came the rival shouts of the oarsmen were first heard, accompanied by missiles thrown by machines and by hand, such as stones, firebrands, and arrows. Then the ships dashed A stubborn and protracted contest

CAP. XII

νυντο ἀλλήλαις, αἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλάγια, αἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπωτίδας, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους, ἔνθα μάλιστά εἰσιν αἱ πληγαὶ βίαιοι τινάξαι τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀργοτέραν ἐργάσασθαι. ἄλλαι δὲ ἀλλήλας διεξέπλεον βάλλουσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσαι· καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας ἀνελάμβανεν. ἔργα τε χειρῶν ἦν καὶ βία ναυτῶν καὶ τέχνη κυβερνητῶν καὶ βοαὶ καὶ στρατηγῶν παρακελεύσεις καὶ μηχανήματα πάντα. εὐδοκίμει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἅρπαξ, ἔκ τε πολλοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ διὰ κουφότητα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἐμπηγνύμενος, ὅτε μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν καλῳδίων ἐφέλκοιτο ὀπίσω· κοπῆναί τε ὑπὸ τῶν βλαπτομένων οὐκ ἦν εὔπορος διὰ σίδηρον τὸν περιέχοντα, καὶ τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ δυσεφικτότατα τοῖς κόπτουσι τὰ καλῴδια ἐποίει· οὐδὲ τὸ μηχάνημά πω προέγνωστο, ὡς δρέπανα δόρασι περιθέσθαι· ἓν δ' ἐπενόουν ὡς ἐν ἀδοκήτῳ, τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀντισπᾶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιούντων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἴση μὲν ἦν ἡ βία τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ ἅρπαξ ἐποίει τὸ ἴδιον.

120. Ὅτε μὲν οὖν προσπελάσειαν αἱ νῆες, ἐμάχοντο παντοίως καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους μεθήλλοντο. καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸν πολέμιον οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ὁμοίως εὔπορον· ὅπλοις τε γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ φωνῇ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες Ἰταλῇ, τά τε συνθήματα μιγνυμένων ἐς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξενήνεκτο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε μάλιστα ἐνέδραι πολλαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι

against each other, some striking amidships, others on the prows, others on the beaks, where the blows are most effectual in discomposing the combatants and rendering the vessel useless. Others broke the opposing line by sailing through it, at the same time discharging arrows and javelins; and the small boats picked up those who fell overboard. There was a struggle of soldiers while the sailors put forth their strength and the pilots their skill and their lung-power; the generals cheered their men, and all the machines were brought into requisition. The "grip" achieved the greatest success. Thrown from a long distance upon the ships, as it could be by reason of its lightness, it clutched them, as soon as the ropes pulled on it from behind. On account of the iron bands it could not be easily cut by the men whom it attacked, and those who tried to cut the ropes were prevented from reaching them by its length. As this apparatus had never been known before, the enemy had not provided themselves with scythe-mounted poles. One thing seemed advisable in this unexpected emergency, and that was, to back water and draw the ship away; but as the enemy did the same the force exerted by the men was equal on both sides, and the grip did its work. CHAP. XII

120. Accordingly, when the ships were drawn together, there was every kind of fighting, the men leaping upon each other's decks. It was no longer easy to distinguish an enemy from a friend, as they used the same weapons for the most part, and nearly all spoke the Latin tongue, and the watchwords of each side were divulged to the other while they were mingled together. Hence arose many and divers

CAP. XII παρὰ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ἀπιστία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας αὐτὰ ἐπεγίγνετο, ἀγνωσία τε πάντας ἀλλήλων ἐπεῖχεν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ θαλάσσῃ γεμούσῃ φόνων τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ναυαγίων. οὐ γάρ τινα πεῖραν ἔλιπον, ὅτι μὴ μόνον τὸ πῦρ· τούτου δὲ μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπίπλους ἐφείσαντο διὰ τὰς συμπλοκάς. ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἑκατέρων στρατὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς μετὰ φόβου καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφεώρων, ὡς ἐν τῇδε καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες. διέκρινόν γε μὴν οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐδύναντο, καὶ μάλιστα περισκοποῦντες, οἷα νεῶν ἑξακοσίων ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτεταγμένων καὶ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἐναλλασσομένης ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκατέρωθεν.

121. Μόλις δέ ποτε ταῖς χροιαῖς τῶν πύργων, αἷς δὴ μόναις διέφερον ἀλλήλων, ὁ Ἀγρίππας συνεὶς πλέονας ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ Πομπηίου ναῦς ἐθάρρυνε τοὺς συνόντας ὡς ἤδη κατορθοῦντας· καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις αὖθις ἐμπεσὼν ἐπέκειτο ἀπαύστως, μέχρι βιασθέντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὸν ἦσαν, τούς τε πύργους κατέρριψαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἔφευγον. καὶ ἔφθασαν ἐσδραμεῖν ἑπτακαίδεκα νῆες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, διακλείσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου, αἱ μὲν ἐξώκελλον ἐς τὴν γῆν διωκόμεναι, καὶ συνεξώκελλον αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ὁρμῆς οἱ διώκοντες ἢ ὁρμιζομένας ἀπέσπων ἢ ἐνεπίμπρασαν· ὅσαι δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐμάχοντο, τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς γιγνόμενα κατιδοῦσαι παρεδίδοσαν ἑαυτὰς τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατὸς ἐπινίκιον ἠλάλαξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀντεβόησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. οἱ Πομπηίου δ' ἀνῴμωξαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν

frauds and lack of confidence on both sides on the part of those using the same watchword. They failed to recognize each other, what with the fighting and the sea, now a confused medley of corpses, clashing arms, and crashing ships; for they left nothing untried except fire. This they abstained from, after their first onset, because they were locked together. The foot-soldiers of each army on the land beheld this sea-fight with apprehension and eagerness, believing that their own hope of safety was bound up in it. They could not distinguish anything, however sharply they might look, but merely a long-drawn-out line of 600 ships, and an alternation of cries and groans now on one side and now on the other. CHAP. XII

121. Judging from the colours of the towers, which constituted the only difference between them, Agrippa with difficulty made out that Pompeius' ships had sustained the greater loss, and he cheered on those who were close to him as though they were already victors. Then he drove at the enemy and pressed upon them without ceasing, until he overpowered those nearest him. They then lowered their towers and turned their ships in flight toward the straits. Seventeen of them, which were in advance, made their escape thither. The rest were cut off by Agrippa and some were pursued and driven aground. The pursuers ran aground with them in the rush, and either pulled off those that had come to a standstill or set fire to them. When the Pompeian ships that were still fighting saw what had befallen these, they surrendered to their enemies. Then the soldiers of Octavian who were in the ships raised a shout of victory and those on land gave an answering shout. Those of Pompeius groaned. Pompeius himself, Agrippa gains the victory

CAP. XII Ναυλόχων ἀναθορὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην ἠπείγετο, οὐδὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως περὶ τῶν πεζῶν οὐδ' ἐπισκήψας· ὅθεν καὶ τούσδε ὁ Καῖσαρ Τισιηνοῦ παραδιδόντος ὑποσπόνδους ἐδέχετο καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἱππάρχων παραδιδόντων. κατέδυσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πόνῳ νῆες Καίσαρος μὲν τρεῖς, Πομπηίου δὲ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κατεφλέχθησαν ἢ ἐλήφθησαν ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὀκέλλουσαι συνετρίβησαν· αἱ δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόναι διέφυγον.

122. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν ὁδῷ περὶ τῆς μεταγνώμης τοῦ πεζοῦ πυθόμενος τήν τε ἐσθῆτα ἤλλαξεν ἐς ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος καὶ προύπεμψεν ἐς Μεσσήνην ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐντίθεσθαι τὰ δυνατά· παρεσκεύαστο δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκ πολλοῦ. Πλένιόν τε ἐκ Λιλυβαίου, μεθ' ὧν εἶχεν ὀκτὼ τελῶν, ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδὴν ὡς μετὰ τῶνδε φευξόμενος. καὶ Πλένιος μὲν ἠπείγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτομολούντων δὲ ἑτέρων, φίλων τε καὶ φρουρίων καὶ στρατῶν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τὸν πορθμὸν ἐσπλεόντων, οὐκ ἀναμείνας οὐδὲ Πλένιον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν πόλει καλῶς τετειχισμένῃ, ἔφευγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπτακαίδεκα νεῶν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα περισεσωκώς. καὶ ὁ Πλένιος αὐτὸν οὐ καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην παρῆλθε καὶ κατεῖχε τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ναυλόχους στρατοπέδῳ, Ἀγρίππαν δ' ἐκέλευσε τῇ Μεσσήνῃ παρακαθέζεσθαι· καὶ παρεκάθητο σὺν Λεπίδῳ. Πλενίου δὲ πρεσβευομένου περὶ σπονδῶν Ἀγρίππας μὲν ἠξίου περιμένειν Καίσαρα

darting away from Naulochi, hastened to Messana, giving not even orders to his infantry in his panic. Accordingly Octavian received the surrender of these also at the hands of Tisienus on terms agreed upon, and of the cavalry besides, who were surrendered by their officers. Three of Octavian's ships were sunk in the fight. Pompeius lost twenty-eight in this way, and the remainder were burned, or captured, or run aground and stove in pieces, except the seventeen that escaped. CHAP. XII Pompeius flees to Messana

122. Pompeius learned of the defection of his infantry while on the road, and changed his costume from that of a commander to that of a private citizen, and sent orders to Messana to put on shipboard everything possible. All preparations to this end had been made long before. He summoned Plenius from Lilybaeum in haste, with the eight legions he had, intending to take flight with them. Plenius hastened to comply with this order, but as other friends, garrisons, and soldiers were deserting, and the enemy's fleet was moving into the straits, Pompeius did not wait even for Plenius in his well-fortified city, but fled, with his seventeen ships, from Messana to Antony, remembering that he had saved his mother in similar circumstances. After his departure Plenius arrived at Messana and occupied the place. Octavian himself remained in the camp at Naulochi, but he ordered Agrippa to lay siege to Messana, which the latter did, in conjunction with Lepidus. Plenius sent envoys to treat for peace. Agrippa wanted to wait till morning for the arrival He departs from Sicily

CAP. XII ἐς ἕω, Λέπιδος δὲ ἐδίδου τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πλενίου στρατὸν οἰκειούμενος ἑαυτῷ συνεχώρει διαρπάσαι τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ.

XIII

CAP. XIII Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, περὶ ἧς δὴ καὶ μόνης παρεκάλουν, κέρδος ἀδόκητον εὑρόμενοι, τὴν Μεσσήνην ὅλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ μετὰ τῶν Λεπίδου διήρπαζον καὶ μετεστρατεύοντο τῷ Λεπίδῳ· 123. ὁ δὲ σὺν τούτοις ἔχων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέας πολλοὺς ἐπῆρτο καὶ κρατήσειν ἐδόκει Σικελίας, πρόφασιν ἔχων, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπιβαίη τῆς νήσου καὶ πλέονας πόλεις ἐπαγάγοιτο· ἔς τε τὰ φρούρια αὐτίκα περιέπεμπε τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλευσομένους μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ τὰ στενὰ πάντα ἐκρατύνετο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν τῆς ἐπιούσης καὶ ἐμέμφετο τῷ Λεπίδῳ διὰ τῶν φίλων, οἳ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔφασκον ἐλθεῖν Καίσαρι ἐς Σικελίαν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ κατακτησόμενον αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ ἀντενεκάλει τῆς προτέρας τάξεως ἀφῃρῆσθαι καὶ μόνον ἔχειν αὐτὴν Καίσαρα βουλομένῳ τε νῦν ἀντιδιδόναι Λιβύην καὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ ἦλθε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ὀνειδιῶν τὸν Λέπιδον ἐς χαριστίαν, διαπειλησάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλοις διέστησαν, καὶ αὐτίκα αἵ τε φυλακαὶ διεκρίθησαν καὶ αἱ νῆες ὥρμουν ἐπ'

of Octavian, but Lepidus granted terms, and in order to conciliate the soldiers of Plenius to himself allowed them to join the rest of the army in plundering the city. CHAP. XII Lepidus plunders Messana

XIII

These had asked for nothing but safety, and now, finding unexpected gain in addition, they plundered Messana the whole night, in conjunction with the soldiers of Lepidus, and then ranged themselves under his standards. 123. Including this new accession, Lepidus now had twenty-two legions of infantry and a large body of cavalry; so that he was elated, and thought to make himself master of Sicily, using the pretext that he was the first to invade the island and that he had induced many cities to join the triumvirs. He sent word at once to the garrisons of these places that they should not admit the emissaries of Octavian, and he seized all the defiles. Octavian arrived on the following day, and reproached Lepidus through friends, who reminded him that he had come into Sicily as an ally of Octavian, not to acquire it for himself. Lepidus replied that he had been despoiled of his former allotment, which was now in the exclusive possession of Octavian, and that, if the latter pleased, he would now exchange Africa and Sicily for that former allotment. Octavian, exasperated, came also in person to Lepidus in anger and heaped reproaches on him for ingratitude. They separated, indulging in mutual threats. They forthwith surrounded themselves with guards, and the ships of Octavian were anchored away from the CHAP. XIII Lepidus lays claim to Sicily

CAP. XIII

ἀγκυρῶν· ἐλέχθη γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπινοεῖν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐμπρῆσαι.

124. Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἤχθετο, εἰ πολεμήσουσιν αὖθις ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἕτερον καὶ οὔ ποτε σφᾶς ἐπιλείψουσιν αἱ στάσεις. οὐ μὴν ἐν ὁμοίῳ Καίσαρα καὶ Λέπιδον ἐτίθεντο, οὐδὲ οἱ τῷ Λεπίδῳ στρατευόμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν συνήδεσαν Λεπίδῳ, καὶ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς αὐτὸν ἐπεμέμφοντο αὐτῆς, ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἠσσημένοις καταστάντες. ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ πυνθανόμενος περιέπεμπε τοὺς τὰ συμφέροντα παραινέσοντας κρύφα ἑκάστοις. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ διεφθάρατο πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ γενόμενοι τοῦ Πομπηίου διὰ δέος τοῦ μήπω τὰς σπονδὰς βεβαίους σφίσιν, εἰ μὴ συνθοῖτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, εἶναι, ἀγνοοῦντος ἔτι ταῦτα τοῦ Λεπίδου δι' ἀπραξίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς, οὓς πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος καταλιπὼν ἐσῆει μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ παριὼν ἐπεμαρτύρετο ἑκάστοις ἄκων ἐς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι. ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ὁρώντων, οἱ Πομπηιανοὶ πρῶτοι συνέθεον, ὅσοι διεφθάρατο, καὶ συγγνῶναι σφίσι παρεκάλουν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, εἰ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντες οὐ πράσσουσιν οὔπω τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνοίσοντα. οἱ δὲ συνέντες αὐτίκα ἥρπαζον τὰ σημεῖα καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέφερον, καὶ σκηνὰς ἔλυον ἕτεροι.

125. Καὶ τοῦ θορύβου Λέπιδος αἰσθόμενος ἐξέθορε τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. βολαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη, καὶ τῶν ὁπλοφόρων τις τῶν Καίσαρος ἔπιπτε,

shore, as it was said that Lepidus intended to set fire to them. CHAP. XIII

124. The soldiers were angry at the thought that they were to engage in another civil war, and that there was never to be an end of sedition. They did not, however, seek to compare Octavian and Lepidus; not even the army of Lepidus did that. They admired the energy of Octavian, and they were aware of the indolence of Lepidus; they also blamed him for admitting the defeated enemy to an equal share of the plunder. When Octavian learned their state of mind, he sent emissaries among them to advise them secretly of their individual interests. Many of them he tampered with, especially those who had served under Pompeius, who feared lest the terms of their capitulation should not be valid if Octavian did not ratify them. While Lepidus, by reason of his ineptitude, remained ignorant of these things Octavian came to his camp with a large body of horse, whom he left at the entrance, and himself went in with a few. Coming forward, he declared to those whom he met that he was drawn into war unwillingly. Those who saw him saluted him as imperator. First of all the Pompeians, who had been tampered with, collected together and asked his forgiveness. He said that he was astonished that persons asking forgiveness should not do what their own interests demanded. They understood his meaning, and forthwith seized their standards and went over to him, while others began to take down their tents. Octavian tampers with his troops

125. When Lepidus became aware of this tumult he sprang from his tent to arms. Blows were already exchanged and one of Octavian's armour-bearers was Conflict in Lepidus' camp

CAP. XIII καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὸν θώρακα ἐβλήθη· τὸ δὲ βέλος οὐκ ἐξίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν χρῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. Λεπίδου δέ τι φρούριον ἐπετώθασε τῷ δρόμῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ καθελεῖν. ἑτέρων δ' αὖ φρουρίων ἡγεμόνες, οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ νυκτός, μετετίθεντο ἐκ Λεπίδου πρὸς Καίσαρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνευ τινὸς πείρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὑπὸ ἱππέων μικρὰ ἐνοχληθέντες. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὰς προσβολὰς ἔτι ὑπέμενον καὶ ἀπεκρούοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Λέπιδος περιέπεμπεν ἐς πάντα ἐπικούρους· καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων μεθισταμένων ἡ λοιπὴ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατιά, καὶ εἴ τις εὔνους ἔτι ἦν, ἐτρέπετο τῇ γνώμῃ. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν αὖθις οἱ Πομπηιανοί, ὅσοι ἔτι ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ, μετεπήδων κατὰ μέρη· Λεπίδου δὲ ἐς κώλυσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐφοπλίσαντος, οἳ ἐπὶ κώλυμα τῶν ἄλλων ὁπλισάμενοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπήγοντο σημεῖα καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. Λέπιδος δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἠπείλει καὶ ἐδεῖτο καὶ τῶν σημείων εἴχετο καὶ οὐ μεθήσειν ἔλεγε, μέχρι τῶν φερόντων αὐτά τις εἶπε μεθήσειν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δείσας μεθῆκεν.

126. Οἱ δὲ ἱππέες τελευταῖοι χωροῦντες ἔπεμψάν τινα πευσόμενοι τοῦ Καίσαρος, εἰ κτείνωσι Λέπιδον, οὐκέτι ὄντα αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπεν. οὕτω Λέπιδος, ἀδοκήτῳ πάντων ἀπιστίᾳ συμπεσών, ἔρημος ἐκ τύχης τοσῆσδε καὶ στρατοῦ

killed. Octavian himself was struck by a weapon on his breastplate, but it did not penetrate the flesh, and he ran and took refuge with his horsemen. A detachment of guards belonging to Lepidus jeered at him as he ran. Octavian was so angry that he could not restrain himself from cutting them off with horsemen and destroying them. The officers of the other guards transferred their allegiance from Lepidus to Octavian, some immediately, others during the night; some without solicitation, others pretending to be coerced more or less by the cavalry. There were some who still resisted the assault and beat off the assailants, for Lepidus sent reinforcements in all directions; but when these also went over, the remainder of his army, even those who were yet well disposed toward him, changed their opinion. Again the first to move were those Pompeians who still remained with him, transferring themselves by detachments, one after another. Lepidus armed the other body to prevent them from going, but the very men who were armed for this purpose seized their standards and went over to Octavian with the rest. Lepidus threatened and besought them as they took their departure. He held fast to the standards, and said he would not give them up, until one of the standard-bearers said to him, "Let go, or you are a dead man." Then he was afraid and let go.

CHAP. XIII

His soldiers desert him

126. The last to come over were the cavalry. They sent a messenger to Octavian to ask if they should kill Lepidus, who was no longer a commander. He replied in the negative. Thus Lepidus found himself deserted by all and bereft, in a moment of time, of so exalted a station and so great an army. He

CAP. XIII τοσοῦδε ἐγίγνετο ἐν βραχεῖ. καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀλλάξας ἔθει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα δρόμῳ, συντρεχόντων ὡς ἐπὶ θεᾷ τῶν ὁρώντων. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ὑπανέστη τε αὐτῷ προσθέοντι καὶ προσπεσεῖν ἐθέλοντα κωλύσας ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος, ἰδιώτην ἀπ' αὐτοκράτορος, οὐδὲν ἔτι πλὴν ἱερέα ἧς εἶχεν ἱερωσύνης.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν γενόμενος ἄρχοντάς τε ἀποφήνας καὶ προγράψας ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοσούσδε ὁμοτίμους, ἰδιωτεύων καὶ ἐνίοις τῶν προγραφέντων ἄρχουσιν ὕστερον παριστάμενος διεβίωσε. 127. Πομπήιον δὲ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδίωκεν οὐδ' ἑτέροις ἐπέτρεπε διώκειν, εἴτε ὡς ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀντωνίου φυλασσόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν, εἴτε καραδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσόμενα ἐξ Ἀντωνίου καὶ πρόφασιν ἔξων διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ δίκαια γίγνοιτο (οὐ γὰρ ἀνύποπτοί γε ἦσαν ἐκ πολλοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν, ὅτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέλοιεν, ἀλλήλοις διερίσειν), εἴθ', ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὕστερον ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὅτι μὴ γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνδροφόνος ὁ Πομπήιος. τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνῆγε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τέλη μὲν ὁπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἱππέες δισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, κοῦφοι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ὑπὲρ ἡμιολίους μακραί τε νῆες ἑξακόσιαι· τὸ δὲ τῶν φορτίδων πλῆθος, καίπερ ὂν ἄπειρον, τοῖς δεσπόταις διέπεμπε. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπινικίοις ἐδωρεῖτο, τὰ μὲν ἤδη διδούς, τά δὲ ὑπισχνούμενος, στεφάνους τε καὶ τιμὰς ἅπασιν ἔνεμεν καὶ συγγνώμην τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐδίδου τοῦ Πομπηίου.

128. Ζήλου δὲ αὐτῷ γέμοντι ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ

changed his costume and hastened to Octavian, all the spectators running with him to enjoy the spectacle. Octavian started up as he approached, and prevented him from throwing himself at his feet, and sent him to Rome in the garb of a private citizen, which he was wearing, deprived of his command, but not of the priesthood, which he held.

CHAP. XIII

He is deposed from his command

And so this man, who had often been a commander and once a triumvir, who had appointed magistrates and had proscribed so many men of his own rank, passed his life as a private citizen, asking favours of some of the proscribed, who were magistrates at a later period. 127. Octavian neither pursued Pompeius nor allowed others to do so; either because he refrained from encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Pompeius and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (for they had long entertained the suspicion that ambition would bring them into mutual conflict when other rivals were out of the way), or, as Octavian said later, because Pompeius was not one of his father's murderers. He now brought his forces together, and they amounted to forty-five legions of infantry, 25,000 horse and some 40,000 light-armed troops, with 600 war-ships; he had also an immense number of merchant-vessels, which nevertheless he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying a part down and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honours to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

Octavian does not pursue Pompeius

128. With all this success he was prosperous

CAP. XIII δαιμόνιον ἐνεμέσησε τοῦ ζήλου, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐστασίασεν, ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, ἀπολυθῆναί τε τῆς στρατείας ἐπειγόμενοι καὶ γέρα λαβεῖν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Φιλίπποις ἀγωνισαμένοις. ὁ δὲ ᾔδει μὲν οὐχ ὅμοιον ἐκείνῳ τόνδε τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' ὅμως τὰ ἄξια δώσειν σὺν τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀντωνίῳ στρατευομένοις, ὅτε κἀκεῖνος ἀφίκηται. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀστρατείας ὑπεμίμνησκε σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῶν πατρίων νόμων τε καὶ ὅρκων καὶ κολάσεων. οὐκ εὐπειθῶς δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὑφῆκε τῆς ἀπειλῆς, ἵνα μή τις ἐκ τῶν νεολήπτων στρατῶν ἐπιγένοιτο θόρυβος, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καιρῷ τε ἀπολύσειν σὺν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ ἄξειν νῦν οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμφύλια ἔτι, πεπαυμένα σὺν τύχῃ χρηστῇ, ἐπὶ δ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ ἕτερα ἔθνη βάρβαρα, σαλεύοντα τὴν μόλις κτηθεῖσαν εἰρήνην, ὅθεν καταπλουτιεῖν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν αὖθις στρατεύσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν προτέρων λαβεῖν γέρα τε καὶ τιμάς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τὰς τιμὰς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀνατίθεσθαι, πολλὰς δὲ δοὺς προστιθέναι στεφάνους ἔτι τοῖς τέλεσιν ἄλλους καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ χιλιάρχοις περιπορφύρους ἐσθῆτας καὶ βουλευτικὴν ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀξίωσιν. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιάδε προστιθέντος ἕτερα, ὑπεφώνησε χιλίαρχος Ὀφίλλιος στεφάνους μὲν καὶ πορφύραν εἶναι παισὶν ἀθύρματα, στρατοῦ δὲ

beyond words, and of his great prosperity Fortune became jealous. His army revolted, especially his own troops. They demanded to be discharged from the service and that rewards should be given them equal to those given to the men who fought at Philippi. Octavian knew that the present war had not been of the same grade as that one. He promised nevertheless to pay what their services were worth, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when he too should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone lest the spirit of mutiny should extend to his newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honours of the previous wars. He said that he would not even now postpone the honours, but that he had distributed many prizes, and now gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered garments and the dignity of chief councillors in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the tribune Ofillius exclaimed that crowns and purple garments were playthings for boys, that the rewards

CHAP. XIII

Mutiny in the army

Octavian appears and rewards his troops

CAP. XIII γέρα χωρία καὶ χρήματα· καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος, ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγοι, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἀπέστη τοῦ βήματος δυσχεραίνων. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν χιλίαρχον ἦσαν ἐπαινοῦντές τε καὶ τοῖς οὐ συνισταμένοις αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενοι. ὁ δ' ἔφη καὶ μόνος ἀρκέσειν ἐπὶ οὕτω δικαίοις.

Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τόδε εἰπὼν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀφανὴς ἦν, καὶ οὐδ', ὅ τι γένοιτο, ἐγινώσκετο· 129. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς οὐκέτι μέν, ὑπὸ δέους, οὐδεὶς καθ' ἕνα ἐφθέγγετο, κοινῇ δ' ἐβόων, ἀνὰ μέρη συνιστάμενοι, ἀφεθῆναι τῶν στρατειῶν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐξωμίλει ποικίλως, τῶν δ' ἐν Φιλίπποις καὶ Μουτίνῃ στρατευσαμένων, ὡς χρονιωτέρων ἄρα ὄντων, ἐδίδου τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποστρατεύεσθαι. καὶ γενομένους ἐς δισμυρίους εὐθὺς ἀπέλυε καὶ ἐξέπεμπε τῆς νήσου, μὴ διαφθείραιεν ἑτέρους, τοσόνδε τοῖς ἐκ Μουτίνης μόνοις ἐπειπών, ὅτι σφίσιν ἀποδώσει τὰ τότε ὑπεσχημένα καίπερ οὕτως ἀπολυθεῖσιν. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπελθὼν τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας ἐμαρτύρετο τῆς ἐπιορκίας, οὐ κιτὰ γνώμην τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τῆς στρατείας ἀπολυθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παρόντας ἐπῄνει καὶ ἐπήλπιζεν ἀπολύσειν μὲν ταχέως, ὅτε μηδενὶ μετανοήσει, καταπλουτιεῖν δὲ ἀπολύων καὶ νῦν ἐπιδιδόναι δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ἑκάστῳ. τοιάδε εἰπὼν Σικελίᾳ μὲν ἐπέβαλλεν ἐσφορὰν χίλια τάλαντα καὶ ἑξακόσια, στρατηγοὺς δ' ἀπέφαινε Λιβύης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ στρατὸν ἐς ἑκατέραν διῄρει καὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς Ἀντωνίου διέπεμπεν ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοῦ

for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out "Well said"; whereupon Octavian descended from the platform in anger. The soldiers gathered round the tribune, praising him and railing at those who did not join with them, and the tribune said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause. After saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him. CHAP. XIII

129. The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints singly, but joined together in groups and called for their discharge in common. Octavian conciliated their leaders in various ways. He released those who had served at Philippi and Mutina, and who wished to be discharged, as their time had expired. These, to the number of 20000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, lest they should seduce the others. To those only who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness to the perjury of the revolters, who had been dismissed not by the wish of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, and encouraged them to expect a speedy release, saying that nobody would regret it, that they would be discharged rich, and that he would give them 500 drachmas per man now. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1600 talents, appointed propraetors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he

CAP. XIII τὸν μὲν προύπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ νεῶν, τὸν δ' ἐπαγόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου διεπέρα.

130. Ἐρχομένῳ δ' ἥ τε βουλὴ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο ἀμέτρους, ὧν αὐτὸν ἐποίουν κριτήν, ἢ πάσας λαβεῖν ἢ ὅσας δοκιμάσειε· καὶ ὑπήντων ὅτι πορρωτάτω καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐστεφανωμένοι ἔς τε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπιόντα παρέπεμπον. τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης αὐτὸς ἐβουληγόρησέ τε καὶ ἐδημηγόρησε, τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τότε καταλέγων· καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα συγγράψας τὸ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε. κατήγγελλέ τε εἰρήνην καὶ εὐθυμίαν, ἐς τέλος τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀνῃρημένων, καὶ τῶν εἰσφορῶν τοὺς ἔτι ὀφείλοντας ἀπέλυε καὶ φόρων τελώνας τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ μισθώματα ἔχοντας ὧν ἔτι ὀφείλοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐψηφισμένων τιμῶν ἐδέχετο πομπήν, ἐτήσιόν τε ἱερομηνίαν εἶναι, καθ' ἃς ἡμέρας ἐνίκα, καὶ ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν ἀγορᾷ χρύσεος ἑστάναι μετὰ σχήματος οὗπερ ἔχων εἰσῆλθε, περικειμένων τῷ κίονι νεῶν ἐμβόλων. καὶ ἕστηκεν ἡ εἰκών, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα, ὅτι "τὴν εἰρήνην ἐστασιασμένην ἐκ πολλοῦ συνέστησε κατά τε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν".

131. Τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὴν μεγίστην ἱερωσύνην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ Λεπίδου μεταφέροντος, ἣν ἕνα ἔχειν νενόμισται μέχρι θανάτου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο καὶ κτείνειν τὸν Λέπιδον ὡς πολέμιον κελευόντων οὐκ ἠνείχετο. ἐς δὲ τὰ στρατόπεδα πάντα σεσημασμένας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς, ἐντελλόμενος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάντας ἀνειλῆσαντας αὐτὰς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς

sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island. CHAP. XIII He returns to Italy

130. When he arrived at Rome the Senate voted him unbounded honours, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. They and the people went out a long distance to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and published in pamphlet form. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honours voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual solemnities on the days of his victories, and a golden image to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column covered with the beaks of captured ships. There the image was placed bearing the inscription: — Unbounded honours bestowed on him at Rome

"PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE RE-ESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA."

131. When the people desired to transfer from Lepidus to himself the office of pontifex maximus, which the law bestowed on one person for life, he would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a day designated and to execute the orders contained He refuses to punish Lepidus

CAP. XIII

κεκελευσμένοις. καὶ ἦν τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα περὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, ὅσοι παρὰ τὴν στάσιν ἀποδράντες ἐστρατεύοντο, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ᾐτήκει Πομπήιος, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι δεδώκεσαν. οἱ δὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας συνελαμβάνοντο. καὶ ἀχθέντας αὐτοὺς ἐς Ῥώμην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέδωκεν αὐτῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλῶν τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ διαδόχοις αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ Σικελιώταις. ὅσους δ' οὐκ ἦν ὁ ληψόμενος, ἔκτεινε παρὰ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐταῖς, ὧν ἀπέδρασεν.

132. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν τότε στάσεων ἐδόκει τέλος εἶναι. καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυον. λῃστευομένης δὲ κατὰ συστάσεις τῆς τε Ῥώμης αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας περιφανῶς καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων ἁρπαγῇ μετὰ τόλμης ἢ λῃστείᾳ λανθανούσῃ μᾶλλον ἐοικότων, Σαβῖνος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αἱρεθεὶς εἰς διόρθωσιν πολὺν μὲν εἰργάσατο φθόρον τῶν ἁλισκομένων, ἐνιαυτῷ δ' ὅμως εἰς εἰρήνην ἀφύλακτον ἅπαντα περιήγαγε. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου φασὶ παραμεῖναι τὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἔθος τε καὶ εἶδος. θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῷδε ὀξέως οὕτως ἐξ ἀδοκήτου διωρθωμένῳ πολλὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐφίει τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἄρχουσι διοικεῖν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ γραμματεῖα, ὅσα τῆς στάσεως σύμβολα, ἔκαιε, καὶ τὴν ἐντελῆ πολιτείαν ἔλεγεν ἀποδώσειν, εἰ παραγένοιτο ἐκ Παρθυαίων Ἀντώνιος· πείθεσθαι γὰρ κἀκεῖνον ἐθέλειν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, τῶν ἐμφυλίων καταπεπαυμένων. ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν εὐφημοῦντες εἵλοντο δήμαρχον ἐς ἀεί, διηνεκεῖ ἄρα

therein. These orders related to slaves who had run away during the civil dissensions and joined the armies, for whom Pompeius had asked freedom, which the Senate and treaty had granted. These were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome, and Octavian returned them to their Roman or Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded. CHAP. XIII

132. This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavian was now twenty-eight years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their tutelary gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, whose doings were more like barefaced plunder than secret theft. Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to correct this disorder. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavian excited astonishment by putting an end to this evil with such unexampled rapidity. He allowed the yearly magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil strife, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian war, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down the government, the civil wars being at an end. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual

Robbery suppressed

Octavian chosen tribune for life

CAP. XIII ἀρχῇ προτρέποντες τῆς προτέρας ἀποστῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἐδέξατο μὲν καὶ τήνδε, Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέστελλεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ Βύβλον ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐντυχεῖν ἐδίδασκεν· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτὸς ὁμοίως ἔπεμπε καὶ ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐπενόει συστρατεύειν.

XIV

CAP. XIV 133. Πομπήιος δ' ἐκ μὲν Σικελίας ἄκρᾳ Λακινίᾳ προσέσχε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν ἐσύλησε, φεύγων ἐς Ἀντώνιον· ἐς δὲ Μιτυλήνην καταχθεὶς διέτριβεν, ἔνθα αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπεξέθετο ὁ πατήρ, Γαΐῳ Καίσαρι πολεμῶν, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀνέλαβεν. Ἀντωνίου δὲ πολεμοῦντος ἐν Μηδίᾳ Μήδοις τε καὶ Παρθυαίοις, γνώμην ὁ Πομπήιος ἐποιεῖτο ἑαυτὸν ἐπανελθόντι ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπύθετο ἡσσῆσθαι Ἀντώνιον καὶ τὸ συμβὰν ἡ φήμη μειζόνως μετέφερεν, αὖθις ἦν ἐν ἐλπίσιν ὡς ἢ διαδεξόμενος Ἀντώνιον, εἰ τέθνηκεν, ἢ μεριούμενος ἐπανελθόντι· ἐνθύμιός τέ οἱ συνεχὲς ἦν Λαβιηνὸς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιδραμών. ὧδε δὲ ἔχοντι ἀγγέλλεται Ἀντώνιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανελθών. καὶ τεχνάζων ἔτι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα διεπρεσβεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπιτρέπων ἐκείνῳ καὶ φίλον εἶναι διδοὺς καὶ σύμμαχον, ἔργῳ δὲ

magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony in reference to the government. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was going away from him, to confer with Octavian. He sent governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavian had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians. CHAP. XIII

XIV

133. Pompeius, fleeing from Sicily to Antony, stopped at the Lacinian promontory and robbed the rich temple of Juno of its gifts. He landed at Mitylene and spent some time at that place, where his father, when at war with Caesar, had bestowed him with his mother, while still a boy, and after his defeat had joined him again. As Antony was now waging war in Media against the Medes and the Parthians, Pompeius decided to entrust himself to Antony on his return. When he heard that Antony had been beaten, and this result was more than confirmed by reports, his hopes once more revived, and he fancied that he might succeed Antony if the latter were dead, or share his power if he returned. He was continually thinking of Labienus, who had overrun Asia not long before. While he was in this frame of mind the news reached him that Antony had returned to Alexandria. Scheming for both objects, he sent ambassadors to Antony ostensibly to place himself at the latter's disposal and to offer himself as a friend and ally, but really to get accurate information about Antony's affairs. At the CHAP. XIV

Sextus Pompeius flees to Antony

He forms plans to assist or supersede him

CAP. XIV

τὰ Ἀντωνίου κατασκεπτόμενος. ἔς τε Θράκην καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμπεν ἑτέρους κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατέρων δυνάστας ἐπινοῶν, εἰ μὴ κρατεῖ τῶν ἐνθυμουμένων, διὰ τοῦ Πόντου φυγεῖν ἐς Ἀρμενίαν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Παρθυαίους, ἐλπίσας ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντώνιον αὐτοὺς δέξεσθαι προθύμως στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαῖόν τε καὶ παῖδα Μάγνου μάλιστα. τάς τε ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐταῖς στρατὸν ἐγύμναζεν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἢ δεδιέναι Καίσαρα ἢ Ἀντωνίῳ τάδε παρασκευάζειν.

134. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου, στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τίτιον ᾑρητο καὶ ναῦς καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Συρίας λαβόντα ἐκέλευε πολεμοῦντι μὲν τῷ Πομπηίῳ πολεμεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπιτρέποντα δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν. ἐλθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀγγέλλουσιν οὕτως· "ἡμᾶς Πομπήιος ἔπεμψεν οὐκ ἀπορῶν μὲν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, εἰ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, διαπλεῦσαι, φίλην οὖσαν αὐτῷ πατρόθεν καὶ συλλαβοῦσαν ἔτι ὄντι νεωτέρῳ καὶ καλοῦσαν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν, αἱρούμενος δὲ εἰρηνεύειν τε σὺν σοὶ καὶ πολεμεῖν, εἰ δεήσειεν, ὑπὸ σοί. καὶ τάδε οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἔτι κρατῶν Σικελίας καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορθῶν, ὅτε σοι τὴν σὴν μητέρα περισώσας ἔπεμπε, προύτεινε. καὶ εἰ ἐδέξω, οὔτ' ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξέπεσε Σικελίας (οὐ γὰρ ἂν Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς κατ' αὐτοῦ παρέ-

same time he sent others secretly to the princes of Thrace and Pontus, intending, if he should not obtain what he desired fron Antony, to take flight through Pontus to Armenia. He sent also to the Parthians, hoping that, for the remainder of their war against Antony, they would be eager to receive him as a general, because he was a Roman, and especially because he was the son of Pompey the Great. He refitted his ships and drilled the soldiers he had brought in them, pretending at one time that he was in fear of Octavian, and at another that he was getting ready to assist Antony. CHAP. XIV

134. As soon as Antony heard of the coming of Pompeius he designated Titius to take the field against him. He ordered the latter to take ships and soldiers from Syria and to wage war vigorously against Pompeius if he showed himself hostile, but to treat him with honour if he submitted himself to Antony. Then he gave audience to the messengers who had arrived, and addressed him as follows: "Pompeius has sent us to you, not because he cannot take refuge (if he were minded to continue the war) in Spain, a country friendly to him on his father's account, which espoused his own cause when he was younger, and even now calls upon him for that purpose, but because he prefers to enjoy peace with you, and, if need be, to fight under your orders. He makes these advances now not for the first time, but did so while he was master of Sicily and was ravaging Italy, and when he rescued your mother and sent her to you. If you had accepted these advances, Pompeius would not have been driven out of Sicily (for you would not have provided Octavian with ships against him), nor would you have been

Antony sends Titius against him

Pompeius' embassy

CAP. XIV

σχες), οὔτ' ἂν σὺ ἥττησο ἐν Παρθυαίοις, Καίσαρός σοι τὸν στρατὸν οὐ πέμψαντος, ὃν συνέθετο· ἐκράτεις δ' ἂν ἤδη πρὸς οἷς εἶχες καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. οὐ δεξάμενον δέ σε ταῦτα, ἐν καιρῷ τότε μάλιστ' ἂν σοι γενόμενα, ἀξιοῖ καὶ νῦν μὴ πολλάκις ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐνεδρευθῆναι λόγοις τε καὶ τῷ γενομένῳ κήδει, μνημονεύοντα, ὅτι Πομπηίῳ τε κηδεύων μετὰ συνθήκας ἐπολέμησεν ἄνευ προφάσεως, καὶ Λέπιδον κοινωνὸν ὄντα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέρος ἀφείλετο καὶ οὐδέτερα αὐτῶν ἐνείματό σοι.

135. "Λοιπὸς δ' ἐς τὴν περιπόθητον αὐτῷ μοναρχίαν σὺ νῦν ὑπολείπῃ· ἤδη γάρ σοι καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἦν, εἰ μὴ Πομπήιος ἔτι ἦν ἐν μέσῳ. καὶ τάδε εἰκὸς μὲν καὶ σὲ προορᾶν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ, προφέρει δέ σοι καὶ Πομπήιος ὑπὸ εὐνοίας, αἱρούμενος ἄνδρα ἄκακον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα ἀντὶ ὑπούλου τε καὶ δολεροῦ καὶ φιλοτέχνου. οὐδὲ ἐπιμέμφεταί σοι τῆς δόσεως τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἔδωκας ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀντιλαβεῖν στρατὸν ἐς Παρθυαίους δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκει, τὸν οὐ πεμφθέντα στρατὸν προφέρων. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν, Πομπήιος ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπει σοι μετὰ τῶν νεῶν, ἃς ἔτι ἔχει, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ, πιστοτάτου γε ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταλιπόντος, εἰρηνεύοντι μὲν μέγα κλέος, εἰ τὸν Μάγνου παῖδα περισῴζοις, πολεμοῦντι δὲ μοῖραν ἱκανὴν ἐς τὸν ἐσόμενον πόλεμον, ὅσον οὔπω παρόντα."

defeated in Parthia, in consequence of Octavian not sending you the soldiers he agreed to send. In fact, you would now be in possession of Italy in addition to your other dominions. As you did not accept the offer at the time when it would have been most advantageous to you, he repeats it now in order that you may not be so often ensnared by Octavian's words and by the marriage relationship existing between you; for you will remember that, although he is connected by marriage with Pompeius, he declared war against him after the treaty had been made, and without excuse. He also deprived Lepidus, his partner in the government, of his share, and divided neither part of it with you. CHAP XIV

135. "You are now the only remaining one who stands between him and the monarchy that he longs for: indeed he would already have been at blows with you, had not Pompeius stood in the way. Although you ought to have foreseen these things for yourself, Pompeius calls your attention to them out of good-will, because he prefers a candid and magnanimous man to a deceitful, treacherous, and artful one. He does not blame you for the gift of ships which you made to Octavian against him as a matter of necessity, in order to procure soldiers for the Parthian war in exchange, but he reminds you of that army which was not sent. In short, Pompeius delivers himself to you with the ships which he still has and his most faithful soldiers, who have not abandoned him even in his flight. If peace is maintained, it will be a great glory to you to have saved the son of Pompey the Great. In case of war, he will be a considerable help to your party in the conflict which is coming, in fact is as good as come."

CAP. XIV 136. Τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων εἰπόντων, ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς ἐξέφερεν, ἃς ἐντείλαιτο Τιτίῳ· καὶ εἰ τῷ ὄντι ταῦτα φρονοίη Πομπήιος, ἥξειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν παραπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ Τιτίου. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐς Παρθυαίους ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντωνίου στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤχθησαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἕκαστα μαθὼν ἐκάλει τοὺς τοῦ Πομπηίου πρέσβεις καὶ τοὺς ληφθέντας αὐτοῖς ὑπεδείκνυεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς παρητοῦντο νέον ἄνδρα ἐν συμφοραῖς ἐσχάταις ὑπὸ δέους, εἰ ἄρα μὴ προσοῖτο φιλίως αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναγκασθέντα καὶ τῶν ἀεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθίστων ἀποπειρᾶσαι· δηλώσειν τ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα, ὅτε μάθοι τὰ Ἀντωνίου, μηδὲν ἔτι πείρας ἢ μηχανῆς δεόμενον. οἷς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπίστευσεν, ὧν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αἰεὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἁπλοῦς καὶ μέγας καὶ ἄκακος.

137. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φούρνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ, τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντα μὲν καὶ ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐδέχετο, οὔτε κωλύειν ἀξιόμαχος ὢν οὔτε πω τὴν γνώμην εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀντωνίου· γυμνάζοντα δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρῶν κατέλεγέ τινας ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ Ἀηνόβαρβον ἄρχοντα γείτονος στρατοῦ καὶ Ἀμύνταν ἑτέρωθεν ἐκάλει κατὰ σπουδήν. συνελθόντων δ' ὀξέως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐμέμφετο, εἰ πολέμιον ἡγοῦνται τὸν πρέσβεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλκότα καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου περιμένοντα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων Ἀηνόβαρβον ὅμως ἐπενόει συλλαβεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας Κουρίου τινὸς

136. When the messengers had thus spoken, Antony showed them the orders he had sent to Titius, and said that if Pompeius was truly in this frame of mind he would be coming in person under the escort of Titius. In the meantime, the messengers who had been sent by Pompeius to the Parthians were captured by Antony's generals and brought to Alexandria. After Antony had examined each of them he summoned the ambassadors of Pompeius and showed the captives to them. They made excuses for Pompeius even then as a young man in a desperate plight, fearful lest Antony should not treat him kindly, and driven by necessity to make trial even of the bitterest enemies of Rome. They said that he would show his true disposition as soon as he should learn Antony's, and would then need no other attempt or devices. Antony believed them, being in other respects and at all times of a frank, magnanimous, and unsuspecting nature. CHAP. XIV

Antony captures the envoys of Pompeius to the Parthians

137. In the meantime Furnius, who was governing the province of Asia for Antony, had received Pompeius when he arrived, as he was behaving quietly; since Furnius had not sufficient force to prevent him and did not yet know Antony's mind. Seeing Pompeius drilling his troops, he mustered a force from the provincials and hastily summoned Ahenobarbus, who had command of an army in the vicinity, and also Amyntas from the other side. They responded promptly, and Pompeius complained against Furnius for regarding him in the light of an enemy when he had sent ambassadors to Antony and was waiting for an answer from him. While he was saying this he was meditating the project of seizing Ahenobarbus, with the connivance of Curius, one of B.C. 35

CAP. XIV

τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον, ἐλπίζων ἐς ἀντίδοσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην ἕξειν μοῖραν Ἀηνόβαρβον. γνωσθείσης δ' οὖν τῆς προδοσίας, Κούριος μὲν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἐλεγχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Πομπήιος δὲ Θεόδωρον ἐξελεύθερον, ὃς μόνος οἱ συνήδει τὸ βούλευμα, ὡς ἐξειπόντα ἔκτεινεν. οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον λήσειν ἐλπίσας, Λάμψακον ἐκ προδοσίας κατέλαβεν, ἣ πολλοὺς εἶχεν Ἰταλοὺς ἐξ ἐποικίσεως Γαΐου Καίσαρος, καὶ μισθοῖς μεγάλοις εὐθὺς ἐστράτευε τοὺς Ἰταλούς. ἤδη δὲ ἔχων ἱππέας τε διακοσίους καὶ πεζοὺς τρία τέλη, ἐπεχείρησε Κυζίκῳ κατά τε γῆν καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀπεκρούσαντο· καὶ γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ στρατὸς οὐ πολὺς Ἀντωνίῳ, φύλακες τῶν ἐκεῖ τρεφομένων αὐτῷ μονομάχων. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα ἐπανελθὼν ἐσιτολόγει.

138. Φουρνίου δὲ οὐκ ἄρχοντος μὲν χειρῶν, ἀεὶ δ' αὐτῷ παραστρατοπεδεύοντος σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ σιτολογεῖν οὐκ ἐῶντος οὐδὲ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ὁ Πομπήιος ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχων ἐπεχείρησε τῷ τοῦ Φουρνίου στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ κατόπιν ἐκ περιόδου λαθών. ὅθεν ὁ Φούρνιος ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεστραμμένος ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπισθεν ἐξεβλήθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Σκαμανδρίου πεδίου διώκων ὁ Πομπήιος ἔκτεινε πολλούς· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεδίον ὑγρὸν ἐξ ὄμβρων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι. προσδεχομένων δὲ ἀπό τε Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος

Ahenobarbus' officers, intending to hold that general as a valuable hostage to exchange for himself in case of need. The treachery was discovered and Curius was convicted before the Romans present and put to death. Pompeius put to death his freedman Theodorus, the only person who was privy to the plan, believing that he had divulged it. As he no longer expected to conceal his projects from Furnius, he possessed himself of Lampsacus by treachery, a city which contained many Italians, placed there as colonists by Gaius Caesar. These Italians he induced to enter his military service by large bounties. Having now 200 horse and three legions of infantry, he attacked Cyzicus by land and sea. He was repulsed on both sides, because Antony had a force, although not a large one, in Cyzicus, that was guarding some gladiators whom Antony supported there. So Pompeius retired to the harbour of the Achaeans and collected provisions.

CHAP XIV

Double dealing of Pompeius discovered

138. Furnius did not begin hostilities, but he continually camped alongside of Pompeius with a large body of horse and prevented his foe from foraging or winning the cities to his side. As Pompeius had no cavalry, he assaulted the camp of Furnius in front and, at the same time, sent a force secretly around to his rear. Furnius accordingly directed his forces against Pompeius' front attack, but he was driven out of his camp by the force in his rear. Pompeius pursued his men and killed many as they fled over the Scamandrian plain, which was saturated with recent rains. Those who were saved withdrew for the time to a place of safety, as they were not fit for battle. While those who, impoverished by continual exactions, enlisted gladly

He begins hostilities against Antony's lieutenants

CAP. XIV καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, οἳ πενόμενοι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς εἰσφορὰς ἐμισθοφόρουν ἀσμένως τῷ Πομπηίῳ κατὰ δόξαν μάλιστα τῆς ἐν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένι γενομένης νίκης, ἱππικοῦ δ' ἀπορῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ βλαπτόμενος ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς, ἐπύθετο ἴλην ἱππέων Ἰταλικὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον χωρεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὀκταουίας χειμεριζούσης ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀπεσταλμένην· καὶ εὐθὺς ἔπεμπέ τινας ἐς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἴλης μετὰ χρυσίου.

Ἀλλὰ τούσδε μὲν ὁ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἡγούμενος Ἀντωνίῳ συνέλαβε καὶ τὸ χρυσίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διένειμεν· 139. ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Νίκαιάν τε καὶ Νικομήδειαν καταλαβὼν ἐχρηματίζετο λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐς μεγάλα ταχέως αὐτῷ πάντα ηὔξετο παρ' ἐλπίδα. Φουρνίῳ δὲ οὐ μακρὰν παραστρατοπεδεύοντι πρῶται μὲν ἦκον ἐκ Σικελίας, ἦρος ἀρχομένου, νῆες ἑβδομήκοντα, ὅσαι περιεσώθησαν ἐξ ὧν Ἀντώνιος ἐκεχρήκει κατὰ Πομπηίου Καίσαρι (μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Σικελικὸν ἔργον αὐτὰς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέλυσεν), ἦκεν δὲ καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Τίτιος ἑτέραις ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ στρατῷ πολλῷ, καὶ κατῆραν ἅπαντες ἐς Προκόννησον. δείσας οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος τὰς ναῦς ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς ἐρέτας ὥπλισεν, ὡς ἄμεινον ὁμοῦ πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν γῆν συνοισόμενος. Κάσσιος δὲ ὁ Παρμήσιος καὶ Νασίδιος καὶ Σατορνῖνος καὶ Θέρμος καὶ Ἀντίστιος ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔτι τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρῆσαν φίλοι, καὶ ὁ τιμιώτατος αὐτῷ Φάννιος καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου Λίβων ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐδὲ Τιτίου παρόντος, ὅτῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντώνιος ἐπέτρεπε, παυόμενον τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀμείνονα πολέμου, ἀπέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ

under Pompeius especially on account of the reputation he had gained by his victory at the harbour of the Achaeans, were awaiting help from Mysia, the Propontis, and elsewhere, Pompeius, deficient in cavalry, and thus crippled in procuring supplies, learned that a troop of Italian horse was coming to Antony, sent by Octavia, who was passing the winter in Athens. So he sent emissaries with gold to corrupt this troop. CHAP. XIV

Antony's governor of Macedonia caught these men and distributed their gold to the cavalry: 139. but Pompeius took Nicea and Nicomedia, from which he obtained large supplies of money, and his strength was augmented in all respects with a rapidity that exceeded his expectations. But Furnius, who was camping not far away from him, was reinforced, at the beginning of spring, first with seventy ships that had come from Sicily, which had been saved from those that Antony had lent to Octavian against Pompeius; for after the close of the war in Sicily Octavian had dismissed them. Then Titius arrived from Syria with 120 additional ships and a large army; and all these had landed at Proconnesus. So Pompeius became alarmed and burned his own ships and armed his oarsmen, believing that he could fight to better advantage with all of his forces combined on land. Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Thermus, Antistius, and the other distinguished men of his party who were still with him as friends, and Fannius, who held the highest rank of all, and Pompeius' father-in-law, Libo, when they saw that he did not desist from war against superior forces even after Titius, to whom Antony had given entire charge, had

Antony sends reinforcements against him

CAP. XIV πράξαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐς Ἀντώνιον μετῆλθον.

140. Ὁ δ' ἔρημος ὢν ἤδη φίλων ἐς τὰ μεσόγαια τῆς Βιθυνίας ἀνεχώρει, λεγόμενος ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐπείγεσθαι. καὶ αὐτόν, νυκτὸς ἀναζεύξαντα ἀφανῶς, ἐδίωκεν ὅ τε Φούρνιος καὶ ὁ Τίτιος, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις Ἀμύντας. συντόνῳ δὲ δρόμῳ περὶ ἑσπέραν καταλαβόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἕκαστος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ περὶ λόφῳ τινί, ἄνευ τάφρου καὶ χάρακος, ὡς ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ κόπῳ. ὧδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ὁ Πομπήιος νυκτὸς ἐπέθετο πελτασταῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν εὐναζομένους ἔτι καὶ ἀναπηδῶντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ γυμνοὶ πάμπαν αἰσχρῶς ἔφευγον. καὶ δοκεῖ τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἅπαντι τῷ στρατῷ νυκτὸς ἐπελθὼν ἢ τῆς γε τροπῆς γενομένης ἐπαγαγὼν τάχ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἐντελῶς ἐπικρατῆσαι. νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ὑπερεῖδε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπ' ἔργῳ τοιῷδε πλέον ἢ αὖθις ἐς τὸ μεσόγαιον ἐχώρει· οἱ δ' ἁλισθέντες εἵποντο καὶ σιτολογοῦντα ἠνώχλουν, ἕως κινδυνεύων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας ἠξίωσεν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν Φουρνίῳ, φίλῳ τε Μάγνου γεγενομένῳ καὶ ἀξιώσει προύχοντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ βεβαιοτέρῳ τὸν τρόπον.

141. Ποταμὸν δ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν ἔλεγε μέν, ὅτι πρεσβεύσαιτο πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐπετίθει δ', ὅτι τροφῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ δεόμενος καὶ ἀμελούμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, τάδε ἐργάσαιτο. "ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν Ἀντωνίου γνώμῃ πολεμεῖτέ μοι, κακῶς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ βουλεύεται, τὸν ἐπιόντα πόλεμον οὐ

arrived, despaired of him, and, having made terms for themselves, went over to Antony. CHAP XIV

140. Pompeius, now deserted by his friends, withdrew to the interior of Bithynia, being reported as making his way to Armenia. One night as he marched out of his camp quietly, Furnius and Titius followed him, and Amyntas joined in the pursuit. After a hot chase they came up with him toward evening, and each encamped by himself around a certain hill without ditch or palisade, as it was late and they were tired. While they were in this state, Pompeius made a night attack with 300 light troops and killed many who were still asleep or springing out of bed. The rest took to disgraceful flight half dressed as they were. It is evident that if Pompeius had made this night attack with his entire army, or if he had followed up energetically the victory he did win, he would have overcome them completely. But, misled by some evil genius, he let slip these opportunities also, and he gained no other advantage from the affair than to penetrate farther into the interior of the country. His enemies, having formed a junction, followed him and cut him off from supplies, until he was in danger from want. Then he sought an interview with Furnius, who had been a friend of Pompey the Great, and who was of higher rank and of a more trustworthy character than the others. A night battle

141. Taking a position where a river flowed between them, Pompeius said that he had sent ambassadors to Antony, and he added that, being in need of provisions meanwhile, and they supplying him, he had done what he had done. "If you fight against me," he continued, "by Antony's direction, Antony has misconceived his own interests in not foreseeing the Pompeius offers to surrender to Furnius, who refuses to accept him

CAP. XIV προορῶν· εἰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντωνίου γνώμην φθάνετε, μαρτύρομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ περιμεῖναι τὴν πρεσβείαν μου τὴν ἐς Ἀντώνιον ἀπεσταλμένην· ἢ λαβόντας ἄγειν ἤδη πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐπιτρέψω δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐγὼ σοὶ μόνῳ, Φούρνιε, τοσοῦτον ἐς πίστιν αἰτήσας, ὅτι με σῶον ἄξεις ἐς Ἀντώνιον." ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, Ἀντωνίῳ τε θαρρῶν ὡς ἀγαθῷ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μόνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ δεδιώς· ὁ δὲ Φούρνιος αὐτὸν οὕτως ἠμείψατο· "ἐπιτρέποντος μὲν ἦν ἑαυτὸν Ἀντωνίῳ χωρεῖν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ περιμένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, πολεμοῦντος δέ, ἃ πεποίηκας ἅπαντα· τί γὰρ αὐτὰ δεῖ πρὸς εἰδότα λέγειν; εἰ δὲ νῦν μετέγνωκας, μὴ συγκρούειν μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς ἀλλήλους, Τιτίῳ δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν· Τιτίῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ σὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου· καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αἰτεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, ἕνι σοι καὶ Τίτιον αἰτεῖν. κεκέλευσται δ' ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου πολεμοῦντα μέν σε κατακανεῖν, ἐγχειρίζοντα δὲ πέμπειν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐντίμως."

142. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Τιτίῳ μὲν ἀχαριστίας ὠργίζετο, τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ὑποδεξαμένῳ πολεμήσειν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἁλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον περισεσώκει. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ ἠδόξει, Πομπήιος ὤν, ἐπὶ Τιτίῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιφανεῖ πάνυ ἀνδρί, καὶ ὑπώπτευεν αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ βέβαιον ἔς τε τὸν τρόπον ὑπονοῶν καί τινα συγγινώσκων ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν παλαιὰν πρὸ τῆς εὐεργεσίας. Φουρνίῳ δ' αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέτρεπε καὶ δέξασθαι

coming war. If you are anticipating Antony's intentions, I protest and implore you to wait for the embassy that I sent to Antony or to take and bring me to him now. I will surrender myself to you alone, Furnius, asking merely your pledge that you will conduct me to him in safety." He spoke thus because he had confidence in Antony as a man of generous nature, and he apprehended merely that something might happen to him on the journey. Furnius replied to him as follows: "If you wish to surrender yourself to Antony you ought to have done so in the beginning, or else have waited quietly at Mitylene for his answer. But if you desired the war you should have done as you have done; for why is it necessary to recount your deeds to one who knows them? If now you repent, do not bring us, generals, into collision with each other, but surrender yourself to Titius, to whom these matters have been entrusted by Antony. The pledge which you ask from me you can ask from him. He has been ordered by Antony to put you to death if you wage war, but, if you surrender yourself, to send you to him in an honourable manner." CHAP. XIV

142. Pompeius was angry with Titius for his ingratitude, in that he undertook to wage this war against him, for he had once been taken prisoner and spared by Pompeius. Besides being angry he considered it beneath his dignity that a Pompeius should be in the power of Titius, who was not of noble birth. Moreover he suspected Titius, either because he was acquainted with his character and did not consider him trustworthy, or because he was conscious of some old injury done to him previous to the benefaction above mentioned. Again

CAP. XIV παρεκάλει. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ Ἀμύντᾳ ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτρέψειν. τοῦ Φουρνίου δὲ φήσαντος οὐδ' Ἀμύνταν ἂν δέξασθαι τόδε ὕβριν ἔχον ἐς τὸν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτετραμμένον, διελύθησαν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Φούρνιον δόξα ἦν, ὅτι ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἐκδώσει τῷ Τιτίῳ· ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς τὰ συνήθη πυρὰ καίεσθαι καταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς σαλπιγκτὰς σημαίνειν τὰ διαστήματα τῆς νυκτός, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν εὐζώνων ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οἷς οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν, οἷ χωρήσειν ἔμελλεν. ἐπενόει δ' ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐλθὼν ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Τιτίου ναυτικόν. καὶ τάχα ἂν ἔδρασεν, εἰ μὴ Σκαῦρος αὐτομολήσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἔξοδον ἐμήνυσε καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐφέρετο, τὴν δ' ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ᾔδει. τότε δὴ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν Ἀμύντας ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον ἱππέας οὐκ ἔχοντα. καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀμύνταν οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου πλησιάσαντα μετεχώρουν, οἱ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ φανερῶς. μονούμενος οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ δεδιὼς ἤδη τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἑαυτὸν ἄνευ σπονδῶν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἀμύντᾳ, ὁ Τιτίῳ μετὰ σπονδῶν ἀδοξήσας.

143. Οὕτω μὲν ἑάλω Πομπήιος Σέξστος, ὁ λοιπὸς ἔτι παῖς Πομπηίου Μάγνου, νεώτερος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μειράκιον ἤδη, λαθὼν δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐς πολὺ καὶ κρύφα λῃστεύων ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, μέχρι, πολλῶν συνδραμόντων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγνωσθέντα εἶναι Πομπηίου

he offered to surrender himself to Furnius, and begged that he would receive him. When the latter refused he said that he would surrender to Amyntas. Furnius said that Amyntas would not receive him, because that would be an insult to the one whom Antony had entrusted with this whole business; and so the interview ended. The opinion prevailed in the camp of Furnius that, for want of other resources, Pompeius would deliver himself up to Titius on the following day. When night came Pompeius left the customary fires burning, and the trumpets giving the usual signal at intervals through the night, while he quietly withdrew from the camp with a well-prepared band, who had not previously been advised whither they were to go. He intended to go to the sea-shore and burn Titius' fleet, and perhaps would have done so had not Scaurus deserted from him and communicated the fact of his departure and the road he had taken, although ignorant of his design. Amyntas, with 1500 horse, pursued Pompeius, who had no cavalry. When Amyntas drew near, Pompeius' men passed over to him, some privately, others openly. Pompeius, being almost entirely deserted and afraid of his own men, surrendered himself to Amyntas without conditions, although he had scorned to surrender to Titius with conditions.

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Pompeius refuses to surrender to Titius

143. Thus was Sextus Pompeius captured. He was the last remaining son of Pompey the Great, and had been deprived of his father when very young and of his brother while still a stripling. After their death he concealed himself for a long time and practised robbery secretly in Spain until he had collected a large following, because he made

CAP. XIV παῖδα, ἐλῄστευέ τε φανερώτερον, καὶ μετὰ Γάιον Καίσαρα ἐπολέμησεν ἐγκρατῶς καὶ στρατὸν ἤγειρε πολὺν καὶ ναῦς καὶ χρήματα, καὶ νήσους εἶλε, καὶ θαλλασσοκράτωρ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς δύσεις θαλάσσης ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιήνεγκεν ἐς λιμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐς συμβάσεις, ἃς ἤθελε. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς προγραφαῖς τῇ πόλει πανώλεθρα πασχούσῃ γενόμενος περιέσωσεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ πολλούς, οἳ τότε δι' αὐτὸν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοβλαβείας αὐτὸς οὔ ποτε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς πολεμίοις, πολλὰ τῆς τύχης εὔκαιρα παρεχούσης, ἀλλ' ἠμύνετο μόνον.

144. Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν τοιόσδε γενόμενος ἑαλώκει, Τίτιος δὲ τὸν μὲν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ μετεστράτευσεν Ἀντωνίῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιον, τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος βιοῦντα, ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκανεν, εἴτε δι' αὐτοῦ, μηνίων ἄρα τῆς ποτὲ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀχάριστος ἐς τὴν ἔπειτα εὐεργεσίαν γενόμενος, εἴτε καὶ ἐπιστείλαντος Ἀντωνίου. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Πλάγκον, οὐκ Ἀντώνιον λέγοντες ἐπιστεῖλαι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἄρχοντα Συρίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιτετραμμένον ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγῖδι χρῆσθαι. καὶ Πλάγκον δὲ γράψαι νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν συνειδότος Ἀντωνίου καὶ αἰδουμένου γράψαι διὰ ὄνομα τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ διὰ Κλεοπάτραν, εὔνως ἔχουσαν τῷ Πομπηίῳ διὰ τὸν πατέρα Μάγνον, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πλάγκον, τάδε αὐτὰ συνιδόντα καὶ φυλαξάμενον, μὴ τὴν αἰσίαν Ἀντωνίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδῶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κλεοπάτρα Πομπηίῳ συνεργοῦσα ἀνατρέψαιεν.

himself known as Pompey's son. Then he practised more open robbery. After the death of Gaius Caesar he carried on war vigorously and collected a large army, together with ships and money, took islands, became master of the western sea, brought famine upon Italy, and compelled his enemies to make peace on such terms as he chose. Of most importance was the aid that he rendered in the proscriptions to Rome when exposed to utter destruction, rescuing many of the nobility who were, at this later time, safe at home by means of him. But stricken with some strange aberration, he never pursued an aggressive policy against his foes, although fortune offered him many opportunities; he only defended himself. CHAP. XIV

144. After such a career Pompeius was taken prisoner. Titius brought Pompeius' soldiers into Antony's service and put Pompeius himself to death at Miletus in the fortieth year of his age. This he did either on his own account, angry at some former insult, and ungrateful for the subsequent kindness, or in pursuance of Antony's order. Some say that Plancus, not Antony, gave this order. They think that Plancus, while governing Syria, was authorized by letters to sign Antony's name in cases of urgency and to use his seal. Some think that it was written by Plancus with Antony's knowledge, but that the latter was ashamed to write it on account of the name Pompeius, and because Cleopatra was favourable to him on account of Pompey the Great. Others think that Plancus, being cognizant of these facts, took it upon himself to give the order as a matter of precaution, lest Pompeius, with the co-operation of Cleopatra, should disturb the auspicious respect between Antony and Octavian.

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145. Ἀλλὰ Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, Ἀντώνιος δὲ αὖθις ἐς Ἀρμενίαν ἐστράτευε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Ἰλλυριούς, οἳ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλήστευον, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντές πω Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις ἀποστάντες. καί μοι ἔδοξε τὰ Ἰλλυρικά, οὔτε ἀκριβῶς γενόμενά μοι γνώριμα οὔτε συντελοῦντα μῆκος ἰδίας συγγραφῆς οὔτε χώραν ἔχοντα ἑτέρωθι λεχθῆναι, ἀοῦ χρόνου, καθ' ὃν ἐλήφθησαν, συνάγοντος αὐτὰ ἐς τέλος, προαναγράψαι καὶ ὑποθεῖναι αὐτὰ τῇ ὁμόρῳ Μακεδονικῇ.

145. After the death of Pompeius Antony made a new expedition to Armenia, and Octavian made one against the Illyrians, who were plundering Italy, some of whom had never been subject to the Romans, while others had revolted during the civil wars. Since these Illyrian affairs are not very well known to me, and are not of sufficient length to make a book by themselves, and have no suitable place to be treated elsewhere, I have recorded them above (beginning with the time when Illyria was acquired by the Romans and bringing them down to the end),[1] and added them to the history of Macedonia, which marches with Illyria. CHAP. XIV

[1] The meaning is doubtful.

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Macedonian empire is like a flash of brilliant lightning, 10; Hannibal's opinion of, Sy. 10; his phalanx, 19, 32; rules all countries he comes to, 52; diadem carried away by the wind, 56; binds up wound of Lysimachus with his diadem, 64; writers differ on the question whether he touched Cappadocia, Mi. 8; gives freedom to the city of Amisus, 83; when wounded shows himself to his soldiers, 89; makes use of the Agrianes as allies, Il. 14; besieges Xanthus, C. IV, 8; comparison with Caesar, C. II, 149 *sq.*; his brother Ardaeus and his two sons, Sy. 52, 54; Mithridates stops at the inn where A. had lodged, Mi. 20; Pompey said to have worn a cloak of A. in his triumph, Mi. 117.

Alexander, prince of the Aetolians, Ma. IX, 1.

Alexander of Megalopolis, Sy. 13.

Alexander, son of Lysimachus, flees to Seleucus, Sy. 64.

Alexander, the bastard, thrusts himself into the family of Seleucidae, Sy. 67; his wife a daughter of Ptolemy, 68.

Alexander, son of the foregoing, Sy. 68.

Alexander, sent by Mithridates to assassinate Nicomedes, Mi. 57.

Alexander, the Paphlagonian, lieutenant of Mithridates captured by Lucullus, Mi. 76 *sq.*

Alexander, son of Alexander, king of Egypt, brought up by Mithridates, Mi. 23; restored to the kingdom of Egypt by Sulla, is put to death at Alexandria, C. I, 102.

Alexander, the Prytanis of the Rhodians, C. IV, 66; defeated by Cassius, 71.

Alexandreschata, town of Scythia, Sy. 57.

Alexandria, city of Egypt, Pr. 1; Sy. 66; C. II, 89; V, 8, 52, 133; Gabinius wages war against, Sy. 51; C. V, 8, 10; war of Caesar in, C. II, 89 *sq.*; priests of, wear the Attic shoe, C. V, 11.

Alexandria on the Granicus, Sy. 29.

Alexandropolis, town of India, Sy. 57.

Allienus, supposed to have delivered to Cassius the legions which he led from Egypt, C. III, 78; IV, 59.

Allies, difference between allies and friends, in Roman policy, G. XIII; Sp. 11; Romans call on Italian allies for help in the Hannibalic war, H. 8; strife with allies concerning Roman citizenship, C. I, 19, 21, 23; Social War grows out of it, C. I, 34–53; Mi. 62.

Allobroges, conquered by Caesar, G. I, 4; Domitius wages war against them, XII; their ambassadors become informers in the conspiracy of Catiline, C. II, 4.

Alor, river in Epirus (error for Apsus), C. II, 56.

Alps, the, G. XIII; H. 8; Mi. 102; C. I, 117; II, 26, 32; III, 72; V, 20, 51; crossed by Hannibal, Sp. 13; H. 4; by Hasdrubal, H. 52; by Pompey, C. I, 109; by Antony, III, 83; Octavian subdues inhabitants of the high Alps, Il. 15 *sq.*

Altar built to Caesar, C. II, 148; altar of Philoctetes, Mi. 77.

Amastris, town of Pontus, Mi. 11 *sq.*; captured by Lucullus, 82.

Amatius, pseudo-Marius, C. III, 2, 3, 36.

Amazons, Mi. 103; region of, 69; expedition of Hercules against, 83.

Ambo, leader of the Arevaci, Sp. 46.

Ambracia, city of Thesprotia, Sy. 17; Ma. III, 1.

Amisus, city of Pontus, Mi. 78, 120; of Attic origin, made free by Alexander, 83; besieged by Lucullus, 78; restored to its citizens, 83; plundered by Pharnaces, C. II, 91.

Amnius, river of Paphlagonia, Mi. 18.
Amphipolis, of Syria, Sy. 57; of Macedonia, C. IV, 104 *sq.*
Amulius, brother of Numitor, K. I, 2.
Amynander, king of the Athamanes, attempts to reconcile the Aetolians and Romans and Philip, Ma. III, 1; complains against Philip, VIII; Philip, brother of his wife Apama, administers his kingdom, Sy. 13; forms an alliance with Antiochus, *ib.*; expelled from his kingdom by Philip of Macedon, flees to Ambrasia, 17.
Amyntas, father of Philip, king of Macedonia, Pr. 8, 10; C. IV, 102.
Amyntas, made king of the Pisidians by Antony, C. V, 75; called by Furnius to aid him against Sextus Pompeius, 137, 140; Pompeius surrenders to him, 142.
Anagnia, town of Latium, Sa. X, 3.
Ancharius, Q., killed by order of Marius, C. I, 73; his head suspended from the rostra, *ib.*
Anchises, K. I, 1; C. II, 151.
Ancona, two legions colonized at, C. V, 23.
Ancus Marcius, K. II.
Anda, town of Africa, Pu. 24.
Andriace, seaport of the Myreans, C. IV, 82.
Andriscus, pseudo-Philip, Pu. 135.
Androcottus, king of a people dwelling on the Indus, Sy. 55.
Andronicus, ambassador of Attalus to the Romans, conspires with Nicomedes, Mi. 4 *sq.*
Andronicus, sent by Perseus to throw his money into the sea and burn his ships, Ma. XVI; put to death by Perseus, *ib.*
Andros, island of, given by Antony to Rhodians and soon taken from them, C. V, 7.
Anicius leads Genthius, conquered and bound, to Rome, Il. 9.
Anio, river of Latium H. 38 *sq.*
Annalis, a praetor, proscribed, is betrayed by his son, C. IV, 18.
Annalis, son of preceding, killed by the same soldiers who killed his father, C. IV, 18.
Anti-Cato, the, of Caesar, C. II, 99.
Anticragus, a castle of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Antigonus, satrap of Phrygia and Pamphylia, subjects Babylonia and Syria to himself, Sy. 53; takes Phoenicia and Coele-Syria from Ptolemy, *ib.*; after repelling Ptolemy, takes name of king, 54; killed in battle by Seleucus, 55; intends to kill Mithridates, Mi. 9; his son Demetrius, Sy. 54.
Antiochia, towns of that name, sixteen built by Seleucus Nicator, most renowned of which was under Mt. Lebanon, Sy. 57.
Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, married to Ariarathes, Sy. 5.
Antiochus, father of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57.
Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Pius, recovers kingdom, but deprived of it by Pompey, Sy. 49, 70; Mi. 106; C. V, 10.
Antiochus of Commagene, vanquished by Pompey, Mi. 106, 117; received on friendly terms by him, 106; receives Seleucia with a part of Mesopotamia, 11; sends aid to Pompey, C. II, 49.
Antiochus Cyzicenus, Sy. 68; drives his brother, Antiochus Grypus, from the throne, 69; himself expelled by Seleucus, his brother's son, *ib.*
Antiochus Deus, son of Antiochus Soter, poisoned by his wife Laodice, Sy. 65; has two wives, Laodice and Berenice, *ib.*; his son Seleucus Callinicus, 66; his grandson Antiochus the Great. 1.
Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great Sy. 45, 66; hostage at Rome, 39; conducted to his kingdom by Eumenes and Attalus, 45, 66; makes expeditions into Armenia and Egypt, *ib.*; his son Antiochus Eupator, 46, 66.

Antiochus Grypus, son of Demetrius Nicator and brother of Cyzicenus, Sy. 68 *sq.*
Antiochus the Great, Ma. IV; XI, 4; son of Seleucus Callinicus, Sy. 1, 66; causes of war with the Romans, embassies, 2 *sq.*; receives Hannibal, 4, 7, 9, 22; beginning of the war, 15; moves into Thessaly, celebrates his marriage at Chalcis, 16; defeated at Thermopylae by Manius, 19; and in a naval battle at Myonnesus, 27; sends to Scipio the latter's son, whom he had captured, 29 *sq.*; defeated at Mt. Sipylus by Domitius, 30 *sq.*; peace and treaty with the Romans, 38 *sq.*; his sons, Seleucus, 3, 65; Antiochus, 4, 12; daughters, Laodice, 4; others, 5.
Antiochus Pius, son of Antiochus Cyzicenus, Sy. 48, 67; Mi. 105; C. V, 10; his son Antiochus Asiaticus, Sy. 70.
Antiochus, son of Demetrius Soter, brother of Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 68.
Antiochus Soter, son of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 59; in love with his stepmother Stratonice and marries her, 59–61; succeeds his father, 65; succeeded by his son Antiochus Deus, *ib.*
Antipater, Sy. 52; Mi. 8; father of Cassander, 53, 62.
Antipater, C., lieutenant of Norbanus, C. I, 91.
Antistius, P., killed by order of Marius, C. I, 88.
Antistius, deserts from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, C. V, 139.
Antium, town of the Volsci in Latium, C. I, 69; a rich temple there, V, 24.
Antius, proscribed, flees to Sicily, C. IV, 40.
Antonius, C., consul, defeats Catiline, C. II, 7.
Antonius, C., brother of Mark Antony, C. III, 14; made governor of Illyricum by Caesar, C. II, 41; vanquished by Pompey's lieutenant, Octavius, 47; city praetor, III, 14, 23; contends with Brutus for possession of Macedonia, 79; IV, 75; killed by Brutus, III, 79.
Antonius, Lucius, brother of Mark Antony, consul, C. V, 14; stirs up strife against Octavian, 19 *sq.*; withdraws to Praeneste, 21; makes preparations for war with Octavian, 24; Italians side with him, 27; begins war, promises liberty to the Romans and is saluted as Imperator by the people, 30 *sq.*; he is besieged by Octavian in Perusia, 32 *sq.*; pressed by hunger, 34 *sq.*; endeavours to break out, 36 *sq.*; sues for peace, 40; goes to Octavian in person, 41 *sq.*; received and pardoned, 48.
Antonius, M., consul, C. I, 32; great orator, put to death, 72 *sq.*
Antonius Creticus, father of the triumvir, Si. VI.
Antonius, Marcus, son of the preceding, accompanies Gabinius to Alexandria, C. V, 8; as tribune favours Caesar, C. II, 33; put in charge of Italy by Caesar, 41; master of horse for Caesar, 92, 107; consul with Caesar, 109; is detained when Caesar is killed, 117; desires to avenge Caesar, 118, 124 *sq.*; delivers the funeral oration, 143 *sq.*; conciliates Senate by putting Amatius to death, III, 2 *sq.*; recruits a bodyguard by permission of Senate, 45; makes many friends by means of Caesar's memoranda, *ib.*; obtains the province of Macedonia in place of Brutus, 8; cold reception of young Octavian, 14 *sq.*; disputes Octavian's claim to Caesar's property, 22; desiring to obtain the army in Macedonia, proposes a law to abolish office of dictator, 24 *sq.*; after reconciliation with Octavian seeks province of Cisalpine Gaul, 30; new difficulty with Octavian, 31 *sq.*; he alienates army by parsimony

and severity, 40 *sq.*; introduces a praetorian cohort into the city as body-guard, 45; marches against Decimus Brutus to compel him to resign province of Cisalpine Gaul, 46; besieges Decimus in Mutina, 49; at instance of Cicero is declared a public enemy, 50–63; battle with consul Pansa, 67, 69; wins a victory, but is in turn defeated by Hirtius, 70; abandons Mutina and flees to the Alps, 73; Octavian through friends offers him terms, 80, 96; crosses the Alps and is received by Lepidus, who joins him, 83 *sq.*; reconciliation with the Senate, 96; proposes alliance with Octavian, *ib.*; Asinius Pollio and Plancus join him, also veteran legions of Decimus Brutus, 97; pursues Decimus, *ib.*; forms triumvirate with Octavian and Lepidus, IV, 2; with his colleagues issues decree of proscription, 7 *sq.*; with Octavian sends forces into Macedonia, 82, 86; pitches his camp opposite Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, 107 *sq.*; defeats Cassius at the first battle of Philippi, 110 *sq.*; defeats Brutus at the second battle, 128 *sq.*; advances to Asia to collect money, V, 3; addresses people at Ephesus, 4 *sq.*; confirms Sisinna on the throne of Cappadocia, 7; falls in love with Cleopatra, 1, 8; commits many cruelties to please her, 9; makes war unsuccessfully against the Palmyreans, *ib.*; goes to Alexandria to join Cleopatra, 10 *sq.*; Manius takes charge of his affairs at Rome, and with his wife, and his brother, stirs up strife against Octavian, 14 *sq.*; proceeding from Alexandria, meets Fulvia at Athens and receives his mother from Sextus Pompeius, 52; forming an alliance with Domitius Ahenobarbus, besieges Brundusium, 56; urges Sextus Pompeius to invade Italy, *ib.*; reconciled to Octavian by the intervention of Cocceius, 60–63; on the death of Fulvia marries Octavia, 64, 66; makes new division of provinces with Octavian, 65; sends Ventidius against the Parthians, *ib.*; rescues Octavian at Rome, 68; concludes peace with Sextus Pompeius on the mole at Puteoli, 69, 73; acts, past and future, ratified, 75; disposes of many thrones in the East, *ib.*; intending to march against the Parthians, he passes the winter at Athens, with Octavia, 75; is invited by Octavian to come from Athens and meet him at Brundusium, 78; gives Octavian 120 ships to be used against Sextus Pompeius, 93, 95; after extension of power for five years he hastens to Syria for his Parthian expedition, 95; returns from Parthia to Alexandria, 132; Sextus Pompeius sends legates to treat with him, *ib.*, *sq.*; makes new expedition to Armenia, 145; vanquished at Actium, IV, 49.

Antyllus killed by the partisans of Gracchus, C. I, 25.

Apama, wife of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57.

Apama, daughter of Alexander of Megalopolis and wife of Amynander, Sy. 13.

Apamea, town of Bithynia, Mi. 19, 77; of Phrygia, Sy. 36, 39; of Syria, 57.

Apennines, H. 8; C. I, 117

Aphrodisias, of Caria, C. I, 97 *note*.

Apion, king of Cyrene, Mi. 121; C. I, 111.

Apollo, Romans send him tenth part of the spoils of Veii, It. VIII, 1; Delium sacred to, Sy. 12; Eumenes sacrifices to, Ma. XI, 4; Aemilius Paulus, XIX; oracle of, concerning the Alban lake, It. VIII, 1; promontory of, Pu. 34; Roman soldiers plunder statue and temple of, at Carthage, 127, 133; anger of, against the Autarienses and

Gauls, Il. 4; colossal statue of, on Capitoline hill, 30; statue of A. Archegetes, C. V, 109.
Apollonia, city of Illyria, Sy. 17; C. II, 54, 64; III, 9; made a free city by Rome, Il. 8.
Apollonia, town of Mysia, Il. 30; of Asia, built by Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57.
Apollophanes, prefect of fleet under Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 84, 105 *sq.*
Aponius, proscribed, C. IV, 26.
Appian way, C. I, 69.
Appian of Alexandria concerning himself, Pr. 15; lived under Trajan and Hadrian, 7; Sp. 38; Sy. 50; C. I, 38; II, 86, 90; Fr. 11.
Appius, proscribed, escapes to Sicily, C. IV, 51.
Appius, lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 98.
Apsar, friend of Jugurtha, Nu. IV.
Apsarus, river of Armenia, Mi. 101.
Apsus, river. *See* Alor.
Apuleius, robber, Sp. 68.
Apuleius, M., pro-praetor of Asia, delivers his forces to Brutus, C. III, 63; IV, 75; having been proscribed, obtains province of Bithynia from Brutus, IV, 46.
Apuleius, Quintus, tribune, C. III, 93; proscribed, IV, 40.
Apuleius Saturninus, fraudulently chosen tribune, C. I, 28; elected a third time, 32; killed in the Capitol, 29, 32.
Apulians, the, fall away from the Romans, H. 49; C. I, 39; conquered by Metellus, 53.
Aquileia, city of Gaul beyond the Po, Il. 18; C. III, 97.
Aquilius, M., corrupted by money gives Phrygia to Mithridates, Mi. 12, 57; tried for bribery but escapes punishment, C. I, 22; Senate declares acts void, Mi. 57.
Aquilius, son of preceding, re-establishes Nicomedes in Bithynia and Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, Mi. 11; principal author of Mithridatic war, 17, 21; vanquished, 19; captured by Mithridates and killed, 21, 112.
Aquilius Crassus, C. III, 93; proscribed, 94.
Aquinus, Marcus, a conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 119.
Aquitanians, overcome by Agrippa, C. V, 92.
Arabio, son of Masinissa, aids Sextius, C. IV, 54–66, 83.
Arabs, riding on camels, Sy. 32; infest Syria, 51; subdued by Seleucus, 55; of Nabataea, Mi. 106; conquered by Pompey, 114; among the allies of Pompey, C. II, 71; mounted bowmen, IV, 88; part of Arabia in the Roman empire, Pr. 9; Arabs in Egypt, Fr. 11.
Arachotae, people of India, subdued by Seleucus, Sy. 55.
Aradians, in Phoenician island, C. IV, 61; V, 9.
Araxes, river separating Armenia from Media, Mi. 103.
Arcadians, Thebans send aid to, Sy. 41.
Arcathias, son of Mithridates, Mi. 17; overcomes Nicomedes, 18; subdues Macedonia, 35, 41.
Archegetes, statue of Apollo, C. V, 109.
Archelaus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17; overcomes Nicomedes, 18; sent against Greece, 27; brings many of her peoples over to Mithridates, 28 *sq.*; besieged by Sulla in the Piraeus, 30–37; defeated by Sulla at Chaeronea, 42–45; again at Orchomenus, 49; deserts to the Romans, 64; his brother Neoptolemus, 17; his son Diogenes, 49.
Archelaus, priest of the goddess of Comana, Mi. 114; deposed by Caesar, 121.
Archelaus of Rhodes, tutor of Cassius, sent as ambassador to him, C. IV, 67 *sq.*
Ardea, town of Latium, It. VIII, 2; C. II, 50.
Ardiaei, Illyrian tribe, Il. 3, 10.
Areacidae, Numidian people, Pu. 33.

Aretas, king of Nabataean Arabs, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 106, 117.
Arethusa, town built by Seleucus Nicator on the river Orontes, Sy. 57.
Arevaci, Spanish tribe, Sp. 45 *sq.*
Arganthonius, king of Tartessus, Sp. 2, 63.
Argeadae, the Macedonian, Sy. 63.
Argonauts, Sy. 63; Mi. 101, 103.
Argos, several towns of that name, Sy. 63.
Argyraspides, in the army of Antiochus, Sy. 32.
Ariarathes, after the expulsion of Ariobarzanes by Mithridates, is seated on the throne of Cappadocia, but is expelled again by the Romans, Mi. 10 *sq.*
Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, ally of the Romans, Ma. XI, 4; marries Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, Sy. 5; sends aid to Antiochus, 32, 42.
Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, furnishes aid to Pompey, C. II, 71; contends with Sisinna for the kingdom, but is rejected by Antony, C. V, 7.
Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, ordered by the Romans to share the throne with his brother Olophernes, Sy. 47.
Ariarathes, prefect of Cappadocia, crucified, Mi. 8.
Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, occupies kingdom of Cappadocia, Mi. 15.
Aricia, a city of Latium, captured by Marius, C. I, 69.
Aridaeus, brother of Alexander the Great, Sy. 52.
Ariminum, town on the Rubicon, H. 12; C. I, 87, 90; V, 33; occupied by Cinna, C. I, 67; by Caesar, II, 35; by Antony, III, 41 *sq.*; promised as a prize to the soldiers by triumvirs, IV, 3.
Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, often expelled from his kingdom and restored by the Romans, Sy. 48; Mi. 10 *sq.*, 15, 57, 60, 64, 105, 114; Mithridates betroths to him his daughter, four years old, 66; transfers kingdom to his son, while still living, 105; C. I, 103.
Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, put to death by Cassius, C. IV, 63.
Ariovistus, king of the Germans, G. I, 3; XVI, XVIII.
Aristandus, a soothsayer, Sy. 64.
Aristarchus, made prince of the Colchians by Pompey, Mi. 114.
Aristides, accused of theft, Sy. 41.
Aristion, the Epicurean, tyrant of Athens, Mi. 28 *sq.*; besieged by Sulla, 30–38; killed, 39.
Aristo, Tyrian, sent by Hannibal to incite Carthaginians to war, Sy. 8.
Aristobulus, king of the Jews, Sy. 50; Jews fall away from him, Mi. 106; after being led in triumph by Pompey, is put to death, 117.
Aristonicus, contends with the Romans for dominion of Asia, Mi. 12; C. I, 17.
Armenia, subdued by Seleucus, Sy. 55; Greater and Lesser Armenia, Pr. 2; Mi. 90, 105.
Armenians, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 114, 116; in the army of Pompey, C. II, 49.
Arpi, town of Daunia, built by Diomedes, H. 31.
Arretium, town of Etruria, C. I, 91; III, 42.
Arrianus, proscribed, saved by his son, C. IV, 41.
Arsa, town of Spain, Sp. 70.
Arsaces, king of Parthians, ally of Mithridates, Mi. 15.
Arsinoe, sister of Cleopatra, put to death by Antony, C. V, 9.
Artaphernes, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108; led in triumph by Pompey, 117.
Artaxata, royal seat of Tigranes, Mi. 104.
Artaxias, king of Armenia, Sy. 45, 66.
Artemidorus, Caesar's host, C. II, 116.
Artemisium, town of Sicily, C. V 116.

Arthetaurus, Illyrian prince, Ma. XI, 2.
Artoces, king of the Iberians of Asia, Mi. 103, 117.
Aruntius, proscribed, restored, C. IV, 46.
Arupini, bravest of the Iapydes, Il. 16.
Asander, overcomes Pharnaces, Mi. 120.
Asasis, Masinissa's prefect of horse, deserts to the Carthaginians, Pu. 70.
Ascanius, K. I, 1; Fr. I, 2.
Asclepiodotus, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Asculum, town of Apulia, C. I, 52; of Picenum, 38, 47, 48.
Asellio, praetor, slain, C. I, 54.
Asia, separated from Egypt by sands, Mi. 121; lower Asia a great peninsula, Pr. 2; C. II, 89; Maritime Asia, Sy. 3, 15; upper Asia, 12, 15; Asia this side of Mt. Taurus, 29, 38; Pergamenean Asia, Mi. 11, 118.
Asia proper, Roman province, Mi. 20, 112; C. III, 2; V, 137; Sulla imposes heavy tax on, Mi. 62; Lucullus, 83; Cassius, C. IV, 74; Antony, V, 5 *sq.*
Asinius Pollio, occupies Sicily in Caesar's name, C. II, 40; fights unsuccessfully in Africa, 45 *sq.* (in II 45 an error for Marcius Rufus); in battle of Pharsalus, 82, writes history of civil war, *ib.*; sent by Caesar against Sextus Pompeius, C. IV, 84; has command in Spain, III, 46; ordered to make war against Antony, 74; joins Antony, 97; consul, IV, 12, 27; deeds in war between Octavian and Lucius Antonius, V, 20, 23; reconciles Domitius Ahenobarbus to Antony, 50; arbiter of peace between Octavian and Antony, 64.
Asprenas, tribune, C. III, 7.
Assyrians, Pr. 9; Pu. 87.
Astacus, town of Bithynia, Sy. 57.
Astapa, town of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 33.
Astronomy, C. II, 154.
Asyla, gold mines near Philippi, C. IV, 106.
Atabyrius, mountain of Rhodes, Mi. 26.
Ateius, lieutenant of Antony, C. V, 33, 50.
Atella, town of Campania, H. 48.
Aterius, proscript, C. IV, 29.
Athamanes, tribe in Epirus, Ma. III, 1; allies of Antiochus, Sy. 13; driven out of Thessaly by the Romans, 17; subjugated by Philip, *ib.*
Athenians, lose their empire soon after they had extended it beyond the Ionian sea, Pr. 8; Pu. 87; send colony to Amisus, Mi. 8; friendly to Mithridates, 28; their tyrant Aristion, 28, 38; Sulla deprives of right of suffrage, 38; send military aid to Pompey, C. II, 70; priests of the Thesmophori they are considered inviolable, *ib.*; obtain pardon from Caesar, 88; Antony bestows certain islands upon them, V, 7,
Athens, besieged by Philip, Ma. IV; by Sulla, Mi. 30–38; Antony winters there with Octavia, C. V, 76.
Atilius, consul during Hannibalic war, H. 16.
Atilius, proscribed, C. IV, 30.
Atilius, P., lieutenant of Pompey in war against the pirates, Mi. 95.
Atilius Regulus, taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, Pu. 3; sent to Rome, goes back to torture, 4; Si. II.
Atilius Serranus, slain by Marian faction, C. I, 72.
Atilius, wages war with Boii, H. 5.
Atintani, people of Illyria, Il. 7, 8.
Atlas, mountain of Mauritania. Nu. V.
Atrapos, mountain pass at Thermopylae, Sy. 18.
Attalus, brother of Eumenes, Sy. 5, 36, 45; king of Pergamus, Mi. 3; war with Prusias, *ib.*; with his help Nicomedes invades the kingdom of his father Prusias, 6 *sq.*

Attalus, father of Eumenes, Sy. 38; kingdom ravaged by Philip, Ma. IV.
Attalus, made king of Paphlagonia by Pompey, Mi. 114.
Attalus Philometor, leaves kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans in his will, Mi. 62; C. V, 4.
Attidius, Roman senator, exile in camp of Mithridates, Mi. 90.
Attius, chief of Volsci, It. V, 5.
Attius Varus, lieutenant of Pompey in Africa, C. II, 44, 87; slain, 105.
Aufidus, river of Apulia, H. 16.
Augustus, name bestowed upon Octavian, C. I, 5.
Aulonia, town of Bruttium, H. 49.
Aurelia Orestilla, wife of Catiline, C. II, 2.
Ausonia, C. V, 56, 57, 59.
Autarienses, people of Illyria, Il. 3, 4.
Autarieus, father of Pannonius, Il. 2.
Autolycus, companion of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons, Mi. 83.
Autronius Paetus, a consul, Il. 28.
Avarus, ambassador of the Numantines to Scipio, Sp. 95.
Aventine mount, C. I, 26.
Axinium, a town of Spain, Sp. 47.

B

Babylon, Sy. 45, 65; C. II, 153; Babylonia, Sy. 53; Babylonians, Sy. 1.
Bacchus, eunuch, Mi. 82.
Bacchus, hill of, C. IV, 106.
Bactrians, Sy. 55.
Baebius, C., C. I, 48.
Baebius, M., slain by Marian faction, C. I, 72.
Baebius, prefect of Macedonia, Sy. 16.
Baebius, slain by the Illyrians, Il. 13.
Baecor, castle in Spain, Sp. 65.
Baetica, Sp. 24, 68.
Baetis, river in Spain, Sp. 71, 72.
Bagoas and Mithraas expel Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, Mi. 10.
Bagrada, river in Africa, C. II, 45.
Baiae in Campania, C. V, 69.
Balarus, harbour, C. IV, 85; V, 112.
Balbinus, proscribed, afterward consul, C. IV, 50.
Balbus, C. Octavius, proscribed, perishes with his son, C. IV, 21.
Balearic, islands, Pr. 5; slingers, Pu. 40.
Banno Tigillas, Pu. 82, 83 *sq.*
Barathrum Magnum, plain in Africa, Pu. 109.
Barba, lieutenant of Lucullus, Mi. 77.
Barbatius, M. Philippus, quaestor of Antony, C. V, 31.
Basilica, of Paulus, C. II, 26.
Basillus, military tribune, Mi. 50 *sq.*
Bastarnae, tribe of European Sarmatia, Ma. XI, 1; Mi. 15, 69, 71; Il. 4, 22.
Bastitani, Spanish tribe, Sp. 66.
Bathiatae, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Bebrycia, Bithynia, Mi. 1.
Belgae, G. I, 4.
Belgida, town of Spain, whose people burned their senate in the senate-house, Sp. 100.
Belli, people of Spain, Sp. 44, 50, 63, 66.
Beneventum, town of the Hirpini faithful to Rome, H. 36, 37; promised as prize to the soldiers, C. IV, 3.
Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, wife of Antiochus Deus, Sy. 65.
Berrhoea, town of Macedonia, from which another was named in Syria, Sy. 57.
Bessi, people of Thrace or Illyria, Il. 16.
Bestia, Calpurnius, goes into exile, C. I, 37.
Bestia, L., companion of Catiline, C. II, 3.
Bibulus, L. Calpurnius, proscribed, flees to Brutus, after Philippi passes over to Antony, by whom

made governor of Syria, C. IV, 38, 104, 136; V, 132; Sy. 51.
Bibulus, M., consul with Caesar (Appian wrongly gives *Lucius*), C II, 9–12; successor of Crassus in Syria, Sy. 51; prefect of fleet to Pompey, C. II, 49.
Biesius, prefect of horse, Sp. 47.
Bithya, prefect of Numidian horse, Pu. 111, 114, 120.
Bithyas, river in Thracian Bithynia, Mi. 1.
Bithynia, origin of name, Mi. 1; kings, 2; left to the Romans by Nicomedes in his will, C. I, 111; occupied by Mithridates, added to the Roman sway, 118; annual praetor of B. and Pontus, 121; praetors of: Tillius Cimber, C. III, 2; M. Brutus, 8; Marcius Crispus, 77; V, 58; Apuleius, 46; Domitius Ahenobarbus, V, 63.
Bithynicus, A. Pompeius, praetor of Sicily, yields island to Sextus Pompeius, C. IV, 84; put to death by him, V, 70.
Bituitus, a Gaul, kills Mithridates at his own request, Mi. 111.
Bituitus, king of the Allobroges, G. XII, 2.
Blastophoenicians, Spanish tribe near the straits of Hercules, Sp. 56.
Blatius, of Salapia, H. 45 *sq.*
Blitor, prefect of Mesopotamia, Sy. 53.
Bocchus, king of Mauritania, betrays Jugurtha to Marius, Nu. IV; V.
Bocchus, king of Mauritania, occupies Cirta, C. II, 96; driven out by Arabio, IV, 54; makes war against Carinas in Spain, V, 26.
Boetia, sides with Mithridates, Mi. 29; goes over to the Romans, 30; plundered by Sulla, 51; aids to Pompey, C. II, 70.
Boëtharch, of Carthage, Pu. 68, 70.
Boii, most savage of the Gauls, are overcome by Sulpicius, G. I, 1; war against on the Po, H. 5, 8; II. 8.
Bomilcar, flees from Rome, Nu. I.
Bononia, Italian city, C. III, 69.
Bosporus, subdued by Mithridates, Mi. 64, 67; its king Machares, son of Mithridates, 67; Pharnaces, 113; C. II, 92; Mithridates of Pergamus, Mi. 121; condition in the time of Appian, *ib.*
Bosporus, Thracian, Mi. 119.
Bostar, Carthaginian, H. 43.
Bovianum, Samnite colony, C. I, 51.
Bovillae, town of Latium, C. II, 21.
Bracari, people of Lusitania, Sp. 72.
Brahmins, C. II, 154.
Brennus, king of the Gauls, G. III.
Bribery, law of Pompey to punish, C. II, 23 *sq.*
Briges, people who held region around Dyrrachium, C. II, 39.
Britain, Pr. 5; Sp. 1; Caesar crosses ocean to, G. I, 5; C. II, 150.
Britomaris, Gaul, Sa. VI, 1; G. XI.
Britores, author of defection of the Aedui, G. XXI.
Brundusium, made free from customs duties by Sulla, C. I, 79; besieged by Caesar, II, 40; blockaded by Domitius Ahenobarbus, V, 26, 61; besieged by Antony, 56 *sq.*
Bruttians, allies of Hannibal, H. 44, 49, 54; treated with severity by him, 54, 57; deprived of land and fined by the Romans, 61; territory seized by Hirtius, C. IV, 43; coast infested by Sextus Pompeius, V, 19.
Bruttius, praetor of Macedonia, Mi. 29.
Brutus, who expelled the kings, C. II, 112, 119, 120.
Brutus, Decimus Albinus, one of Caesar's intimates, C. II, 111; his prefect of horse, and of old and new Gaul, III, 98; II, 48, 111; designated consul with province of Cisalpine Gaul, III, 98; heir in second degree under Caesar's will, II, 143; conspires

against Caesar, 111, 113; occupies Cisalpine Gaul, III, 2; besieged in Mutina by Antony, III, 49 *sq.*; appointed commander against Antony, 74; writes to Senate that he will pursue Antony, 81; deserted by army, 97; captured and killed, 98.

Brutus, Junius, father of Marcus Brutus, with Marius declared public enemy, C. I, 60; put to death, II, 111.

Brutus, L. Junius Damasippus, city praetor, C. I, 88, 92.

Brutus, Marcus Caepio, formerly of Pompey's party, after Pharsalus joins Caesar, and is made governor of Cisalpine Gaul, C. II, 111; city praetor and designated propraetor of Macedonia, II, 112; III, 2; IV, 37; conspires against Caesar, II, 111 *sq.*; 1, 4; thought to have been Caesar's son, II. 112; put in charge of the corn supply, III, 6; IV, 57; Antony causes province of Bithynia to be decreed to him in place of Macedonia, III, 8; IV, 57; Senate again invests him with the command of Macedonia and Illyria, III, 63; IV, 58, 75; II. 13; contends against Gaius Antonius for possession of Macedonia, III, 79; IV, 75; condemned; fights against the Lycians and captures Xanthus, IV, 65, 76–82; in first battle of Philippi captures camp of Octavian, 110; weeps over body of Cassius, 114; defeated by Antony, 128; killed at his own request by Strato, 131; spectre appears to him before Philippi, 134; Antony sends his ashes to his mother Servilia, 135; orations, II, 122, 137 *sq.*; IV, 117 *sq.*, 125; wife Porcia, IV, 136.

Brutus, S. Junius, overcomes robbers and various tribes in Spain, Sp. 71, 73.

Bucolianus, conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113, 117.

Byrsa, citadel of Carthage, how it acquired its name, Pu. 1; very strongly fortified, 95; captured by Scipio, 127–130.

Byzantium, Mi. 1, 17; Perseus sends aid to, Ma. XI, 1, 7; Antiochus bestows many favours upon, Sy. 6.

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Cabira, town of Pontus, Mi. 78, 79.

Caecilius, brother of Bucolianus, conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113.

Caecilius Bassus, conspires with the legion in Syria against Sextus Julius, C. III, 77; IV, 58 *sq.*; gives himself up to Cassius, III, 78; IV, 59.

Caecilius Metellus, consul, conquers the Segestani, II. 10; has triumph over the Dalmatians without cause, 11.

Caecilius Metellus, Q., severe to his soldiers and cruel to deserters, Nu. II; as censor removes Glaucia and Saturninus from the Senate, C. I, 28; refuses to swear to obey agrarian law and driven into exile by Marius, 30 *sq.*; recalled, 33.

Caecilius Metellus Pius, son of preceding, C. I, 33; as praetor, with proconsular power, finishes the Social War, C. I, 53, 68, 80; joins Sulla, 80 *sq.*, 85; overcomes Carbo, 87 *sq.*, 91; commander against Sertorius, 97, 108–115; Sp. 101; consul with Sulla, C. I, 103.

Caelius, tribune and friend of Milo, C. II, 22.

Caesar, Gaius Julius, while aedile and praetor is overwhelmed with debt, C. II, 1, 8–13; suspected of being privy to the conspiracy of Catiline, 6; allies himself with Pompey and Crassus, 9; consul, 10–14; proconsul of Gaul and Illyria, 13, 15, 17, 32, 150; G. I, 2–5; XV, XXI; II. 12, 15, 29; his bribery fund, C. II, 26; command taken from him by the Senate, 30 *sq.*; occupies Ariminum and

invades Italy, 35, 38, 40 *sq.*; marches to Spain against Pompey's lieutenants, 42 *sq.*; created dictator at Rome, designates himself consul, 48; marches against Pompey at Dyrrachium, 55 *sq.*; battle of Pharsalus, 64–82; proceeds to Alexandria, 88–90; marches against Pharnaces, 91; thence to Rome to quell sedition, 92 *sq.*; thence to Africa against L. Scipio, Cato, and Juba, 95–100; his triumphs, 101 *sq.*; marches to Spain against the son of Pompey, 103–105; honours heaped upon him at Rome, 106 *sq.*; contemplates war against the Getae and the Parthians, 110; conspiracy against him, 111 *sq.*; killed in Pompey's theatre, 117; his will, 143; funeral, 143 *sq.*; deified after death, I, 4; II, 148; compared with Alexander the Great, 149–154; adultery of his wife with Clodius, 14; marries Calpurnia, 14, 115; gives his daughter to Pompey, 14; believed by some to have been the father of M. Brutus, 112; is subject to epileptic fits, 110; his orations, 10, 43, 47, 53, 55, 73; writings, diary, G. XVIII; letters, C. II. 79; Anti-Cato, 99; memoranda, III, 5.

Caesar, Lucius, uncle of Antony, C. II, 143; proscribed, IV, 12; saved by his sister, 37.

Caesar, Sextus (really Lucius) Julius, consul in the Social War, C. I, 40, 41, 42, 45; killed while besieging Asculum, 48.

Caesaras, Lusitanian chief, Sp. 56.

Caesennius, C., Philo, proscribed, C. IV, 27.

Caesetius, tribune, C. II, 108, 122; IV, 93.

Caieta, town on sea-coast, where Cicero was killed, C. IV, 19.

Calaguris, of Spain, C. I, 112.

Calatia, colony of Caesar, C. III, 40.

Calatis, town of Moesia, II. 30.

Caleni, in Campania, intercede for Sittius, C. IV, 47.

Calidius, messenger from the Senate to Murena, Mi. 65.

Callias, freedman of Antony, C. V, 93.

Callidromus, mountain at Thermopylae, Sy. 17.

Calliope, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.

Callipolis, town of Actolia, Sy. 21; a town of Syria, 57.

Calor, river near Beneventum, H. 36.

Calpurnia, wife of Caesar, C. II, 14, 116; her dream, 115.

Calpurnius Piso, praetor in Spain put to flight by the Lusitanians, Sp. 56; as consul wages war unsuccessfully in Africa, Pu. 109, 113.

Calpurnius Piso, L., Caesar's father-in-law, C. II, 14, 135 *sq.*; brings Caesar's body into the forum, 143; defends Antony against Cicero, III, 50, 54.

Calvisius, C. Sabinus, prefect of the fleet for Octavian, C. V, 80; fights with Menecrates, 81 *sq.*; deposed from command, 96 (in C. II, 60, in error for Longinus or Calvinus).

Calycadnus, promontory of Cilicia, Sy. 39.

Camels, Arab bowmen ride on, Sy. 32.

Cameria, town of Italy, C. V, 50.

Camillus, It. VIII, 1; exiled, 2; dictator, *ib.*; G. V; vanquishes the Gauls, G. I, 1; H. 8; C. II, 50.

Camillus, son of preceding, G. I, 2.

Camillus, Gallic chief, puts Decimus Brutus to death, C. III, 98.

Campania, H. 36; C. III, 40; devastated by Hannibal, H. 49; fertile territory of, 43.

Campus Martius, C. I, 89; II, 92; III, 94; V, 16; kings buried in, I, 106; also Sulla, *ib.*

Cannae, battle of, H. 19 *sq.*

Cannutius, Tiberius, tribune, brings Octavian into the city, C. III, 41; is killed, V, 49.

Cantabrians, Spanish people, Sp. 80.
Canuleius, Q., tribune of the people, C. I, 33.
Canusium, town of Apulia, H. 24, 26; C. I, 84 (perhaps error for Casilinum); V, 57; rebels against the Romans, I, 42; besieged by Cosconius, 52.
Capito, a proscript, slays those sent to kill him, C. IV, 25.
Capitol, Pu. 66; C. I, 73; II, 148; III, 39; where the Senate was accustomed to deliberate on the subject of war, Pu. 75; comitia for choosing tribunes held there, C. I, 15; Tiberius Gracchus slain there, C. I, 2, 15 *sq.*; burned, I, 83, 86; occupied by Caesar's assassins, II, 120, 137.
Cappadocia, tributary to Alexander the Great, Mi. 8; part of, called Seleucis, subject to Seleucus, Sy. 55; acquired by Mithridates Ctistes, Mi. 9; separated from Pontus, 9, 12; acquired by Mithridates Eupator, 12, 112; by Ariobarzanes, 60, 67, 105, 114; invaded by Tigranes, 67; Roman province, 105, 118; to which is added Lesser Armenia, 105; Cappadocians among the allies of Pompey, C. II, 49; Antony imposes tribute upon, V, 7; Ariarathes contends with Sisenna for kingdom of, *ib.*
Capua, city of Campania, C. I, 56, 63, 64, 85, 116; II, 29, 37; III, 40; V, 24; besieged by the Romans, relieved by Hanno, H. 36; besieged a second time by Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius, 37 *sq.*; surrenders to the Romans, 43; promised as prize to soldiers by the triumvirs, C. IV, 3.
Capys, grandfather of Aeneas, K. I, 1.
Capys Silvius, king of the Latins, K. I, 2.
Caravis, town of Spain, Sp. 43.
Carchedon, founder of Carthage, Pu. 1.
Cardia, town of Chersonesus, C. IV, 88.
Caria, Sy. 52; given by the Romans to the Rhodians, but soon taken back, 44; added to the Roman sway, Mi. 118.
Carinas, lieutenant of Carbo, vanquished by Metellus, C. I, 87; besieged by Pompey and Crassus, 90; vanquished by Sulla and killed, 92.
Carinas, sent by Caesar against Sextus Pompeius in Spain, C. IV, 83; V, 26; while governing Spain for Octavian is attacked by Bocchus, V, 26, 54; commands three legions in war in Sicily against Sextus Pompeius, V, 112.
Carisius, T., lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 111.
Carmona, town of Spain, Sp. 25, 27, 58.
Carni, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Carpessus, town of Spain, Sp. 2, 63; its inhabitants, 51, 64, 70, 83.
Carsuleius (perh. Carpulenus), lieutenant of Caesar, C. III, 66.
Carthage, founded, Pu. 1; stands seven hundred years, 2, 132; inhabitants ordered to yield city to the Romans, 81; site of, 95; harbour, 96; suburb Megara, 117; destroyed by Scipio, 136; C. I, 24; G. Gracchus proposes to found colony on former site, Pu. 136; C. I, 24; Caesar leaves memorandum of his intention to do so, Pu. 136; carried into effect by Augustus, *ib.*
Carthaginians, Tyrian colony, Pu. 1, 89; their sway in Africa, 2; expeditions into Sicily, Sa. XI, 2; XII, 1; Pu. 2; into Sardinia, 2; into Spain, 2, 6; Sp. 3; war with African and Gallic mercenaries, Si. II, 3; Sp. 4; Pu. 5; first war with the Romans, Si. II, 2; Pu. 3 *sq.*; Sp. 3; second war with the Romans, Sp. 4; Pu. 6–66; third, 74 *sq.*; violators of treaties, Sp. 4; Pu. 6, 64; divided in factions among themselves, 70; deliver all their arms to the Romans, 80; make new

ones, 93; send aid to the Romans against three kings, 83; Sy. 22; defend city bravely, Pu. 98.
Carthago Spartagena, or New Carthage, in Spain, Sp. 12, 19, 75; taken by Scipio, 20 *sq.*
Carthalo, auxiliary commander of Carthage, Pu. 68, 74.
Carthalo, prefect of Tarentum, H. 49.
Casilinum, colony in Campania, C. III, 40, and see *Canusium*.
Casium (or Cassium), in Egypt, C. II, 84, 89.
Caspian sea, Mi. 103.
Cassander, son of Antipater, king of Macedonia, Sy. 53.
Cassius, Roman writer [L. Cassius Hemina], G. VI.
Cassius, Gaius Longinus, trained in Greek by Archelaus at Rhodes, C. IV, 65, 67; quaestor of Crassus, 59; after Pharsalus delivers himself and fleet to Caesar, C. II, 88 (Appian is in error), 111; city praetor, II, 112; III, 2; designated propraetor of Syria, *ib.*; IV, 57 *sq.*; II. 13; conspires against Caesar, C. I, 4; IV, 91, 132; put in charge of corn supply, III, 6; IV, 57; provinces of Cyrene and Crete decreed to him in place of Syria, III, 7 *sq.*; IV, 57; Syria again voted to him by Senate with full power, III, 63; gains possession of twelve legions, IV, 59; wages war against Dolabella, III, 63, 78; IV, 60–62; tried and condemned under presidency of Octavian, III, 95; IV, 27; kills Ariobarzanes, IV, 63; captures Laodicea, 62; fines inhabitants of Tarsus, 64; makes war upon the Rhodians, 65–73; leads his forces into Thrace and Macedonia, 87 *sq.*; speech to the soldiers, 90 *sq.*; vanquished by Antony at Philippi and commits suicide, 111–113; character, 114, 123, 132 *sq.*
Cassius, L., proconsul of Asia, Mi. 11, 17, 24; captured by Mithridates, 112.
Cassius, L., ally of Catiline, C. II, 4.
Cassius, L., nephew of Gaius, C. IV, 135; another left in Syria, 63.
Cassius, Lucius, brother of Gaius, seeks pardon from Antony, C. V, 7.
Cassius, Q., tribune and friend of Caesar, C. II, 33; appointed prefect of Spain by Caesar, 43.
Cassius of Parma, C. V, 2, 139.
Castabala, town of Cilicia, Mi. 105.
Castax, town of Spain, Sp. 32.
Castor, the Argonaut, Mi. 103.
Castor, of Phanagoria, Mi. 108, 114.
Castor and Pollux, temple of, C. I, 25, 54; III, 41.
Castulo, city of Spain, Sp. 16.
Catiline, C. II, 2–7.
Cato, Porcius, consul, killed in Social War, C. I, 50.
Cato, the, book of Cicero, C, II. 99.
Cato Major, called Demosthenes on account of his eloquence, Sp. 39; proconsul in Spain, 39–41; orders Celtiberians to demolish walls of their towns, 41; sent as legate to Africa, expresses opinion that Carthage should be destroyed, Pu. 69; witticism concerning legation to Attalus, Mi. 6; lieutenant of Manius in war against Antiochus, Sy. 18; dislodges the Aetolians from Callidromus, 19.
Cato Minor, casts suspicion on Caesar as privy to Catiline's conspiracy, C. II, 6; salutes Cicero as Father of his Country, 7; denounces Caesar, 11; refuses to swear support to Caesar's laws, 12; holds that Caesar should be delivered up to the barbarians, G. XVIII; sent to Cyprus (Appian is in error), C. II, 23; yields Sicily to Caesar and goes to join Pompey, 40; refuses command offered in Africa, 87; has charge of Utica, 95 *sq.*; commits suicide, 99; lends his wife Marcia to Hortensius, *ib.*; his sister Servilia, 112.

Cato, son of preceding, C. II, 100; at Philippi, IV, 135; his sister Porcia wife of Brutus, 136.
Cauca, town of the Celtiberians, Sp. 51, 52, 89.
Caucaenus, leader of the Lusitanians, Sp. 57.
Caucasus, mount, Pr. 4, 9; Mi. 103.
Caudium, in Samnium, Sa. IV, 3.
Caunii, inhabitants of Caunus in Caria, Mi. 23; the Caunic wind, 26.
Cea, one of the Cyclades islands, C. V, 7.
Celtiberians, Sp. 1, 2, 54, etc.; Celtiberian war of the Romans, 43 *sq.*, 100; Pu. 68, 71; treaty of Gracchus with, 43 *sq.*; revolt from the Romans, Sp. 100; Celtiberian mercenaries employed against Hannibal, H. 30; enlisted by Hannibal in Spain, H. 4; take part in battle of Cannae, 20, 22; in army of Hasdrubal, 52; Sp. 24; in army of Mago, 31.
Celts, named from Celtus, Il. 2; Cimbri reckoned among the Celts, 4; C. I, 29; also Teutones, G. I, 2; called Gauls by the Romans and Galatians by the Greeks, Sp. 1; H. 4.
Censors by Caesar's direction fix price at which goods shall be taken for debts, C. II, 48.
Census, taken by Caesar, C. II, 102.
Centenius, slaughter of his army by Hannibal at the Plestine marsh, H. 11, 17.
Cephalenia, island of the Ionian sea, C. V, 25.
Ceraunian Mountains, in Epirus, C. II, 54.
Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy Soter, a fugitive, received by Seleucus, murders his benefactor, Sy. 62 *sq.*
Ceres, temple of, struck by lightning, C. I, 78.
Cestius, proscribed, C. IV, 26.
Cethegus, P., with Marius declared public enemy, C. I, 60, 63; turns to Sulla as a suppliant, 80.
Cethegus, fellow-conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 2, 3, 5 *sq.*, 15.
Chaeronea, city of Boeotia, Mi. 29; where Sulla overthrew Archelaus, 42–45.
Chalcedon, city of Bithynia, Mi. 52, 71.
Chalcis, city of Euboea, Sy. 20, 29; Mi. 31, 34, 42, 45, 51; one of the fetters of Greece, Ma. VIII.
Chalcis, citizens of, aid Antiochus against the Romans, Sy. 21; are driven from sea-coast of Thrace by Philip, C. IV, 102.
Chalcis, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
Chaldaean soothsayers, C. II, 153.
Chalybes, allies of Mithridates, Mi. 69.
Chaonia, part of Epirus, Il. 1.
Charis, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
Chersonesus, Pontic, town of the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 102, 108.
Chersonesus, Thracian, C. IV, 88; Sy. 1, 6, 21; occupied by the Scipios when abandoned by Antiochus, 58 *sq.*; seized by Mithridates, Mi. 13.
Chios, ambassadors of, Ma. III, 1; allies of Mithridates, Mi. 25; Mithridates angry with them, 25, 46 *sq.*; enrolled as allies by Sulla, 61; island of, Sy. 22; captured by Philip, Ma. IV.
Chotene, a prefecture of Armenia, Mi. 101; inhabitants of, *ib.*
Cicero, *see* Tullius.
Cilicia, Pr. 2; Sy. 1, 22; Mi. 8, 57, 75, 112; C. I, 77; V, 7, 8; Tigranes annexes a part of, Sy. 48; Mi. 105; added to Roman sway, Sy. 50; Mi. 106, 118; part given to Ariobarzanes by Pompey, 105; to Polemon by Antony, C. V, 75; Craggy Cilicia a stronghold of pirates, Mi. 92; surrenders to Pompey, 96.
Cilla, town of Africa, Pu. 40.
Cimber, *see* Tillius.
Cimbri, Celtic people, make an expedition against Delphi, Il. 4; make an incursion into Italy and Gaul, G. I, 2; C. I, 29; the Nervii descended from them, G. I, 4.

Cinambri, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Cineas, ambassador of Pyrrhus, Sa. X, XI.
Cinna, C. Helvius, tribune and poet, torn in pieces by the people, who mistake his name, C. II, 147.
Cinna, L. Cornelius, as consul favours Marius and the new citizens, C. I, 64; deprived of consulship, 65; enlists an army, *ib.*; enters the city with Marius and persecutes the friends of Sulla, 69 *sq.*; Mi. 60; consul a second time, C. I, 75; Mi. 51; consul a third time, stabbed by soldiers in an assembly, C. I, 77 *sq.*
Cinna, L. Cornelius, praetor, lauds murderers of Caesar, C. II, 121; in danger of being killed, 126.
Cirrha, town of Phocis, Ma. IX, 4.
Cirta, royal city of Syphax, Pu. 27; Nu. III; of Masinissa, and afterward of Micipsa, Pu. 106; of Juba, C. II, 96; besieged by Laelius, C. IV, 53, 55.
Citizen, illegal to scourge Roman, C. II, 26; strife between new and old, I, 55, 64; Caesar orders that citizens be spared in the pursuit at Pharsalus, C. II, 80; and after the war, 130; IV, 8.
Citizenship, dissensions with Italian allies respecting, C. I, 21 *sq.*; cause of Social War, 38 *sq.*; given to the Italians except the Lucanians and Samnites, 49, 53.
Claudia Quintia, H. 56.
Claudius, Appius, the blind, Sa. X, 2.
Claudius, Appius, consul, draws line of circumvallation round Capua, H. 37, 40; captures the city, 43.
Claudius, Appius, a military tribune, surprises Antiochus at Larissa, Sy. 16.
Claudius, Appius, father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus, triumvir under the agrarian law, C. I, 13.
Claudius, Appius, military tribune, admits Marius into the city, C. I, 68.
Claudius, Paulus, historian, G. I, 3.
Claudius, the Sabine, admitted to Roman citizenship, K. X.
Claudius Asellus, single combat at Capua, H. 37.
Claudius Nero, H. 17.
Claudius Pulcher, consul, C. I, 103.
Clazomenae, city of Ionia, Mi. 63.
Cleemporus, ambassador of Issa, Il. 7.
Clemency, temple of, erected in honour of Caesar, C. II, 106.
Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 108.
Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius Nicator, kills her husband, Sy. 68.
Cleopatra, leaves her grandson Alexander at Cos, Mi. 23; deposits treasure at Cos, 115.
Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, with her brother Ptolemy, sends fleet to assist Pompey, C. II, 71; expelled from her kingdom, collects forces in Syria against her brother, 84; restored by Caesar, 90; Caesar leaves an army with her, III, 78; IV, 59; places her image in the temple of Venus, II, 102; Cleopatra sends aid to Dolabella, IV, 61; V, 8; amour of Cleopatra and Antony V. 1, 8; IV, 39; fatal to Egypt, I, 6; V, 1; causes her sister Arsinoë to be slain, V, 9; welcomes Antony to Egypt, 11.
Cleopatra Syra, daughter of Antiochus, Sy. 5.
Clisthenes, of Lesbos, a friend of Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Clodius Bithynicus, slain by Octavian, C. V, 49.
Clodius Pulcher, violates the mysteries of the Bona Dea, Si. VII; prosecuted for impiety by Cicero, C. II, 14; procures the banishment of Cicero, 15; slain by Milo, 21; his body exposed and burned in the forum, *ib.*
Clodius, lieutenant of Brutus, C. V, 2.

Cloelius, officer of the Getae, Ma. XVIII, 2, 3.
Cluentius, Lucius, C. I, 50.
Clupea, town of Africa, Pu. 3, 110.
Clusium, town of Etruria, G. II; C. I, 89, 92.
Cnidus, town of Caria, C. II, 116; IV, 71.
Cnossus, town of Crete, Si. VI, 2.
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Gates, of Cilicia, the pass of Mount Taurus between Cilicia and Syria, Sy. 53; of Rome, Coelian, Colline, and Aesquiline, C. I, 58.
Gaul, around the Po, the boundary of Italy, C. I, 86; II, 17; Cisalpine, H. 6; C. I, 92, 109; II, 13, 41, 111; the Gallic province, C. I, 29; old Gaul, III, 98; IV, 2; new Gaul, II, 48; Caesar conquers four hundred tribes of, II, 150.
Gauls, overcome by Camillus, by T. Quintius, by Popillius, by the son of Camillus, by Emilius Pappus, and by Caesar, G. I, 1, 2; they cross the Alps and invade Clusium, G. II; burn Rome and besiege the Capitol, G. I, 1; III *sq.*; intemperate, G. VII; their chiefs, G. I, 2; III; C. I, 50; the Boii, H. 5, 8; war of Gallic mercenaries against the Carthaginians, Pu. 5; make an incursion from Europe into Asia, Sy. 65.
Gaza, town of Syria, Sy. 54.
Gelleius, L., lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 95; as consul defeated by Spartacus, C. I, 117.
Gemella, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
Genthius, king of the Illyrians, Ma. XVIII, 1; II. 9.
Germans in Caesar's army make themselves ridiculous by drink, C. II, 64; alarmed by an eruption of Mount Etna, V, 117; their king Ariovistus, G. I, 3; XVI, XVII.
Geronia, town of Apulia, H. 15, 16.
Geta, proscribed, loses an eye, C. IV, 41.
Getae, a people of Sarmatia in Europe, Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; II. 3, 4, 13; C. II, 100; III, 25.
Glaber, Varinius (error for Claudius Glaber), C. I, 116.
Gladiators, war of, C. I, 111, 116–121; at Rome, C. II, 118; V. 26; in the army of Decimus Brutus, III, 49; of Lucius Antonius, V, 30, 33; of Antony at Cyzicus, 137.
Glanis, river of Spain, C. I, 89.
Glaphyra, mother of Sisinna, king of Cappadocia, C. V, 7.
Glaucia, Roman senator, C. I, 28, 32.
Glintidiones, a people of Dalmatia, II. 16.
Gomphi, town of Thessaly plundered by Caesar, C. II, 64.
Gordiene, town of Armenia Minor, Mi. 105.
Gordius, general of Mithridates, Mi. 66.
Gracchus, Sempronius, proconsul against the Lucanians, betrayed and loses his life, H. 35.
Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, praetor of Spain, captures Complega, Sp. 43.
Gracchus, Tiberius Sempronius, son of the preceding, tribune, C. I, 2 *sq.*; proposes agrarian law and is slain on the Capitoline hill, 9–16; his father and mother, 17.
Gracchus, Gaius Sempronius, brother of the preceding, triumvir for apportioning the land under agrarian law, C. I, 13; as tribune

enacts law for monthly distribution of corn, 21; carries through law for transferring judicial power to the knights, 22; tries to secure right of Roman citizenship for Latins and Italian allies, 23; marks out boundary of the colony of Carthage in Africa, 24; is killed in Rome, 32 *sq.*

Granius, Q., exiled, C. I. 60.

Greeks, the power of, Pr. 8; in Spain, Sp. 2, 7; H. 2; in Italy, H. 8; subjected to Roman rule, Ma. III, 1; Antiochus crosses over to Greece, Sy. 7, 12 *sq.*; Greeks in Asia freed from rule of Antiochus, 44; Greek names of Syrian and Asiatic cities, 57; Greeks inhabiting Pontus, Mi. 15; the Achaeans of Scythia slaughtered the Greeks who fell into their hands, 102; Mithridates cultivates the arts and religion of Greece, 112; Greek cities in Moesia, Il. 30; Sulla transfers Greek dramatic spectacles to Rome, C. I, 99; Greeks formerly in Thrace, IV, 102.

Grumentum, town of Lucania, C. I, 41.

Gulussa, son of Masinissa, Pu. 70, 73, 106, 109, 111, 126.

Gymnasium, Sy. 10, 46, 69; C. I, 102; V, 11.

H

Hadrian, born at Italica in Spain, Sp. 38; destroys Jerusalem, Sy. 50; renews practice of appointing proconsuls in Italy, C. I, 38; restores Pompey's monument in Egypt, II, 86.

Hadrumetum, town in Africa, Pu. 33, 47, 94.

Hamilcar Barca, father of Hannibal, H. 2; Carthaginian commander in Sicily, Si. II, 3; Sp. 4; H. 2; cause of war between Africans and Carthaginians, *ib.*; commander of the Carthaginians against the Numidians, Sp. 4; H. 2; in Spain, Sp. 5; H. 2.

Hamilcar, prefect of Carthaginian fleet, Pu. 24, 25, 30.

Hamilcar, the Samnite, chief of democratic faction, Pu. 68; attacks Gulussa by ambush, 70.

Hannibal, son of Hamilcar Barca, brother-in-law and lieutenant of Hasdrubal, Sp. 6; commander of the Carthaginians in Spain, Sp. 8; H. 3; swears eternal hatred of the Romans, Sp. 9; H. 3; makes war on the Saguntines, Sp. 10 *sq.*; H. 3; destroys Saguntum, Sp. 12; crosses the Alps, Sp. 13; H. 4; puts P. Scipio to flight at Ticinus and crosses the Po, H. 5; defeats Scipio and Sempronius at Trebia, 7; defeats and kills Flaminius at Thrasimenus, 10; destroys army of Centenius at Plestine marsh, 11; has an indecisive engagement with Minucius, 12; caught in a trap by Fabius but escapes, 14; in vain seeks aid from the Carthaginians, 16; calls his brother Hasdrubal from Spain, *ib.*; destroys Roman army at Cannae, 19–24; gets possession of Petilia with difficulty, 29; his affairs begin to decline, 30; makes an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, Ma. I; burns wife and children of Dasius of Arpi, 31; Tarentum betrayed into his hands, 32; marches from Capua to Rome, 38; after reconnoitring returns to Capua, 40; gives himself up to luxury, 43; acts as judge between Dasius and Blatius, 45 *sq.*; kills pro-consul Fulvius, 48; eulogizes and criticizes Marcellus, 50; oppresses his allies, 54, 57; having devastated Italy for sixteen years, withdraws unwillingly, 60; sails for Hadrumetum, Pu. 33; procures truce for Carthaginians, 37; interview with Scipio, 39; defeated by Scipio, 40 *sq.*; flees to Hadrumetum and prepares new army, 47; persuades his countrymen to accept peace, 55; visits Antiochus, Sy.

4; his advice to Antiochus rejected, 7, 14; urges the Carthaginians to renew war with the Romans, 7; colloquy with Scipio concerning the world's greatest generals, 10; besieged by the Rhodians, 22; after overthrow of Antiochus takes refuge with Prusias, his death, 11; destroys four hundred cities in Italy, Pu. 64, 134; breaker of treaties, H. 3, 10, 54, 57 *sq.*; his stratagems, 6, 14, 18, 26, 40, 51; Pu. 33; Sertorius is called Hannibal by the Celtiberians, C. I, 112.

Hannibalic history, of Appian, Pr. 14; Sp.14; Pu. 2.

Hanno, Carthaginian prefect of horse captured by the Romans, is exchanged for the mother of Masinissa, Pu. 14.

Hanno, at Cannae, H. 20; captures Petilia, 29; besieges Tarentum, 33; captures Thurii, 34; brings succour to Capua while it is besieged, 36; delivered to the Romans by the Capuans, 43.

Hanno, betrayed by the Celtiberians to Marcius, Sp. 31.

Hanno, son of Bomilcar, Pu. 24; tampers with Spaniards in Scipio's camp, 29; calumniates Hasdrubal to the people, 30; repulsed from Utica, *ib.*

Hanno the Great, sent against the Numidians, Sp. 4; recalled home, 5; snatches the Roman ambassadors from fury of the people, 34; goes as ambassador to Scipio, 49; leader of Romanizing faction, 68.

Hanno the White, Pu. 108.

Harpalus, general of Cyrus, C. IV, 80.

Harpax ("grip"), an invention of Agrippa, C. V, 118 *sq.*

Harpessus, river of Thrace (Appian's error for Arda), C. IV, 103.

Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, left by him in Spain, Sp. 13; H. 4; recalled to Africa, Sp. 15; sent back to Spain, kills P. Scipio, 16; recruits mercenaries in Celtiberia, 24; H. 52; summoned to Italy by Hannibal, crosses the Alps, Sp. 28; H. 16, 52; defeated and slain, 52.

Hasdrubal, grandson of Masinissa, city praetor of Carthage, Pu. 93; falsely accused and beaten to death, 111.

Hasdrubal, prefect of fleet, sent to bring Hannibal home, H. 58; attacks Scipio's ambassadors, Pu. 34.

Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca, Sp. 4, 6, 8; H. 2.

Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, Sp. 16, 24; vanquished by Scipio, 24 *sq.*; dines with Scipio as guest of Syphax, 30; his daughter Sophonisba, betrothed to Masinissa, is given to Syphax by the Carthaginians clandestinely, 37; Pu. 10; lays a trap for Masinissa and Scipio in Africa, Pu. 10–15; his camp captured by Scipio, 21; condemned to death, seizes command of the army without authority, 24; reappointed, 36; ends life by poison, 38.

Hasdrubal, the Boëtharch, commands army against Masinissa, Pu. 70–73; condemned to death in his absence, 74; recalled and made commander of forces outside city, 93; defeats Romans with great slaughter, 102; betakes himself to city, where he is besieged by Scipio, 114 *sq.*; when city is captured he comes from citadel and presents himself as a suppliant to Scipio, 130; upbraided by his wife, who commits herself and her two children to the flames, 131.

Hasdrubal Eriphus, protects Roman ambassadors, Pu. 34; ambassador to Scipio, 49 *sq.*

Hebrews, auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71.

Hebrus, river of Thrace, C. IV, 103.

Hecatompylos, town of Parthia, Sy. 57.

Hegesianactes, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 6.

Helenus, lieutenant of Octavian, C. V, 66.
Heliodorus, ensnares Seleucus Philopator, Sy. 45.
Hellespont, Ma. IX, 5; Sy. 23, 28 *sq.*, 53, 62; Mi. 95; C. II, 88, 111.
Hellespontines, Sy. 1; C. II, 71.
Helvetii, G. I, 3; XV.
Helvius, M. Sp. 39; another, Il. 21.
Heniochi, auxiliaries of Mithridates, Mi. 69, 102, 116.
Hephaestion, general of Alexander, Sy. 57; C. II, 152.
Heraclea, town of Italy, H. 35; of Pontus, Mi. 83.
Heraclides, of Byzantium, ambassador of Antiochus, Sy. 29; another, 45, 47.
Heraea, town of Macedonia, Sy. 57.
Hercules, expedition against Amazons, Mi. 83; builder of Dyrrachium, C. II, 39; temple of, at Gades, Sp. 2, 65; at Tibur, C. V, 24; pillars of, Sp. 2, 57 *sq.*; Pr. 1; Mi. 93, 119, 121; watchword of Pompey, C. II, 76; Alexander descended from, 151; also Antony, III, 16, 19.
Herdonia, town of Apulia, H. 48.
Hermocrates, general of Mithridates, Mi. 70.
Herod, king of Idumaea and Samaria, C. V, 75.
Hiempsal, Numidian prince, C. I, 62, 80.
Hiera, island of, C. V, 105 *sq.*
Hiero, king of Syracuse, Si. II, 2.
Hieronymus, of Cardia, historian, Mi. 8.
Himilco, surnamed Phameas, Carthaginian leader of horse, Pu. 97, 100, 104, 107–109.
Hippagreta, town of Africa, Pu. 110, 135.
Hippasini, a people of Pannonia, Il. 16.
Hippo, city of Africa, besieged by Scipio, Pu. 30.
Hippocrates of Syracuse, Si. III.
Hipponium (Vibo), town in Bruttium, C. IV, 86; V, 91, 99, 103, 105, 112.
Hirpini, Samnite people, C. I, 39, 51.
Hirtius, consul after Caesar's death, C. III, 50; falls at Mutina, 65 *sq.*, 70 *sq.*, 76.
Hirtius, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
Homer cited, Pu. 132; Mi. 1; C. III, 13; IV, 134; cited indirectly, It. VIII, 2; Pu. 71; C. II, 81.
Hortensia, daughter of orator Hortensius, her speech to triumvirs, C. IV, 32 *sq.*
Hortensius, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 43.
Hortensius, receives wife of Cato as loan, C. II, 99.
Hydrus, or Hydruntum, town of Apulia, C. II, 40.
Hypaepeni, people of Lydia, Mi. 48.
Hypsaeus, condemned for bribery, C. II, 24.
Hyrcani, people of Asia, Sy. 55.

I

Iapydes, an Illyrian people, Il. 10, 14, 16; transalpine, 17–21, 22.
Iassus, town of Caria, Mi. 63.
Iazyges, a people of Sarmatia, Mi. 69.
Iberians of Asia, Mi. 101, 103, 104, 116 *sq.*
Iberus, river of Spain, Sp. 6 *sq.*, 43; H. 2; Pu. 6; C. I, 111.
Icilcus (perh. Silicius Corona), proscribed, C. IV, 27.
Icus, one of the Cyclades islands near Euboea, C. V, 7.
Ida, Mount, Pu. 71.
Idumaea, Mi. 106; C. V, 75.
Ilerda, town of Spain, C. II, 42.
Ilium, Pu. 132; Mi. 1; C. II, 20, 81; burned by Fimbria, Mi. 53, 61.
Illyria, a Roman province, Ma. XVIII, 1; wholly subdued by Augustus, Il. 16, 28; C. V, 128, 145; subjected to tribute, Il. 6; seventy-two towns destroyed in one day, 9; embraced with Cisalpine Gaul as Caesar's province, 15; C. II, 32; Gaius

Antonius appointed governor by Caesar, 41, 47; Gabinius appointed governor, II. 12; C. II, 59; Vatinius, II. 13; Brutus appointed governor of, together with Macedonia, II. 13; C. III, 63; IV, 75.
Illyrians, II. 1 *sq.*; harass Italy, 16; C. V, 145; Arthetaurus, prince of, Ma. XI, 2; Genthius, king of, XVIII, 1.
Illyrius, son of Polyphemus and Galatea, II. 2.
Ilurgis, town of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 32.
Ilus, or Iulus, supposed ancestor of the Julian *gens*, C. II, 68.
Imperator, in triumph, Pu. 66; accustomed to harangue the people concerning his exploits, Ma. XIX; imperators, Pr. 6.
India, Pu. 71; Sy. 55 *sq.*; Mi. 89; C. II, 149, 153 *sq.*; Indian merchandise, V, 9.
Indians, as leaders of elephants, H. 41.
Indibilis, chief of the Celtiberians, Sp. 37 *sq.*
Indus, the river, Sy. 55.
Inquilinus (a lodger), name applied to Cicero by Catiline, C. II, 2.
Insignia, of imperator, Mi. 43; C. V, 11, 41, 76, 111; of praetor lowered on a ship when he meets imperator, 55; elephant the insignia of fifth legion, C. II, 96.
Intercalary months, C. II, 154.
Intercatia, town of Spain, Sp. 53 *sq.*
Interfruini, an Illyrian tribe, II. 16.
Io, Mi. 101.
Ionian sea and gulf, Pr. 3; Pu. 87; H. 8, 12; Sy. 15, 16, 63; Mi. 95, 112; II. 3, 7; C. I. 5; II. 39, 49, 110; III, 9, 63, 96; IV, 115; V, 26, 55.
Ionians and Ionia, Ma. IV; XVIII, 3; Sy. 1, 51; Mi. 20 *sq.*; C. II, 49, 71, 89; IV, 82; V, 65; accustomed to obey kings of Asia, Sy. 12; pass under Roman rule, Mi. 118; Ionian islands, Pr. 5.
Ionius, son of Dyrrachus, C. II, 39.
Ipsus, town of Phrygia, Sy. 55.
Isaurians, in Asia Minor, near Mount Taurus, Mi. 75.
Isis, apparition of, at Rhodes, Mi. 27.
Issa, island in Illyrian waters, II. 7.
Ister (Danube), Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; Mi. 15, 69; II. 1, 3, 6, 14, 22.
Isthmian games, Ma. IX, 4.
Istri, a people on border of Italy and the Adriatic, II. 8.
Istrus, Greek town on border of Moesia, II. 30.
Italians, the best soldiers, C. I, 7; choose Scipio Africanus the younger as their patron, 19; Drusus promises them citizenship, 35; revolt from the Romans 38 *sq.*; Mi. 22.
Italy proper, within the Apennines, H. 8, 44; Italic Gaul, 8; fruitful of trees, 58; Mithridates thinks of invading it, Mi. 109; full of slaves, C. I, 7; proconsuls throughout Italy, 38; divided from Gaul by the Rubicon, II, 35.
Itucca, town of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 66, 97.
Ituraea, a country of Syria near Palestine, Mi. 106; C. V, 7.

J

Janiculum, hill of, C. I, 68, 71; III, 91, 94.
Jerusalem, chief city of Judaea, Sy. 50; Mi. 106.
Jews, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 106, 114, 117; by Trajan in Egypt, C. II, 90; Fr. II; compelled to pay heavier tribute than others, Sy. 50.
Juba, king of Mauritania, C. II, 44–46, 83, 87, 96, 100; IV, 53 *sq.*
Juba, son of the preceding, historian, C. II, 101.
Jugurtha, Sp. 89; Nu. I; III–V; C. I, 42.
Julia, mother of Antony, C. II, 143; IV, 37; V, 52, 63.

Julia, wife of Sextus Pompeius (error for Scribonia), C. V, 72.
Julian *gens* descended from Ilus, C. II, 68.
Julius, Lucius, put to death by faction of Marius, C. I, 72.
Julius, Sextus, relative of Julius Caesar, placed in command of legion in Syria, killed by his soldiers, C. III, 77; IV, 58.
Junius, prefect of the garrison at Tarentum, H. 32.
Juno, worship of, by the Etruscans, C. V, 49; Io flees from her jealousy, Mi. 101; temple at Lanuvium, C. V, 24; on the Lacinian promontory, 133.
Jupiter, on Mount Ida, Pu. 71; temple of, at Rhodes, Mi. 26; of Jupiter Stator, C. II, 11; Mithridates sacrifices to, Mi. 66, 70; both Caesar and Alexander descended from, 151; priest of, I, 65, 74.

L

Labeo, father of Labeo the jurisconsult, C. II, 135.
Labienus, proscribed, C. IV, 26.
Labienus, lieutenant of Caesar, G. I, 3; XV; afterward of Pompey, C. II, 62; after Pharsalus goes to Africa, 95; loses his life in Spain, 105.
Labienus, son of the preceding, general of the Parthians, C. V, 65, 133.
Lacedaemonians, send Xanthippus to the Carthaginians, Pu. 3; their tyrant Nabis, Ma. VII; their harmosts, C. IV, 7; laws of, Pu. 112; their alliance promised by the Aetolians to Antiochus, Sy. 12, 14; war with Epaminondas, 41; they join Mithridates, Mi. 29; and Pompey, C. II, 70.
Lacinian promontory, Sa. VII, 1; C. V, 133.
Laelius, lieutenant of Scipio Africanus the elder, Sp. 25 *sq.*; sent on a mission to Syphax, 29; with Masinissa pursues Syphax, Pu. 26–28; fights against Hannibal, 41, 44.
Laelius, lieutenant of Cornificius in Africa, C. IV, 53, 55 *sq.*
Laelius, C., lieutenant of Scipio the younger, Pu. 126 *sq.*; father-in-law of Fannius, Sp. 67.
Laetorius, M., associate of Marius, C. I, 60, 62.
Laevinus, Valerius, consul, Sa. X, 3.
Lafrenius, a leader in the Social War, C. I, 40, 47.
Lagidae, family of the, Mi. 121.
Lamponius, M., a leader in the Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*, 90, 93.
Lampsacus, city of Mysia on the Hellespont, Sy. 2, 29; Mi. 76; C. V, 137.
Land, Public, taken by war, how disposed of, C. I, 7; carelessly surveyed, 18; Caesar distributes Campanian land to fathers of three children each, II, 10.
Lania (or Lanassa), daughter of Agathocles married to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, Sa. XI, 1.
Lanuvium, town near Rome, C. I, 69; II, 20; V, 24.
Laodice, mother of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; another, wife of Antiochus Deus, 65.
Laodicea, six cities of this name founded by Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; of Phoenicia, *ib.*; on the river Lycus, Mi. 20; of Syria, Sy. 46; C. III, 78; IV, 52, 60, 62; V, 4, 7.
Laomedon, first governor of Syria after Alexander, Sy. 52; Mi. 9.
Largus, proscribed, C. IV, 28.
Larinates, a people on border of Apulia, C. I, 52.
Larissa, of Thessaly, Sy. 16; C. II, 83; of Syria, Sy. 57.
Laronius, sent by Octavian to help Cornificius, C. V, 112, 115.
Lasthenes, a Cretan general, Si. VI.
Laterensis, M. Juventius, senator, warns Lepidus against treachery in his army when confronting Antony, C. III, 84.
Latins, K. I, 1; alliance with the Romans, XII; Gaius Gracchus

promises them Roman citizenship, C. I, 23.
Latona, grove of, in the island of Rhodes, Mi. 27.
Laurentum, town of Latium, K. I, 1.
Lauro, town of Spain, C. I, 109.
Lavinia, daughter of Faunus, married to Aeneas, K. I, 1.
Lavinium, city of, K. I, 1.
Lavinius, river of, and island in it, C. IV, 2.
Legion, Roman, in the time of Hannibal, H. 8; tenth legion, C. II, 76, 79, 82; III, 83; mutinies, 92–94; Martian and fourth legion desert from Antony to Octavian, 45; Martian perishes in battle, IV, 115 *sq.*; fifth legion confronts the elephants at Thapsus, II, 96.
Lemnos, island in the Aegean, Mi. 77.
Lentulus, Conscellio, proscribed, flees to Sicily, C. IV, 39.
Lentulus, Cornelius, city praetor, one of the conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 2–6.
Lentulus, Gn. Cornelius, consul, longs to supersede Scipio in Asia, Pu. 56.
Lentulus, Gn., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.
Lentulus, L. Cornelius, consul, opposes Caesar, C. II, 33; follows Pompey, 36–38; commands right wing of Pompeians at Pharsalus, 76.
Lentulus, Marcellinus, appointed by Pompey governor of Syria, Sy. 51.
Lentulus, P. Cornelius, harangues the Senate on Scipio's proposals of peace with Carthage, Pu. 62–64.
Lentulus, P., lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, C. I, 40; put to death by Cinna and Marius, 72.
Lentulus, lieutenant of Cassius, C. IV, 72, 82.
Lentulus Spinther, P. Cornelius, one of Caesar's enemies, C. II, 119.
Leonidas, the Lacedaemonian, Sy. 18.
Leontini, inhabitants of Leontium, town of Sicily, Si. III.
Lepidus, *see* Aemilius.
Leptines, general of Demetrius, Sy. 46 *sq.*
Leptis, town of Africa, near Hadrumetum, Pu. 94.
Lethe, river of Lusitania in Spain, Sp. 71 *sq.*
Leuco, leader of the Numantines, Sp. 46.
Leucopetra, promontory of Italy, near Sicily, C. V, 109.
Leucophryne, Diana, C. V, 9.
Leucosyri, a people at the mouth of the river Thermodon in Pontus, Mi. 69.
Leuctra, where Epaminondas was victorious, Sy. 41.
Lex curiata, C. III, 94.
Lex (law): impious to enact a law when Jove thunders, C. I, 30; "let the laws sleep to-day," Pu. 112.
Libanus, Mount, Sy. 57.
Libo, cited, C. III, 77.
Libo, brother-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 52 *sq.*, 69, 71, 73, 139.
Liburni, a people of Illyria, H. 12, 16, 25; C. I, 77; II, 39; liburnicas (ships), C. II, 39.
Libyssus, river of Bithynia, Sy. 11.
Licinius Crassus, leader in Social War, C. I, 40.
Ligarius, Q., conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113; two brothers of that name proscribed, IV, 22; another, 23.
Liguria, a territory of Cisalpine Gaul, Pu. 9; Ligurians, Sp. 37; Pu. 40; Nu. III; C. I, 80; Ligurian sea, Mi. 95.
Lilybaeum, promontory of Sicily, looking toward Africa, C. II, 95; V, 97 *sq.*, 122.
Lipara, one of the Aetolian Islands, C. V, 97, 112.
Liris (really the Tolenus), river of Campania, C. I, 39.
Lissus, town of Illyria, H. 7.

Litenno, a leader of the Numantines, Sp. 50.
Liternus, river, C. I, 39.
Livius, prefect of fleet against Antiochus, Sy. 22–25.
Livius Drusus, tribune, C. I, 23; another, promises citizenship to Italian allies, passes a judiciary law, is killed, C. I, 35 *sq.*
Livy, the historian, perhaps cited, C. III, 77.
Locha, a town of Africa, Pu. 15.
Locri Epizephyrii, town of Bruttium, Sa. XII; H. 55.
Lollius, L., lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 95.
Loryma, castle of Rhodes, C. IV, 72.
Lucanians, revolt from the Romans in Hannibalic war, H. 35, 57 *sq.*, 43, 49; again in Social War, C. I, 39, 51, 53; the Sullan war, 90 *sq.*
Lucilius, at Philippi, pretends that he is Marcus Brutus, C. IV, 129.
Lucius, senator, sent with Pansa by the Senate to Brutus and Cassius, C. III, 85.
Lucius, proscribed and put to death, C. IV, 26.
Lucius Quintius, father-in-law of the consul Asinius Pollio, proscribed, C. IV, 27.
Lucretius Ofella, lieutenant of Sulla, C. I, 88, 94; put to death by him for disobedience, 101.
Lucretius Vespillo, proscribed, afterwards consul, C. IV, 44; his father proscribed by Sulla, *ib.*
Lucullea, games in honour of Lucullus, Mi. 76.
Lucullus, L. Licinius, consul, wages an unjust war against the Vaccaei in Spain, Sp. 49, 55; ravages Lusitania, 59; Scipio Africanus, the younger, his lieutenant, Sp. 49; Pu. 71.
Lucullus, L. Licinius, expels Tigranes from Syria, Sy. 49; lieutenant of Sulla in Mithridatic war, Mi. 33, 51, 56; consul and imperator he compels Mithridates to raise siege of Cyzicus, 72–76; overcomes generals of Mithridates and drives Mithridates himself out of Pontus, 77–83; overcomes Tigranes 84, 87; follows Mithridates when he returns to Pontus, 88 *sq.*; charged with protracting the war and deprived of his army, 90; returns to Italy (error of Appian for M. Vario Lucellus), C. I, 120; envious of Pompey's glory, II, 9.
Lucullus, M., lieutenant of Sulla, overcomes forces of Carbo, C. I, 92; brother of Lucius Lucullus, wages war against the Mysians, II. 30.
Lusitania, Sp. 56–61, 71 *sq.*; C. I, 110 *sq.*
Lusones, Spanish tribe on the Ebro, Sp. 42, 79.
Lutatius grants peace to the Carthaginians, Si. II, 1.
Lutatius Catulus, C. I, 74; another, consul of the Sullan faction, C. I, 105, 107.
Lutia, town of Spain near Numantia, Sp. 94.
Lycia, Sy. 4, 32, 53; Mi. 20 *sq.*, 24 *sq.*, 27, 95; the Romans give it to the Rhodians and take it away again, Sy. 44; Mi. 61 *sq.*; Brutus makes war against the Lycians, C. IV, 65, 75 *sq*; Antony grants them freedom from taxes, V, 7.
Lycomedes, priest of the goddess of Comana, Mi. 121.
Lycus, river of Asia Minor, Mi. 20.
Lysias, ambassador of Antiochus, Sy. 6.
Lysias, teacher of Antiochus Eupator, Sy. 46 *sq.*
Lysimacheia, port of the Thracian Chersonesus, C. IV, 88; founded by Lysimachus, rebuilt by Antiochus, Sy. 1, 3; abandoned by Antiochus and occupied by the Scipios, 28, 29.
Lysimachus, Sy. 1; attendant of Alexander, foresees his future greatness, 64; king of Thrace, Sy. 53 *sq.*; killed in war with Seleucus, 62, 64.

M

Macedonia, conquered by Aemilius Paulus, Ma. XIX; by Mithridates, Mi. 35; taken by Sulla, 41; harassed by Illyrian tribes, H. 5; Mi. 55; C. V, 75; the province of M. Brutus, H. 13; C. III, 2, 63; IV, 57 *sq.*, 75; given to Antony, III, 8; IV, 57; exhausted by Antony and Octavian, 117.
Macedonians, driven from Rome suddenly, Ma. XI, 9; phalanx, Sy. 19; Argeadae, 63; kings of Syria, 52 *sq.*; legions trained by Brutus in the Roman military drill, C. III, 79; IV, 75; empire, Pr. 10.
Macedonicus, Cestius, burns his house and himself in Perusia, C. V, 49.
Machares, son of Mithridates, Mi. 67, 78, 83, 102, 113.
Maecenas, prosecutes the son of Lepidus for conspiracy against Octavian, C. IV, 50; negotiates peace between Octavian and Antony, V, 64; executes various orders of Octavian, 53, 92 *sq.*, 99, 112.
Maeotic territories, Mi. 102.
Maeotis, lake, Mi. 15.
Magadates, general of Tigranes, Sy. 48 *sq.*
Magdalses, friend of Bocchus, Nu. V.
Magi, speech of, to Seleucus, Sy. 58; C. II, 154.
Magius, follower of Sertorius, Mi. 68, 72.
Magnesia, of Thessaly, Mi. 29; on the Meander, 21; at Mt. Sypylus, 21, 61; citizens of, Ma. VI.
Magnopolis, city of Pontus, Mi. 115.
Mago, son of Hamilcar and brother of Hannibal, H. 20.
Mago, prefect of horse to Hasdrubal, Pu. 15.
Mago, prefect of new Carthage, Sp. 19, 22.
Maharbal, lieutenant of Hannibal, H. 10 *sq.*, 20 *sq.*
Malia, town of Spain, Sp. 77.
Maliac gulf, between Thermopylae and Phthiotis, Ma. VIII.
Mallius, C., one of the conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 2.
Mallus, town of Cilicia, Mi. 96.
Mamertines, a people at the straits of Sicily, Sa. IX, 1.
Mancaeus, appointed by Tigranes governor of Tigranocerta, Mi. 84, 86.
Mancinus, Hostilius, supersedes Pompeius in Spain, Sp. 79; delivered naked by the Romans to the Numantines, who refuse to receive him, 83.
Mancinus, L., at siege of Carthage, Pu. 110–114.
Manilius, Manius, praetor of Spain, Sp. 56; as consul sent to Carthage, Pu. 75, 94–105, 108–110.
Manius, procurator of Antony, stirs up strife against Octavian, C. V, 12, 19, 22, 29, 32, 66.
Manlius, Aulus, lieutenant of Marius, Nu. IV.
Manlius, L., Roman senator killed at Chalcedon, Mi. 71.
Manlius, Marcus, saves Rome from the Gauls, It. IX.
Manlius, in command against the Boii, H. 5.
Manlius Torquatus, lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 59.
Manlius Torquatus, vindicates his father against accusation, Sa. II, III.
Manlius Vulso, after Scipio commander against Antiochus, Sy. 39, 42 *sq.*
Marathon, battle of, H. 39.
Marcellus, Claudius, Si. IV, V; 27, 50; another, Sp. 48–50.
Marcellus, Claudius, consul, cousin of the preceding, also hostile to Caesar, C. II, 26, 30; delivers his sword to Pompey, 31; another, consul, orders the tribunes Antony and Curio out of the Senate lest harm come to them, 33; follows Pompey into Epirus, 37 *sq.*
Marcellus, M., consul, enemy of Caesar, C. II, 26.

Marcellus, first husband of Octavia, C. V, 64.
Marcellus, son of the preceding, C. V, 73.
Marcius, C., Spaniard from Italica, Sp. 66.
Marcius Censorinus, consul, at siege of Carthage, Pu. 75, 80 *sq.*, 86, 97.
Marcius Censorinus, C., adherent of Carbo, C. I, 71, 88, 90.
Marcius Coriolanus, It. II, V; C. I, 1.
Marcius Philippus, persuades the Rhodians to send ambassadors to Rome, Ma. XIV, XVII.
Marcius Philippus, praetor, Sy. 51; his daughter, Marcia, wife of Cato, C. II, 99.
Marcius Philippus, L., step-father of Octavian, C. III, 10, 13.
Marcus, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
Marcus, lieutenant of Brutus, bought as a slave by Barbula, afterward consul, C. IV, 49.
Marius, Gaius, Nu. IV, V; G. I, 2; Il. 4; Mi. 51, 60; in his sixth consulship, by a stratagem, causes Metellus to be exiled, C. I, 29–31; lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, 40 *sq.*, 43 *sq.*, 46; seeks to snatch the command of Mithridatic war from Sulla, 55; vanquished by Sulla in battle, and declared public enemy, 58, 60; flees to Minturnae, thence to Africa, 61 *sq.*; returns, joins Cinna, and marches toward the city with an army, 67–71; slaughters his personal enemies, 71–74; dies while consul the seventh time, 75.
Marius, adopted son of the preceding, declared public enemy with his father, C. I, 60; flees to Africa, 62; son of the brother of Marius, 87; consul, vanquished by Sulla, flees to Praeneste *ib.*; shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, he sends orders to Rome to kill his enemies, 88; attempts in vain to escape, 90; commits suicide, 94.
Marius Gratidianus, of the faction of Cinna, C. I, 65.
Maronea, town of Syria, Sy. 57; of Thrace, C. IV, 87 *sq.*
Marrucini, a people of Italy, on the Adriatic coast, C. I, 39, 52.
Mars and Minerva, spoils of war are burned in honour of, Pu. 133; Sp. 57; Caesar invokes Mars, C. II, 68; temple of, fifteen stades from Rome, III, 41.
Marsi, a people adjacent to Latium, C. I, 39, 50, 52; proverb concerning them, 46.
Marsus, prefect of the guards of Laodicea, C. IV, 62.
Martian legion, C. III, 45, 66 *sq.*; IV, 115 *sq.*
Marullus, tribune, C. II, 108, 112.
Masinissa, son of king of the Massylii, Pu. 10; educated at Carthage, 10, 37; accompanies Hasdrubal to Spain, Sp. 25, 27; passes over to the Romans, 37; sends aid to them in Spain, 46; escapes plot of Hasdrubal and prepares an army for himself, Pu. 10–12; meets plot with counterplot, 13; fights against Syphax in alliance with the Romans, 14–28; receives his paternal kingdom and that of Syphax at the hands of the Romans, 32; against Hannibal, 37, 41–48; encroaches on territory of Carthage, 67–70; defeats Carthaginians, 71 *sq.*; his death, 105; his sons, *ib.*; his grandson Jugurtha, Sp. 89; his grandson Hasdrubal, Pu. 93.
Massathes, Numidian prince, Pu. 44.
Massilia (Marseilles), Sp. 40; C. II, 47; IV. 44; offerings of the Massilians in temple of Delphi, It. VIII, 1.
Massylii, a people of Africa, Pu. 10, 26 *sq.*
Mastanabal, son of Masinissa, Pu. 106.
Mazaca, town of Cappadocia, Mi. 115.
Medes, conquered by Pompey, Mi. 114; Median archers, C. IV, 88; Antony wages war against the Medes, V. 133; empire of the Medes, Pr. 9; Pu. 87.

Media, Sy. 1, 52, 55; Darius, king of, Mi. 106.
Mediterranean sea, Pr. 1, 2, 3, 5; Mi. 93 *sq.*
Megabates, general of the Armenians beyond the Euphrates, C. II, 71.
Megabyzus, priest of Diana of the Ephesians, C. V, 9.
Megalopolis, town of Arcadia, Sy. 13.
Megara, town of Attica, Mi. 30; suburb of Carthage, Pu. 117.
Melas, gulf between Thrace and Thracian Chersonesus, C. IV, 88, 101.
Melitenses, inhabitants of an island near Dalmatia, Il. 16.
Memmius, convicted of bribery under Pompey's law, C. II, 24.
Menander, prefect of horse, Mi. 117.
Menas, ambassador of Prusias, Mi. 4 *sq.*
Mendis, general of Antiochus, Sy. 33.
Menecrates, prefect of fleet of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 81–83.
Menenius, proscribed, C. IV, 44.
Menippus, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 6.
Menodorus, prefect of fleet of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 56, 66, 70–73, 77–82, 89, 96, 100–102.
Menophanes, persuades Mithridates to pardon his son Pharnaces, Mi. 110.
Meromenni, Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Merula, L., consul and priest of Jupiter, C. I, 65, 70, 74.
Mesembria, town of Lower Moesia, Il. 30.
Mesopotamia, under the Parthians, Sy. 48; under Seleucus, 53, 55; part subjugated by Pompey, Mi. 114.
Mesotulus, son of Syphax, a Numidian prince, Pu. 33.
Messala Corvinus, proscribed and pardoned, joins Brutus, C. IV, 38; after Philippi takes service under Antony, 136; lieutenant of Octavian against Sextus Pompeius, V, 102 *sq.*, 109, 112; his magnanimity, 113; overcomes the Salassi, Il. 17; has a triumph, C. IV, 38.
Messana, town of Sicily, Sa. IX, 2; C. II, 95; IV, 25, 39; V, 81, 84 *sq.*, 97, 103, 109, 121; Octavian besieges it, 117; Lepidus plunders it, 122.
Messenians, in Peloponnesus, Sy. 41.
Metapontum, town on the Tarentine strait, H. 33, 35; C. V, 93.
Metellus Nepos, lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.
Metellus, captured by Octavian, is saved by the prayers of his son, C. IV, 42.
Metrophanes, lieutenant of Mithridates, Mi. 29.
Metropolis, in Lydia, citizens of, Mi. 48.
Metulum, town of Illyria, Il. 19–21.
Micipsa, son of Masinissa, Pu. 70, 106; Sp. 67.
Micythio, lieutenant of Antiochus, Sy. 12.
Miletus, town of Ionia, Sy. 65; C. IV, 37; V, 9, 144.
Military discipline, restored by Scipio, Sp. 85 *sq.*; Pu. 115; weakened in the Civil Wars, C. V, 17.
Military service, the Bruttians forbidden to enter it, H. 61; only priests and old men exempted from, C. II, 150.
Milo, enemy of Clodius, C. II, 16, 20; kills Clodius, 21; tried and convicted, 24; excepted from Caesar's amnesty, 48.
Milonius, senator who joins faction of Cinna, C. I, 65.
Mina, an Attic coin, C. II, 102.
Mindius Marcellus, close friend of Octavian, C. V, 102.
Minerva, spoils of war burnt in honour of, Pu. 133; Sp. 75; palladium and temple of, at Ilium, Mi. 53; promontory of, C. V, 98.
Minius, river of Hither Spain, Sp. 72.
Minturnae, town on the coast of Latium, C. I, 61 *sq.*; IV, 28.
Minucius, follower of Pompey, C.

II, 54; another, soldier in Caesar's army, 60.
Minucius, proscribed, C. IV, 17.
Minucius Basillus, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113; killed by his own slaves, III, 98.
Minucius Rufus, master of horse, H. 12 *sq.*; another, prefect of Roman fleet of Byzantium, Mi. 17.
Minucius Thermus, military tribune under the elder Scipio in Africa, Pu. 36, 44; praetor of Spain, Sp. 39; sent to receive oath of Antiochus, Sy. 39.
Minurus, friend of Viriathus, Sp. 74.
Mithraas, general of Mithridates, Mi. 10.
Mithridates, Euergetes, Mi. 10, 57.
Mithridates, surnamed Eupator and Dionysus, king of Pontus, retaliates on Bithynia and Cappadocia, Mi. 10–16; wages war with Nicomedes and the Roman leaders, 17–19; seizes Phrygia and other parts of Asia, 20 *sq.*; massacres Romans in Asia, 22, 23; attacks Rhodes, 24–27; carries war into Greece by means of Archelaus, who is conquered by Sulla, 27–45; rage against the Chians and other suspected peoples, 46–48; sends reinforcements to Archelaus, but in vain, 49–51; makes peace with Sulla, 54–58; reduces the Colchians and other peoples of the Bosporus, 64; second Mithridatic war with Murena, 64–66; incites Tigranes against the Romans and forms an alliance with Sertorius, 67; third Mithridatic war, 68 *sq.*; compelled by Lucullus to raise siege of Cyzicus, 72 *sq.*; flees to Pontus in a small boat, 78; from Pontus to Tigranes, 81 *sq.*, 85 *sq.*; returns to Pontus, 88–90; Pompey marches against him, 97 *sq.*; Mithridates put to flight, 99 *sq.*; retreats to the Cimmerian Bosporus through Colchian and Scythian territory, 101 *sq.*, 107 *sq.*; contemplates an incursion into Italy, by way of the Alps with the help of the Gauls, 109; his death, 110 *sq.*; fortune, talents, and manners, 112 *sq.*; his sons, 108, 117; his daughters, 108, 111, 117; his grandson Darius, C. V, 75.
Mithridates, son of the preceding, Mi. 52, 64.
Mithridates, king of the Parthians, Sy. 51.
Mithridates of Pergamus, Mi. 121.
Mithridatis, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. 111.
Mithrobarzanes, king of Armenia, ally of Tigranes, Mi. 84.
Mitylenians, Ma. III, 1; Mi. 21; Mitylene, largest city of Lesbos, Mi. 52; C. II, 33; V, 133.
Mnaseas, prefect of fleet of Rhodes, C. IV, 66; V, 133.
Moentini, a people of Illyria, Il. 16.
Moesia, in Europe, Il. 6, 29 *sq.*
Molistomus, prince of an Illyrian tribe, Il. 4.
Molossi, a people of Epirus, Sa. XI, 1.
Monima, a wife of Mithridates, Mi. 21, 27, 48.
Mons sacer (the sacred mountain) of Rome C. I, 1; mountain of Venus, on the river Tagus, Sp. 64.
Moon, temple of, struck by lightning, C. I, 78.
Moors (inhabitants of Mauritania), Pr. 1; Il. 4; C. IV, 54; V, 26; Moorish archers, Pu. 40; Moors bordering the ocean, 106; free Moors, 111; Moors of Numidia, C. I, 42; Atlas, a Moorish mountain, Nu. V; Mauritania subjected to Roman rule, C. I, 100.
Mopsuestia, city on coast of Cilicia, Sy. 69.
Mucia, mother of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 69, 72.
Mummius, tribune, C. I, 13 *sq.*
Mummius, Roman general in Spain, Sp. 56 *sq.*; has a triumph for victories in Greece, Pu. 135; condemned to exile under Varian law, C. I, 37.
Munatius, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 34.

Murcinus, town of Macedonia near Philippi and the river Strymon, C. IV, 105.
Murcus, Statius, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 119; sent by Caesar to quell mutiny in Syria, III, 77; IV, 58; joins Cassius, III, 78; IV, 59; sent by Cassius with fleet to Peloponnesus, 74; entraps enemy's fleet at Brundusium, 82, 86, 100, 108, 115–117; joins Sextus Pompeius, V, 2, 15, 50; is put to death by him, 70.
Murderers of Caesar, all except Decimus Brutus welcomed by senatorial party, C. II, 146; all brought to punishment, 154; III, 26, 98; IV, 134.
Murena, lieutenant of Sulla, Mi. 32, 43; left by Sulla in Asia, 64 *sq.*, 93 *sq.*, 112.
Mutina, town of Cisalpine Gaul, IV, 2; V, 129; Decimus Brutus besieged by Antony in, III, 49 *sq.*
Myconius, a mountain of Sicily, C. V, 117.
Mylae, town of Sicily, C. V, 105 *sq.*, 108 *sq.*, 115 *sq.*
Myndus, town on coast of Caria, C. IV, 65 *sq.*, 71; an island, V, 7.
Mynnio, of Smyrna, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Myonnesus, city on coast of Lydia, Sy. 27.
Myra, town on coast of Lycia, C. IV, 82.
Myrtoan sea, part of the Aegean Pr. 5.
Mysia, in Asia, Sy. 42; Mi. 20; C. V, 7, 138; Mysian mounted bowmen, 32.

N

Nabataeans, Arabian tribe, Mi. 106.
Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, Ma. VII.
Narce, town of Africa, Pu. 33.
Naresii, a people of Dalmatia, Il. 16.
Naro, river of Dalmatia, Il. 11.
Nasidius, Roman noble, who deserts Sextus Pompeius and joins Antony, C. V, 139.
Naso, Sextius, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
Naval battle, at siege of Carthage, Pu. 112; of the Romans against Polyxenidas, admiral of Antiochus, Sy. 22, 27; between the Rhodians and Mithridates, Mi. 25; between the Rhodians and Cassius, C. IV, 71; between Sextus Pompeius and Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian, 85; between Calvisius, lieutenant of Octavian and Menecrates, lieutenant of Sextus Pompeius, V, 81, 83; of Agrippa against S. Pompeius, 106–108; naval spectacle represented at Rome, II, 102.
Naulochus, maritime town of Sicily, C. V, 116, 121.
Naxians, colony of, in Sicily, C. V, 109.
Naxos, one of the Cyclades Islands, C. V, 7.
Neapolis (Naples), city of Campania C. I, 89; Romans make war on the Neapolitans, Sa. IV, 5.
Neapolis of Macedonia, C. IV, 16.
Nemanes, an Armenian, Mi. 19.
Nemesis, chapel of, name given by Caesar to Pompey's monument in Egypt, C. II, 90.
Nemus, grove near Aricia containing a rich temple, from which Octavian borrowed money, C. V, 24.
Neoptolemus, general of Mithridates, Mi. 17, 19, 34.
Nepheris, town of Africa, Pu. 101, 108, 126.
Neptune, Scipio sacrifices to, Pu. 13; Octavian, C. V, 98; Mithridates plunges white horses into the sea in honour of, Mi. 70; Neptune beholds a battle from Samothrace, Pu. 71; Sextus Pompeius affects to be son of Neptune, C. V, 100; Dyrrachus son of Neptune, Il, 39.
Nergobriga, town of Baetica, Sp. 50.
Nergobriges, a people of Baetica in Spain, Sp. 48.

Nero, consul, H. 52; defeats and kills Hasdrubal at Metaurus, *ib.*; a senator, C. II, 5.
Nervii, a people of Belgic Gaul, G. I, 4.
Nicaea, city of Bithynia, Mi. 6, 77; C. V, 139.
Nicander, a pirate, Sy. 24 *sq.*
Nicanor, satrap of Cappadocia, Mi. 8.
Nicator, satrap of Media, Sy. 55.
Nicatorium, chapel enclosing tomb of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 63.
Nicephorium, town of Mesopotamia on the Euphrates, Sy. 57; citadel of Pergamus, Mi. 3.
Nicias, put to death by King Perseus, Ma. XVI.
Nicomedes son of Prusias, conspires against his father, and by the help of Attalus acquires the kingdom of Bithynia, Mi. 4–7.
Nicomedes Philopator, son of the preceding, king of Bithynia, Mi. 7; driven from his kingdom by his brother Socrates, 10; restored by the Romans, he makes war against Mithridates, is put to flight, 11–20, 57; is brought back to his kingdom by Curio, 60.
Nicomedia, city of Bithynia, Mi. 7, 52, 76; C. V, 139.
Nicopolis, town of Armenia founded by Seleucus, Sy. 57; another founded by Pompey in Lesser Armenia, Mi. 105, 115.
Nile, river of Egypt, Pr. 1; C. II, 90.
Nola, town of Campania, C. I, 42, 50, 65.
Nomads, Latin for Numidians, Pr. 1.
Nonius, tribune-elect, slain by faction of Glaucia, C. I, 28.
Nonius, centurion, killed by fellow-soldiers, C. V, 16.
Nonius, friend of Fimbria, Mi. 59.
Nonius, gate-keeper of Rome, C. V, 30.
Norba, town of Latium, C. I, 94.
Norbanus, C., consul, fights against Sulla, C. I, 82, 84, 86; defeated and flees to Rhodes, where he stabs himself, 91.
Norbanus, C. Flaccus, sent by Antony to occupy mountain passes against Brutus and Cassius, C. IV, 87, 103 *sq.*; 106 *sq.*; receives command of camp from Octavian, 130.
Norici, a German people between the Drave and the Danube, G. XIII; II. 6, 29.
Noverca, wife of Antiochus, Sy. 59–61.
Novum Comum (Como), Roman colony near Mediolanum (Milan), C. II, 26.
Novus Homo, C. II, 2.
Nuceria, town of Campania (and of Umbria), H. 49; Pu. 63; C. II, 38; IV, 3.
Nudus, naval officer of Mithridates, Mi. 71.
Numa Pompilius, K. II; sacred funds accumulated by him sold, Mi. 22.
Numantia, town of the Arevaci, Sp. 46, 66; its site, 76; Numantine war, 66, 76–98.
Numidia, divided among princes, Pu. 10.
Numidians, a people of Africa, H. 35, 50, 57; Pu. 9; Il. 4; C. I, 42; II, 44; V, 98, 113; their method of fighting, their supplies, their customs, Sp. 25; Pu. 11, 71; brought into a more civilized state by Masinissa, 106; single combat between a Numidian and a Gaul, C. I, 50.
Numitor, K. I, 2; Fr. 1, 3, 4.
Numitorius, C., is killed, C. I, 72.
Nymphaeum, stronghold of the Bosporus, Mi. 108; Illyrian port, C. II, 59.
Nyssa, daughter of Mithridates, Mi. III.

O

Obolcola, town of Lusitania, Sp. 68.
Ocean, Pr. 1; C. II, 32; V, 65; western and northern, Sp. 1; British, II, 150.
Ocile, town of Spain, Sp. 57.
Ocilis, town of Spain, Sp. 47.
Octavia, a Roman portico, Il. 28.

Octavia, the sister of Octavian, wife of Marcellus and afterward of Antony, C. V, 64, 67, 76, 93, 95, 138.

Octavius Caesar (Augustus), changes Roman government into a monarchy, Pr. 14; surname Augustus, Sp. 102; establishes colony at Carthage, Pu. 136; reduces Galatia to a province, Sy. 50; also Cappadocia, Mi. 105; also Egypt, Mi. 121; Il. 30; C. I, 5; subdues Illyrian tribes, Il. 16–29; adopted by his great-uncle Julius Caesar, C. II, 143; dedicates temple to him, 148; comes to Rome and accepts adoption in praetor's court, C. III, 9–14; presents himself to Antony, 14–20; offers Caesar's property for sale to pay legacy to Roman people, 21–28; his controversies with Antony, 28–39; draws Caesar's veterans to his side, 40 *sq.*; obtains honours and authority from Senate, 51 *sq.*; marches with Hirtius to relief of Mutina, 65 *sq.*; after the flight of Antony is neglected by Senate, 74 *sq.*; desires reconciliation with Antony, 80 *sq.*; seeks consulship by Cicero's help, 82; after Antony and Lepidus join forces is again honoured by Senate, 85 *sq.*; and created consul, 94; forms triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus and issues proscription, IV, 2 *sq* ; comes in conflict with Sextus Pompeius concerning Sicily, 82, 85; accompanies Antony to Macedonia, 86, 106, 108; not present at first battle of Philippi, 110 *sq.*; takes part in second battle, 127 *sq.*; shares provinces with Antony and returns to Italy, V, 3 *sq.*; contentions with Lucius Antonius, 14, 19 *sq.*; war with him, 29 *sq.*; siege of Perusia, 33–49; draws Antony's Gallic and Spanish legions over to himself, 51; asks Scribonia in marriage, 53; sends Lucius Antonius to Spain, 54; quarrels with Antony, is reconciled and betroths his sister Octavia to him, 57, 64; rescued by Antony from mob at Rome, 67 *sq.*; makes peace with Sextus Pompeius, 71–74; pacifies Gaul, 75; peace with Pompeius broken, 77; asks Antony to meet him at Brundusium, but does not come himself, 78 *sq.*; gains possession of Corsica and Sardinia through Menodorus, 80; invades Sicily, 81; his fleet suffers disaster at Cumae, 82–84; is wrecked by storm in the straits, 85–91; is reconciled with Antony and prepares new fleet, 92; interviews Antony at Tarentum and receives ships from him, 93–95; suffers another shipwreck in bay of Elea, 98 *sq.*; again attacks Sicily, 103; naval battle at Mylae, 106–108; with a part of his forces crosses to Tauromenium, where he is surrounded by enemies, 109 *sq.*; naval battle with Pompeius, 111; is defeated and returns alone to Italian coast, 112–115; rescues his men by means of Agrippa, *ib.*; occupies pass of Mylae, 116; with Lepidus lays siege to Messana, 117; in naval battle at Naulochus he overcomes Pompeius, 118 *sq.*; captures Messana, frustrates conspiracy of Lepidus, acquires all Sicily, and sends Lepidus to Rome as a private citizen, 122–127; quells mutiny among troops, 128 *sq.*; returns to Rome and receives boundless honours from the Senate, 130–132; marches against the Illyrians, 145; his memoirs cited, Il. 14 *sq.*; C. IV, 110; V, 45.

Octavius, colleague of Cinna in consulship, C. I, 64; put to death by Marius, 68–71.

Octavius, father of Octavius Caesar, C. III, 11, 23.

Octavius, Gnaeus, Roman legate sent to Syria to destroy elephants, himself killed, Sy. 46.

Octavius, lieutenant of Pompey, C. II, 47.

Octavius, lieutenant of Scipio against Hannibal, Pu. 41, 49.
Octavius, M., tribune, colleague of Tiberius Gracchus, C. I, 12.
Odessus, city of Mysia, Il. 30.
Odeum, of Athens, consumed by fire, Mi. 38.
Oenoandians, a people in the vicinity of Xanthus, in Lycia, C. IV, 79.
Oenomaus, a gladiator, C. I, 116.
Ofilius, seditious military tribune, C. V, 128.
Olcaba, a Scythian, deserts from Mithridates to Lucullus, Mi. 79.
Olophernes, king of Cappadocia with Ariarathes, Sy. 47, 48.
Olthaces, king of Colchis, Mi. 117.
Olympias, mother of Alexander, Sy. 54.
Olympic games, in the 175 Olympiad, C. I, 99.
Olympus, mountain of Mysia, Sy. 42.
Omens, presenting themselves to Seleucus, Sy. 56; to Alexander, *ib.*; to Lysimachus, 64; to Mithridates, Mi. 20; to Marius, C. I, 61; to Crassus, II, 18; to Pompey, 58, 68; to Octavian, V, 80.
Onobala, river of Sicily, C. V, 109.
Onomarchus, melts golden vase taken from Delphi during Phocian war, It. VIII, 1.
Opimius, consul, puts Gaius Gracchus and Flaccus to death, C. I, 25 *sq.*
Oppius, military tribune, Sp. 78.
Oppius, proconsul, Mi. 17; taken prisoner by Mithridates, 20; surrendered to Sulla, 112.
Oppius, proscript, saved by his son, C. IV, 41; son is created aedile, *ib.*
Oracle, of Delphi, consulted by the Romans, H. 27; of Ammon, C. II, 149; of Didymaeum, Sy. 56, 63; oracle respecting the death of Hannibal, Sy. 11; oracle announced to Sulla, C. I, 97; to the inhabitants of Sinope, Mi. 83.
Orchomenus, city of Boeotia, Mi. 49.
Orestea (or Orestias), a subdivision of Macedonia, Sy. 63.
Oricum, town on coast of Epirus, C. II, 54, 56.
Orodes, brother of Mithridates, king of the Parthians, Sy. 51.
Oroeses, king of the Albanians, Mi. 103, 117.
Oropus, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
Oroscopa, town of Africa, Pu. 70.
Orso, town of Baetica, in Spain, Sp. 16, 65.
Ostia, city at mouth of the Tiber, C. I, 67.
Ovation, procession inferior to triumph, C. V, 130.
Oxathres, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
Oxthracae, town of Lusitania, Sp. 58.
Oxyaei, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Oxydracae, a people of Hither India, C. II, 152.
Oxynta, son of Jugurtha, C. I, 42.

P

Padus (Po), river of Cisalpine Gaul, formerly Eridanus, H. 5; C. I, 109.
Paeon (or Pannonius), grandson of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
Palaestenians, a Sicilian tribe, C. V, 117.
Palarii, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 10.
Palestine, part of Syria, Pr. 2; subdued by Pompey, Sy. 50; Mi. 106, 118; *see also* Mi. 115, 117; C. III, 78; IV, 59; V, 7.
Pallacotta, river of Assyria, C. II, 153.
Palladium, Mi. 53.
Pallantia, a state of Spanish province of Tarraconensis, Sp. 55, 80, 82 *sq.*; 88; C. I, 115.
Palma, *see* Phoenix.
Palmyra, city of Syria, C. V, 9.
Pamphylia, on coast of Asia Minor, Sy. 22, 53; Mi. 8, 20, 56, 95; Pamphylians, Pr. 2; Sy. 32; Mi. 92; C. II, 49, 71; IV, 60; Pamphylian sea, Pr. 2; Pamphylian gulf, C. II, 149.

Panares, surrenders Cydonia to T. Metellus, Si. 6.
Pannonia, a country between Illyria and Danube, Mi. 102; Il. 1, 2, 3, 6, 14, 17, 22 *sq.*
Pansa, consul, C. III, 50; collects forces for relief of Mutina, 65; has battle with Antony near Mutina, 66–69; death and funeral, 76.
Pansa (son of above), sent to Brutus and Cassius, C. III, 85.
Panticapaeum, city on the confines of Europe, at the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 107, 120.
Paphlagonia, country of Asia Minor, Mi. 17, 21, 56, 68, 70, 112; Pompey gives it a king, 114; C. II, 71; adds it to Roman sway, 118.
Papias, general of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 104, 106 *sq.*
Papirius, Carbo, triumvir for dividing public lands, C. I, 18.
Papirius Carbo, Gn., colleague of Cinna, C. I, 67, 69; makes preparations for war against Sulla, 76–78, 82; proclaims Metellus and other followers of Sulla public enemies, 86; consul the second time, wages war with Sulla, 87, 89, 90 *sq.*; overcome by Metellus he flees to Africa, 91 *sq.*; is killed in Sicily, 96, 98.
Papius Mutilus, Italian general in Social War, C. I, 40, 42, 51; another, proscribed, IV, 35.
Papyrus, used for diadem, Mi. 111.
Parium, city of Asia Minor on the Propontis, Mi. 76.
Partheni, Illyrian tribe, Il. 2; C. IV, 88; V, 75.
Parthians, a people of Asia, subdued by Seleucus, Sy. 55; revolt from the Seleucidae, 65; capture Demetrius Nicator, 67; invaded by Antiochus, 1; son of Tigranes takes refuge among them, Mi. 104 *sq.*; Crassus loses his life in war against them, C. II, 18; remains of his legions, 49; IV, 59; Pompey contemplates flight to them, II, 83; Caesar contemplates war against them, 110; Il. 13; they send aid to Cassius, C. IV, 59, 63, 88; ravage Syria and Asia as far as Ionia, 63; V, 10, 65; Sy. 51; Antony undertakes Parthian war, C. V, 10, 65, 75, 133; meets disaster, 134; Sextus Pompeius offers himself to the Parthians as general, 133; cities in Parthia founded by Seleucus, Sy. 57.
Partho, daughter of Illyrius, Il. 2.
Parthus, town of Africa, Pu. 39.
Pasargada, town belonging to Persia, Mi. 66.
Patara, seaport of the Xanthians, Mi. 27; C. IV, 52, 81.
Patiscus, joins murderers of Caesar after the event, C. II, 119.
Patrae (Patras), town of Achaia, C. I, 79.
Paulus, basilica of, C. II, 26.
Pausimachus, of Rhodes, Sy. 23 *sq.*
Pedius, Q., one of the heirs under Caesar's will, C. III, 22; colleague with Octavian in consulship, 94, 96; first to enforce proscription, IV, 6; his death, *ib.*
Peducaeus, Sextus, prefect of Sardinia for Caesar, C. II, 48; Quintus, praetor of Spain, V, 54.
Peligni, a people of Italy proper, C. I, 39.
Pella, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
Pelopidas, colleague of Epaminondas, Sy. 41.
Pelopidas, legate of Mithridates, Mi. 12, 14–16, 27.
Peloponnesus, southern division of Greece, Ma. VIII; Mi. 95; C. IV, 74, 77, 80; contention between Sextus Pompeius and Antony respecting, V, 72, 77.
Pelorus, promontory, north-east extremity of Sicily, C. V, 105, 116.
People (the multitude), easily seduced, Pu. 50; unstable as the waves of the sea, C. III, 20; come to elections to be bought, II, 19; arbiters of peace and war, III, 55; and of the comitia, Pu. 112
Peparethus, island in the Aegean sea, off Thessaly, C. V, 7.

Peraea, district belonging to Rhodes, ravaged by Philip, king of Macedonia, Ma. IV.
Perdiccas, general of Alexander, Sy. 52, 57; Mi. 8.
Pergamenians, slothful in defending themselves against Seleucus, Sy. 26; kill Romans domiciled among them, Mi. 23; their kingdom left to the Romans in the will of Attalus, 62.
Pergamus, city of Asia Minor, Sy. 63; Mi. 19, 21, 52, 56; Philip attacks it, Ma. IV; Seleucus besieges it, Sy. 26; defended by Diophanes the Achaean, *ib.*; Prusias attacks Attalus, its king, Mi. 3; temple of Aesculapius there, 23; Trebonius forbids Dolabella to enter, C. III, 26.
Pericles, fortifies the Piraeus, Mi. 30.
Perinthus, town of Syria, Sy. 57.
Perpenna, legate of the Romans to the Illyrian King Genthius, Ma. XVIII, 1.
Perpenna, C., lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*
Perpenna, leads army to help Sertorius in Spain C. I, 107; defeated and put to flight by Metellus, 110; kills Sertorius, 113; Sp. 101; governs cruelly, C. I, 114; defeated by Pompey and killed, 115.
Perrhaebi, a people of Thessaly, Ma. XI, 1; Il. 2.
Perrhaebus, grandson of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
Perseus, king of Macedonia, accused before the Romans by Eumenes, Ma. XI, 1, 2; replies, 5, 8; as a victor offers peace to Crassus, XII; alarmed at news of enemy's approach, XV; throws his money into the sea, XVI; changes his habits, *ib.*; seeks aid from Genthius, XVIII, 1; Il. 9; also from the Getae, Ma. XVIII, 1, 2; captured by Aemilius Paulus, Sp. 65; his sister married to Prusias, Mi. 2.
Persians, empire of, Pr. 9; Pu. 87; Seleucus gains possession of, Sy. 55; law of, 61; solemn sacrifice of, Mi. 66; Darius, king of, 112; think it disgraceful to be in debt, C. I, 54; study and discuss their laws in marketplaces, II, 102; their Magi, 154.
Perthoneatae, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Perusia, town of Etruria, besieged, C. V, 32 *sq.*; one of the twelve original states of the Etruscans, 49.
Pessinus, town of Phrygia, H. 56.
Petilia, town of Magna Graecia, in Bruttium, H. 29, 57.
Petilius, legate of the Romans to Genthius, Ma. XVIII, 1.
Petreius, Roman general, lieutenant of Pompey in Spain, C. II, 42 *sq.*, 150; in Africa, 95; commits suicide with Juba, 100.
Petronius, privy to conspiracy against Caesar, C. V, 4.
Phaecasium, Attic shoe, C. V, 11, 76.
Phalanx, Macedonian, Sy. 19, 32, 35.
Phanagoria, city of Asiatic Sarmatia, at the Cimmerian Bosporus, Mi. 108, 113, 120.
Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, Mi. 87, 110–113, 120; C. II, 91 *sq.*
Pharsalus, town of Thessaly, C. II, 64; battle of, 75–82.
Pharus, island near Dalmatia, Il. 7 *sq.*
Phila, town of Macedonia, Ma. XVIII, 3.
Philadelphus, freedman of Octavian, C. V, 78.
Philemon, freedman, saves his former master, C. IV, 44.
Philetaerus, king of Pergamus, Sy. 63; another, brother of Eumenes, 5.
Philip, father of Alexander, Pr. 8; Il. 14; Sy. 19, 32, 54; C. II, 149; drives people of Chalcidice out of Thrace, IV, 102; fortifies Philippi, 105; his slayers, II, 154.
Philip V, king of Macedonia, his treaty with Hannibal, Ma. I; war and peace with the Aetolians and the Romans, III, 1, 2;

attacks Attalus and Rhodes, besieges Athens, IV; the Achaeans prefer him to the Romans, V; his colloquy with Flamininus, VII; being vanquished makes peace, VIII, 1, 3; helps Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 16 *sq.*, 21, 23; new bickerings and preparation for war, Ma. IX, 6; his son Demetrius, *ib.*
Philip, master of elephants to Antiochus, Sy. 33.
Philip, son of Alexander of Megalopolis, Sy. 13, 17.
Philippi, city of Macedonia, C. IV, 87, 103; its origin, name, and situation, 105 *sq.*; first battle of, 110–112; second battle of, 125 *sq.*; victory ascribed to Antony chiefly, V, 14, 53, 58.
Philocharis, of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 1.
Philoctetes, altar of, Mi. 77.
Philologists, of Athens, Antony attends their lectures, C. V, 11.
Philonidas, of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 2.
Philopator, Nicomedes, Mi. 7.
Philopoemen, father of Monima, Mi. 21, 48.
Philotimus, conspires against Mithridates, Mi. 48.
Phocaea, city of Ionia, Sy. 22, 25.
Phocian war, It. VIII, 1,
Phocians, lend aid to Antiochus, Sy. 21.
Phocis, country of Greece between Boeotia and Aetolia, Ma. VIII; Mi. 41.
Phoenicia, Pr. 2; Sy. 22; Mi. 13, 56, 95; considered part of Syria, 116, 118; subject to Romans, Sy. 50; Mi. 106.
Phoenicians, build Carthage, Pu. 1; settle in Spain, Sp. 2; auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71; also of Cassius, IV, 60.
Phoenix, town of Sicily, (= Palma), C. V, 110.
Phoenix, general of Mithridates, Mi. 79.
Phraates, king of the Parthians, captures Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 67 *sq.*
Phraates, king of the Parthians, son of Sintricus, seeks friendship of Pompey, Mi. 104; wages war against Tigranes, 106.
Phrygia, country of Asia Minor, Sy. 53; Mi. 20, 65, 112; C. II, 39; V. 7; inland, Sy. 55; on Hellespont, 62; given to Mithridates by Romans, Mi. 12, 57; taken away again, *ib.* 13; declared free by Romans, 57; added to Roman sway, 118.
Phrygians, Sy. 32; Mi. 41; unwarlike, 19; worship the Mother of the gods at Pessinus, H 56; auxiliaries of Pompey, C. II, 71.
Phrygius, river of Ionia, Sy. 30.
Picentines, take arms against Romans, C. I, 39.
Picenum, country of Italy proper on Adriatic coast, Sa. VI, 1; G. XI; C. I, 80, 117; II, 2; III, 66, 93.
Pinarius, an heir of Caesar, C. III, 22; given charge of war material at Amphipolis by Antony, IV, 107.
Pindarus, shield-bearer of Cassius. C. IV, 113.
Pinnes, son of Argo, king of Illyria, H. 7 *sq.*
Piraeus, seaport of Athens, Sy. 22; C. I, 79; occupied by Archelaus, Mi. 29; fortified by Pericles, 30; besieged by Sulla, 31 *sq.*; burned, 41.
Pirates, their beginning and growth, Mi. 92 *sq.*; their destroyer Pompey, 91, 94–96; C. I, 111; aided by the Cretans, Si. VI, 1; by order of Sextus Pompeius they infest the seas, C. V, 77, 80; Mithridates takes flight in a piratical craft, Mi. 78; Demetrius practices piracy, H. 8; Clodius captured by pirates, C. II, 23.
Pisidia, country of Asia Minor near Mount Taurus, between Pamphylia and Phrygia, Sy. 9; subdued by Eumachus for Mithridates, Mi. 75; Amyntas appointed its king by Antony, C. V, 75.
Pisistratus, governor of Cyzicus

during its siege by Mithridates, Mi. 73.
Pitane, town of Mysia, near Pergamus, Mi. 52.
Pithagoras, soothsayer, C. II, 152.
Pithecusa, island near Neapolis, also called Aenaria, C .V, 69.
Pius, Metellus, C. I, 33.
Placentia, city of Cisalpine Gaul, H. 5, 77; C. I, 92; II, 47.
Plague, the, Pu. 73; Mi. 76; II. 4.
Plancus, with three legions in Farther Gaul, C. III, 46; ordered to make war against Antony, 74; joins Decimus Brutus, 81; goes over to Antony, 97; his brother Plotius proscribed while he is consul, IV, 12; arranges at the instance of Antony for the restoration of Lucius Caesar to citizenship, 37; also of Sergius, 45; destroys a legion of Octavian, 33; hesitates to join Lucius Antonius at Perusia, 35; deserted by his army flees from Italy, 50, 61; is made governor of Syria by Antony, 144.
Plataea, comes to help of Athens, H. 39.
Plato, his *Apology of Socrates*, Sy. 41; his treatise on the soul, C. II, 98.
Plautius, C., vanquished by Viriathus, Sp. 64.
Plebeians of Rome, withdraw to the Sacred Mount, C. I, 1; come to voting place with concealed daggers, II, 10; much mixed with foreign blood, 120; plunder private houses to obtain food, V, 34; receive three hundred sesterces per man as a legacy from Caesar, II, 134; subjected to taxation by triumvirs, IV, 5, 96; attack Octavian with stones in Forum, V, 68.
Pleminius, made prefect of Locri by Scipio, H. 55.
Plenius, (or Plinius) L. Rufus, lieutenant of Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 97 *sq.*, 122.
Plestine marsh, H. 9, 11.
Plotius, brother of Plancus, proscribed, C. IV, 12.
Plotius Varus, lieutenant of Pompey in war against the pirates, Mi. 95.
Poediculi, a people of Italy, in Apulia, C. I, 52.
Polemo, appointed king of part of Cilicia by Antony, C. V, 75.
Polemocratia, widow of a Thracian prince, C. IV, 75.
Pollux, Mi. 101, 103.
Polybius, tutor of Scipio Africanus the Younger, his history cited, Pu. 132.
Polyphemus, his sons, daughters, and grandchildren, II. 2.
Polyxenidas, Rhodian exile and admiral of Antiochus, Sy. 14, 21, 24.
Pompaean mountains, C. I, 50.
Pompeians, boast before battle of Pharsalus, C. II, 69; Pompeian gardens, III, 14.
Pompeii, town of Campania, takes arms against Romans in Social War, C. I, 39.
Pompeiopolis, town of Cilicia, Mi. 115.
Pompeius, Gn., father of Pompey the Great, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40, 47, 50, 52; kills Quintus Pompeius, 63; drives Marius from Rome, 66–68; is killed by lightning, 68, 80.
Pompeius, Gn., son of the preceding, C. I, 40, 80; his title, "the Great," Mi. 97, 118, 121; C. I, 4; II, 86; assists Sulla in the Civil War, I, 80, 87–89, 92; sent by Sulla against Carbo in Africa, 80, 95 *sq.*; sent against Sertorius in Spain, Sp. 101; C. I, 80, 108; loses a legion, 109; defeated and severely wounded by Sertorius, 110; overcomes Perpenna, 115; with Crassus finishes war with Spartacus, 119; quarrels with Crassus concerning honours, 120 *sq.*; designated consul with Crassus, dismisses his army and shakes hands with his colleague, 121; made commander of the sea for three years against pirates, ends war in short time,

Mi. 94, 96; made general-in-chief of war against Mithridates, with command over all armies outside Italy, 97; overcomes Mithridates and puts him to flight, 97–100; pursues him to Colchis and reduces the Albanians and Iberians, 103; receives the surrender of Tigranes, king of Armenia, 105; reduces and regulates eastern kingdoms as far as Egypt, 106 *sq.*; Sy. 49–51, 70; orders corpse of Mithridates to be buried in royal tomb at Sinope, Mi. 113; concedes kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosporus to Pharnaces, *ib.*; list of his exploits in the East, 114 *sq.*; his triumph, 116 *sq.*; demands of the Senate that his acts be ratified, C. II, 9; joins Caesar and Crassus in forming first triumvirate, 9, 14; approves Caesar's measures, 10; his own acts ratified through Caesar's influence, 13; marries Caesar's daughter, 14; causes Cicero's recall from exile, 16; elected consul by violence in the comitia, 17; governs provinces of Spain and Africa by proxy, 18; remains himself in Italy and is put in charge of corn supply, *ib.*; his wife Julia dies, 19; he longs for dictatorship, *ib.*; is made consul without a colleague, 23; passes a law concerning bribery, *ib.*; becomes sole power in the city, 25; his contention with Caesar about laying down authority, 26–30; consuls present him a sword and tell him to defend the republic; beginning of the Civil War, 31 *sq.*; sends forces across the Adriatic to Dyrrachium, 38; follows with remainder, 40; addresses officers and soldiers, 49 *sq.*; defeats Caesar at Dyrrachium, but does not make good use of victory, 61 *sq.*; follows Caesar to Pharsalus, 65 *sq.*; his army and allies, 70, 71; his speech before battle, 72; battle of Pharsalus, 76–81; flees to Larissa, 81; thence to Mitylene and finally to Egypt, 83; is killed, 84 *sq.*; his head shown to Caesar, 86, 90; his monument and epitaph, 86; his sons Gnaeus and Sextus, and his daughter, 100; his theatre, 115; Antony buys his property at sale *sub hasta*, V. 79; his memory remains in public mind, 99.

Pompeius, Gn., son of preceding, raises army in Spain, C. II, 87, 103; defeated by Caesar and killed, 104 *sq.*

Pompeius Aulus, Sp. 64; successor of Metellus at Numantia, 76 *sq.*; makes deceitful peace with Numantines, 79; delivers worthless army to his successor, 83.

Pompeius, Quintus, consul with Sulla, C. I, 56; joins forces with Sulla when the latter advances against the city, 57; killed in a military assembly, 63.

Pompeius, Q. son of preceding and son-in-law of Sulla C. I, 56.

Pompeius, Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, moves about Spain in hiding with a few followers, C. II, 105; IV, 83; V, 143; pursued by Caesar's officers, II, 122; III, 4; recalled by Senate and invested with command of the sea, *ib.*; IV, 84; occupies Sicily, 84 *sq.*; proscribed by triumvirs, 96; gives refuge to proscripts, 25, 36; V, 143; naval engagement with Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian, IV, 85; cuts off supplies of Antony and Octavian, 100, 108, 117; Murcus joins forces with him, V. 2, 25; brings famine upon Rome, 15, 18, 67; infests coast of Italy, 19, 56, 58, 62; prefers defence to attack, 25, 91, 143; sends Antony's mother to him, and gains his friendship, 52, 62 *sq.*; Octavian not willing to be reconciled to him, 65 *sq.*; holds Corsica and Sardinia, 67; puts Murcus to death, 70; makes peace with

Octavian and Antony, 71–74; his mother, Mucia, 69, 72; peace broken, 77; war with Octavian, 81 *sq.*; wins naval battle against Octavian, 85; allows Octavian's shattered fleet to escape, 91; calls himself the son of the sea and of Neptune, 100; looks on at battle of Mylae, 105 *sq.*; swoops upon his enemy at Tauromenium, but again wastes opportunity, 110 *sq.*; naval fight at Naulochus, 118 *sq.*; vanquished, flees from Sicily, sends legates to Antony and also to the Parthians, 133 *sq.*; received in Asia by Antony's lieutenant Furnius, with whom he wages war, 137 *sq.*; forced to surrender and is killed, 142, 144; summary of his exploits, 143.

Pomponius, tribune, accuses father of M. Torquatus, Sa. II.

Pomponius, prefect of horse to Lucullus, captured by Mithridates, Mi. 79.

Pomponius, proscribed, escapes in guise of a praetor, C. IV, 45.

Pomponius, M., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.

Pontic sea (the Euxine), Pr. 2, 4; Mi. 47, 118, 121; its mouth, 12, 17, 95, 107.

Pontifex Maximus (chief priest), Scipio Nasica, C. I, 16; Mucius Scaevola, 88; the Pompeians contend with each other for the office when held by Caesar, II, 69; position offered to Lepidus, 132; office held for life by one person, V, 131.

Pontilius, G., a leader of the Italians in Social War, C. I, 40.

Pontius Aquila, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.

Pontius the Samnite, sends the Romans under the yoke, Sa. IV, 2 *sq.*; his father, *ib.*, 3 *sq.*

Pontus, Mi. 1, 8, 78, 103, 107, 115, 119; C. II, 49, 87; V, 133; Mithridates the founder of Pontic kingdom, Mi. 9; kingdom of Pontus and Cappadocia formerly one, afterward divided, *ib.*; Pompey has a triumph on account of Pontus, 116; Darius appointed king of Pontus by Antony, C. V, 75; Pontus a Roman province, Mi. 121; Pontic nations, Pr. 2; Pontic people, Mi. 41, 92.

Popaedius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40, 44, 53.

Popilius, C., prefect of fleet, guards mouth of Euxine, Mi. 17; another, succeeds Pompeius in Spain, Sp. 79; another, draws a circle round Antiochus, Sy. 66.

Popilius Laena, senator, prays for success of Brutus and Cassius in their attempt on Caesar's life, C. II, 115; detains Caesar at entrance of senate-house, 116; another, kills Cicero, IV, 19 *sq.*

Popillius, overcomes the Gauls, G. I, 2.

Porcia, wife of Brutus, swallows live coals, C. IV, 136.

Postumius, consul, Sa. IV, 6; ambassador to the Tarentines, VII, 2; another, lictor of Bibulus, C. II, 12; another, lieutenant of Caesar, 58.

Pothinus, a eunuch, has charge of treasury of Ptolemy, brother of Cleopatra, C. II, 84, 90.

Praeneste, town of Latium, obtains Roman citizenship, C. I, 65; Sulla besieges younger Marius there, 87 *sq.*; place captured and cruelly treated, 94; occupied by Lucius Antonius, V, 21.

Praetor, has one-half of insignia of consul, Sy. 25; city praetor introduces ambassadors to Senate, Mi. 6; chooses ambassadors from Senate, *ib.*; two praetors with insignia of office captured by pirates, Mi. 93; praetor presides over comitia, C. I, 28; praetor killed in senate-house by people, who threw tiles down upon his head, 32; another killed while offering sacrifice, 54; praetor convokes Senate (in absence of the consuls), 88; Sulla forbids anybody

to hold praetorship before quaestorship, 100; no candidates for praetorship during war with Spartacus, 118; city praetor holds higher position than other praetors, II, 112; city praetor must not absent himself from the city, III, 2; adoption of son must be ratified in presence of praetor, 14; proscript escapes in guise of a praetor, IV, 45.
Praetorian guard, of Octavian, C. III, 66, 67; annihilated in battle near Mutina, 69.
Procas Silvius, K. I, 1.
Proconnesus, island of Propontis, C. V, 139.
Proconsuls, with consular power sent to Syria, Sy. 51; sent throughout Italy (Appian in error), C. I, 38; title of proconsul continues until he returns to the city, 80.
Prometheus, on Mount Caucasus, Mi. 103.
Promona, town of the Liburnians in Illyria, Il. 12, 25 *sq.*
Propontis, between Hellespont and Euxine, Mi. 95; C. V, 138.
Proscription, invented by Sulla, C. I, 95 *sq.*; IV, 1; reasons for proscription of triumvirs, 5; edict of, 8–11; number of proscribed, 5, 17 *sq.*; boys proscribed, 30; heads of proscribed carried to triumvirs, 7, 11; and exposed on the rostra, 15.
Proserpina, temple of, Sa. XII, 1, 2; H. 55; festival of, at Cyzicus, Mi. 75; rape of, C. IV. 105.
Protopachium, stronghold in Asia Minor, Mi. 19.
Prusias, king of Bithynia, surnamed the Hunter, Mi. 2; ally of the Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 23; Hannibal takes refuge with, and loses his life thereby, 11; after war with Perseus presents himself as suppliant, Mi. 2; attacks Attalus, king of Pergamus, 3; sends his son Nicomedes to Rome, 4; intending to kill his son, loses his own life, 6 *sq.*
Prusias (Broussa), under the mountain, town of Asia Minor, Mi. 77.
Prytanis, a magistrate of Rhodes, C. IV, 66.
Pseudo-Gracchus, C. I, 32 *sq.*
Pseudo-Marius, C. III, 57.
Ptolemy Euergetes, son of Ceraunus and king of Egypt, Sy. 65.
Ptolemy Lagus (or Soter), destroys walls of Jerusalem, Sy. 50; acquires Syria, 52; loses it again, 53; saluted as king, 54; companion of Seleucus at Babylon, 56; leaves kingdom of Egypt to his younger son, 62.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, second king of Egypt, his wealth, Pr. 10; friend of the Romans and the Carthaginians, Si. I; his daughter Berenice wife of Antiochus Deus, Sy. 65.
Ptolemy IV, Philopator, king of Egypt, Ma. III, 1; IV (*see* note); Sy. 1, 2, 4.
Ptolemy VI, Philometor, Sy. 66, 67, 68; Ma. XI, 4.
Ptolemy XI, Auletes, king of Egypt, Sy. 51; invites Pompey to suppress insurrection in his kingdom, Mi. 114; daughter of Mithridates betrothed to him, 111; driven from his kingdom by his own people, restored by Gabinius, Sy. 51.
Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, deprived of his kingdom by Clodian law, commits suicide, C. II, 23.
Ptolemy, a boy, son of Auletes, contends with his sister Cleopatra for kingdom and puts Pompey to death, C. II, 84; overcome by Caesar, 90; disappears at battle on the Nile, V, 9.
Publius, C. IV, 51; *see* Sestius.
Punic trenches, Pu. 32, 54; Punic War, first, Si. II, 2; Pu. 3 *sq.*; Sp. 3; second, 4; Pu. 6–37; H. 4–61; third, Pu. 74 *sq.*
Punicus, general of the Lusitanians, Sp. 56.
Puteoli (Pozzuoli), town on coast

of Campania, C. V, 50, 71 *sq.*, 74, 78, 97, 98, 112.
Pygmalion, prince of Tyre, kills husband of Dido, Pu. 1.
Pyrenees Mountains, divide Spain from Gaul, Sp. 1, 17, 28; H. 4; Il. 4; C. I, 140 *sq.*; IV, 2.
Pyrissaei, an Illyrian tribe, Il. 16.
Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, called by the Tarentines to their assistance, Sa. VII, 3; puts people of Tarentum under severe discipline, VIII; offers peace through Cineas in vain to defeated Romans, X, 1, 3; offers bribe to Fabricius, 4; dismisses prisoners to let them attend festival of Saturn, 5; makes truce and departs for Sicily, XI; driven out by Carthaginians, XII, 1; robs temple of Proserpina, 2; holds control of Adriatic, Il. 7; stands next to Alexander as military commander, in the opinion of Hannibal, Sy. 10.
Pythian temple, despoiled by Sulla, Mi. 54.

Q

Quintilis, month of, changed to July in honour of Caesar, C. II, 106.
Quintius, Roman general against Viriathus, Sp. 66; another, proscribed, father-in-law of Asinius Pollio, C. IV, 12, 27.
Quintius, Titus, drives back Gauls with great slaughter, G. I, 1.
Quintus, centurion, betrays Dolabella to Cassius, C. IV, 62; V, 4.

R

Rams, battering, Pu. 98; C, IV, 62; protected by the *testudo*, Mi. 73 *sq.*
Ravenna, city of the Boii near Adriatic, C. I, 89; II, 32; III, 42, 97; V, 33, 50, 78, 80.
Rebilus, proscribed, C. IV, 48; another, senator, captured and released by Menodorus, C. V, 101.
Regillum, town of the Sabines, K. XI.
Remus, brother of Romulus, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 3.
Restio, C. Antius, proscribed, C. IV, 43.
Rhaeti, Alpine tribe at head of Danube, Il. 6, 29.
Rhascupolis, Thracian prince, guides Brutus and Cassius to Philippi, C. IV, 87, 103 *sq.*, 136.
Rhascus, brother of preceding, *ib.*
Rhea Silvia, daughter of Numitor, K. I, 2; Fr. I, 2.
Rheginus, C. Antistius, proscribed, flees in garb of a coal dealer, C. IV, 40.
Rhegium (Reggio), town of the Bruttii near straits of Sicily, H. 44; C. II, 95; IV, 25, 39, 85; V, 81, 84; promised by triumvirs as booty to soldiers, IV, 3, 86; inhabitants of, killed Roman garrison, Sa. IX, 1 *sq.*; Fabricius delivers town to remaining citizens, 3; column of Rhegium, C. V, 85, 103, 112.
Rhesus, at siege of Troy, Mi. 1.
Rhetogenes, a Numantine, Sp. 94.
Rhine, river, Pr. 4; G. I, 5; C. III, 97.
Rhodians, of Doric descent, C. IV, 67, 79; bravely repel Demetrius, 66; complain to Romans against Philip, Ma. IV, VII, VIII; aid Romans against Antiochus, Sy. 22, 25; receive Lycia and Caria from Romans, 44; these provinces taken back, *ib.*; Romans incensed against them, Ma. XI, 3; C. IV, 66; defeat Mithridates in a naval battle, Mi. 24–26; again inscribed as allies of Roman people by Sulla, 61; contemplate surrendering Norbanus to Sulla, C. I, 91; send ships to Pompey, II, 71, 83; to Dolabella, IV, 60; but refuse them to Cassius, 61; Cassius makes war against them, 65 *sq.*; overcomes and fines them, 73; Lucius Varus left in charge of them, 74; their revolution after Philippi, V, 2; Antony gives

them certain islands, 7; takes them away again, *ib.*
Rhodoguna, sister of Phraates, wife of Demetrius Nicator, Sy. 67.
Rhodope, mountain in Thrace, Mi. 69.
Rhoeteum, town of the Troad, Sy. 23.
Rhone, river of Gaul, G. XV; C. I, 109; V, 66.
Rhyndacus, river of Mysia, Mi. 75.
Robbers, in Lusitania, Sp. 71–77; capture Decimus Brutus, C. III, 98; infest Rome, V, 132; suppressed by Octavian, *ib.*; Varus, proscribed, taken for a robber, IV, 28; robber seizes a proscribed boy, 30.
Romans, never cast down by disaster, Pr. 11; greedy of gold, Sa. XI, 1; Mi. 56; profess superiority in religion and good faith, Pu. 79; deliver twenty of their leaders naked to the Samnites, Sp. 83; lose 100,000 men in two years in war with Hannibal, H. 25; not experienced in naval affairs, Sy. 22; too credulous in respect of prodigies, C. I, 83; perfidy toward Spaniards, Sp. 61; toward Carthaginians, Pu. 67 *sq.*, 72; zeal in defending honour of the Roman name, Mi. 22; slaughter of Romans in cities of Asia, 22 *sq.*, 62.
Rome, captured by the Gauls, G. I, 1; C. IV, 95; "city of kings," Sa. X, 3; lustration of, C. I, 26; part of, consumed by fire, IV, 25; afflicted by famine, V, 18, 80; infested by robbers and delivered from them, 132.
Romulus, founder of the city, K. I, 2; II; Fr. I, 3, 4; war with Tatius, K. IV; said to have been killed for turning royal power into tyranny, C. II, 114.
Romulus Silvius, king of Alba, killed by lightning, K. I, 2.
Roscius, prefect of camp of Cornificius, C. IV, 56.
Rubicon, river separating Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, C. II, 35; III, 61.
Rubrius, tribune, C. I, 14.
Rubrius Ruga (or Rex), conspires against Caesar, C. II, 113.
Rufus, Q. Salvidienus, proscribed on account of his house, C. IV, 29; another, crosses the Alps, V, 20.
Rutilius Lupus, consul in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*; dies, 43.
Rutilius Rufus, military tribune, wrote history of Numantine war, Sp. 88.
Rutilius, legate of Sulla, sent to hold a colloquy with Fimbria, Mi. 60.
Rutuli, people of Italy, in Latium, K. I, 1.

S

Sabines, people of Italy on Tiber, K. III; peace made with Romans, IV; incited against Romans by Tarquinius, XI.
Sabinus, lieutenant of Calvisius, C. V, 81; purges Italy of robbers, 132.
Saburra, general of Juba, C. II, 45; killed by Sittius, IV, 54.
Sacriportus, near Praeneste, C. I, 87.
Saguntum, maritime city of Spain, colony of Zacynthus, embraces alliance of the Romans, Sp. 7; H. 2; Pu. 6; captured and destroyed by Hannibal, 10–12.
Salapia, city of Apulia in Italy, betrayed to Romans by Blatius, H. 45–47; Salapians answer Hannibal's stratagem by stratagem of their own, 51; Cosconius captures and burns Salapia in Social War, C. I, 52.
Salassi, Alpine tribe in east of Cisalpine Gaul, II. 17.
Salassus, Vettius, proscribed, betrayed by his wife, C. IV, 24.
Salernum, Roman colony in Italy, C. I, 42.
Salinator, C. Livius, consul, H. 42.
Sallustius (Salustius) Crispus, sent by Caesar to quiet mutiny, narrowly escapes, C. II, 92 (*see note*); prefect of Mauritania, 100.

Salona, maritime town of Dalmatia, Il. 11.
Salvidienus, lieutenant of Octavian sent against Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, C. IV, 85; sent to Spain, V, 20; recalled, 24, 27, 31 *sq.*, 35; detected in attempt to betray Octavian, put to death by him, 66.
Salvius, tribune, at first favours Antony, C. III, 50 *sq.*; afterward joins Cicero, is proscribed and slain, IV, 17.
Salyi, a people of Gallia Narbonensis, near Marseilles, G. XII.
Samaritans, in Palestine, Herod appointed king of, by Antony, C. V, 75.
Samnites, descendants of Sabines, Sa. IV, 5; engaged in conflict with Romans for eighty years, Pr. 14; Pu. 58; overcome by Cornelius and Corvinus, Sa. I, 1; defeated again, offer satisfaction to Romans, which is not accepted, IV, 1; humble the pride of the Romans at Caudine forks, 2–7; twenty Roman generals are surrendered to them, Sp. 83; Mithridates makes a league with them, Mi. 112; take up arms in Social War, C. I, 39; conquered by Sulla, 51; again by Cosconius, 52; gain right of citizenship later than other Italians, 53; join Marius, 68; Sulla slaughters Samnites captured by him, 87; Samnite leader Statius proscribed, IV, 25.
Samnium, part of Italy, adjoining Latium, C. I, 90, 119.
Samos, island near Ionia, Sy. 24; C. IV, 42, 134; captured by Philip, Ma. IV; captured by pirates, Mi. 63.
Samothrace, island of the Aegean sea, Ma. XVIII, 1; Pu. 71; temple plundered by pirates, Mi. 63.
Sangarius, river of Bithynia, Mi. 19.
Sapaeans, Thracian tribe, their mountain pass, C. IV, 87, 102 *sq.*
Sardinia, island of the Mediterranean, H. 54; Mi. 95; C. I, 107; II, 40, 54; V, 78; taken from Carthaginians, Sp. 4; Pu. 2, 5; war in it, H. 8; fruitful in corn, C. II, 40; Caesar appoints Q. Valerius governor, 41, 48; one of Octavian's provinces, IV, 2; V, 24; taken by Sextus Pompeius and again by Octavian, 56, 66, 72, 80.
Sardis, chief city of Lydia, Sy. 29, 36.
Sarmatians, at mouth of the Tanais (Don), Mi. 15, 120; Sauromatae, Basilidae, and Iazyges, at mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper), 69.
Sarpedon, building sacred to, in Xanthus, C. IV, 78 *sq.*
Sarpedonium, promontory of Cilicia, Sy. 39.
Sarus, river of Cilicia, Sy. 4.
Satraps, of Alexander, assume title of king after his death, Sy. 52, 54; kingdom of Alexander divided into many satrapies, Pr. 10; Sy. 52.
Saturn, temple of, where quaestors administered oaths, C. I, 31.
Saturnalia, Sa. X, 5.
Saturnia, town of Etruria, C. I, 89.
Saturninus, Cn. Sentius Vetulo, seeks to conciliate Sextus Pompeius to Antony, C. V, 52; goes over to Antony, 139.
Save, river of Pannonia flowing into the Danube, Il. 22.
Scaeva, centurion of Caesar at Dyrrachium, C. II, 60.
Scaevola, Mucius, pontifex maximus, C. I, 88.
Scamander, plain of, part of Troad, C. V, 138.
Scapula, proceeds to Spain with son of Pompey, C. II, 87; burns himself to death, 105.
Scarpheia, town of the Locri Epicnemidii, Sy 19.
Scaton, Vettius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40 *sq.*
Scaurus, quaestor of Pompey, prefect of Syria, Sy. 51; C. V, 10; convicted of bribery and banished, II, 24; son of above,

passes over from Sextus Pompeius to Antony, V, 142.
Sciathus, island near Thessaly, storehouse of robbers, Mi. 29; given to Athenians by Antony, C. V, 7.
Scipio, Publius Cornelius, consul, sent to Spain against Carthaginians, returns to oppose Hannibal, Sp. 14; H. 5 *sq.*; wounded and put to flight by Hannibal on the Po, 7; goes to Spain as proconsul, 8; Sp. 16; surrounded by Hasdrubal and killed, 16; Pu. 6; father of Scipio Africanus the elder, Sp. 18.
Scipio, Gnaeus Cornelius, brother and lieutenant of preceding, goes to Spain, Sp. 14 *sq.*; burned to death by Carthaginians, 16; Pu. 6; father of Scipio Nasica, H. 56.
Scipio, P. Cornelius (the elder Africanus), son of Publius, sent to Spain as commander while yet a youth, Sp. 18; Pu. 6; gives out that he is divinely inspired, Sp. 19, 26; Pu. 6; believes so himself, Sp. 23; besieges and captures New Carthage, 20–23; overcomes Hasdrubal, 24; also Masinissa, at Carmo, 25–27; exposes himself to great peril there, *ib.*; crosses to Africa to meet Syphax, 28 *sq.*; destroys Ilurgis and captures Castace, 32; mutiny in his army, 34–36; grants peace to Indibilis and comes to terms with Masinissa, 37; establishes colony of Italica, returns to Rome and enjoys triumph, 38; consul is sent to Africa, H. 55; Pu. 6; in Sicily he arms and equips three hundred young men as his bodyguard, 8; appoints Pleminius prefect of Locri, H. 55; proceeds from Sicily to Africa, Pu. 13; captures Hanno with aid of Masinissa, 14; also the town of Locha, 15; besieges Utica, 16; makes night attack on camp of Hasdrubal and scatters his forces, 19–21, 23; advances to Carthage, repels naval attack by Hamilcar, 24 *sq.*; winters before Utica, 25; has a colloquy with Syphax, whom he has taken prisoner, 27 *sq.*; punishes conspiracy in his camp, 29 *sq.*; armistice, 31; grants peace to Carthaginians, 32; peace broken by Carthaginians, 34; his magnanimity to Carthaginian ambassadors, 35; confronts Hannibal at Zama, 36; grants armistice to Hannibal, 37; armistice broken, 39; overcomes Hannibal, 40–48; embassies concerning peace, 49 *sq.*; conditions of peace, 54; Roman Senate deliberates, 56–64; opinion of Scipio prevails and peace is given to Carthage, 65; Scipio's triumph, 66; goes as ambassador to Antiochus, Sy. 9; conversation with Hannibal at Ephesus, 10; as lieutenant of his brother Lucius wages war against Antiochus, 21, 23, 29 *sq.*; fixes conditions of peace with Antiochus, 38; placed under accusation at Rome, but refuses to take notice, 40 *sq.*; his brother Lucius, Sp. 29; his son captured by Antiochus and returned without ransom, 29; his daughter Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, C. I, 17.
Scipio, L. Cornelius, brother of preceding, accompanies his brother in Spain, Sp. 29; as consul is sent against Antiochus, Sy. 21; his brother goes with him as lieutenant, *ib. sq.*; commands the centre in the battle against Antiochus, 31; *see also* Il. 5.
Scipio, P. Cornelius Aemilianus (the younger Africanus), Pu. 2; son of Aemilius Paulus, 101; Ma. XIX; Sy. 29; adopted into family of the Scipios, *ib.*; lieutenant of Lucullus in Spain, Sp. 49; vanquishes a Celtiberian in single combat, 53; sent by Lucullus to Masinissa, Pu. 71; mediator between Masinissa and Carthaginians, 72; as military tribune in Africa rescues detach-

ment of soldiers, 98, 103; also the camp, 99, 101; Phameas does not dare to attack him, 100; other tribunes envious of him *ib.*; gives advice to Manilius in vain, 102; his rising fame, 105; divides Masinissa's estate among his sons, 106; sent to Rome with Phameas, 109; while seeking election as aedile, is elected consul before lawful age, 112; C. IV, 92; arrives at Utica and frees Mancinus from position of great peril, Pu. 114; restores discipline in the army, 114–117; captures Megara, a suburb of Carthage, and forces Carthaginians inside of Byrsa, 117 *sq.*; gets possession of the isthmus and cuts off enemy's supplies, 121; a naval battle, 112 *sq.*; desperate fight for possession of a quay, 124; Scipio captures neighbouring towns, 126; besieges and captures Byrsa, 127–133; weeps over destruction of city, 132; pronounces a curse on its site, 135; C. I, 24; his triumph, Pu. 135; consul a second time, Sp. 84; marches against Numantines, *ib.*; restores military discipline, 85 *sq.*; makes preparations for investing Numantia, 87 *sq.*; draws a line of circumvallation around the city, 90 *sq.*; captures it, 96; receives title of Numantinus, 98; becomes patron of Italian allies and loses popularity at home, C. I, 19; found dead in his bed, 20; his brother Maximus Aemilianus, Sp. 90; his wife Sempronia, C. I, 20.

Scipio Nasica, son of Gnaeus Scipio, who fell in Spain, H. 56; another, thinks Carthage should be spared, Pu. 69; as consul, demolishes a theatre, C. I, 28; another, quaestor of the younger Africanus, sent to receive arms of Carthaginians, Pu. 8; as pontifex maximus makes an assault on the crowd of Gracchans at the Capitol, C. I, 16.

Scipio, L. (Asiaticus), escapes from Aesernia during Social War, in guise of a slave, C. I, 41; as consul commands army against Sulla, 82; has a colloquy with Sulla, and is deserted by his army, 85; dismissed with his son Lucius, without harm, by Sulla, 86.

Scipio, L., father-in-law of Pompey the Great, accused of bribery, is saved by Pompey, C. II, 24; colleague of Pompey in consulship, 25; leads army to Pompey from Syria, 60; commands centre of Pompey's army at Pharsalus, 76; proceeds with Cato to Africa, 87; obtains aid from Juba, 95 *sq.*; vanquished by Caesar and takes flight, 97; throws himself into the sea, 100; his image borne in Caesar's triumph, 101.

Scodra, town of Illyria, C. V, 65.

Scorba, mountain on boundary of Bithynia and Pontus, Mi. 19.

Scordisci, a people of lower Pannonia, Il. 2, 3.

Scordiscus, descendant of Polyphemus, Il. 2.

Scotius, mountain of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 210.

Scribonia, sister of Libo, her hand in marriage asked by Octavian, C. V, 53.

Scyllaeum, projecting rock in straits of Sicily, C. IV, 85; V, 85.

Scythia, Sy. 57; Mi. 102, 108, 112, 119.

Scythians, a people of northern Europe and Asia, Mi. 13, 78, 101; allies of Mithridates, 15, 41, 69, 119; their medical men, the Agari, 88; Scythians in Pompey's triumph, 116; their female rulers, 117.

Sedetania, town of the Celtiberians in Spain, Sp. 77.

Segeda, town of the Celtiberians in Spain, Sp. 44 *sq.*

Segesta, town of Pannonia near the Save, Il. 10, 17, 22, 24.

Seguntia, (or -ium) town of Spain, C. I, 110.

Selene, wife of Antiochus Pius, king of Syria, Sy. 69; her son Antiochus Asiaticus, 70.
Seleucia, on the sea, a city of Syria, Sy. 4, 58; thunder worshipped as a god, 58; Seleucus buried there, 63; on the Tigris, founded at a propitious time, 58; stronghold of Mesopotamia, Mi. 114; nine Seleucias built by Seleucus, Sy. 57.
Seleucidae, Sy. 65 *sq.*; Parthians revolt from, 48, 65; family of, reigns two hundred and thirty years, 70.
Seleucis, part of Cappadocia, Sy. 55; of Palestine, Mi. 117.
Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 1; C. V, 10; satrap of Babylon, expelled by Antigonus and flees to Ptolemy, Sy. 53; regains Babylon, 54; assumes name of king, and on death of Antigonus acquires other provinces, 55; omens formerly appearing to him, 56; surname Nicator, his strength, his wives, 57; cities built by him, 57 *sq.*; gives his wife, Stratonice, in marriage to his son, Antiochus Soter, 59–61; is killed by Ceraunus, son of Ptolemy 62 *sq.*
Seleucus, the second, Callinicus, father of Antiochus, Sy. 1, 66.
Seleucus, the third, brother of Callinicus, Sy. 66.
Seleucus, the fourth, son of Antiochus, Sy. 3; besieges Pergamus, 26; commands left wing of his father's army at Magnesia, 33; flees to Apamea, 36; succeeds his father and is killed by a plot, 45.
Seleucus, the fifth, son of Demetrius Nicator and Cleopatra, killed by his mother, Sy. 68 *sq.*
Seleucus, the sixth, son of Grypus, burned to death in the gymnasium at Mopsuestia, Sy. 69.
Sempronius, Gnaeus, Hannibal's prisoner, allowed to go to Rome to treat for ransom of all, H. 28.
Sempronius (or Septimus), Roman soldier in service of Ptolemy, the boy king of Egypt, C. II, 84; kills Pompey the Great, 85.
Sempronius Longus, T., consul, comes from Sicily with an army to oppose Hannibal, H. 6; defeated with Scipio at the Trebia, 7.
Sempronius, P., with remnant of the Roman forces from Cannae, breaks through the enemy, H. 26.
Sempronius Tuditanus, consul, sits in judgment on cases arising under the agrarian law of Gracchus, C. I, 19; finding the labour irksome, he marches against Illyrians, *ib.*; II. 10.
Sena (Siena), town of the Senones in Umbria, H. 25; C. I, 88.
Senate meets in the temple of Fides, C. I, 16; swears to support the Apuleian law, 31; cannot be convoked by one consul without consent of the other, II, 11; tribune of the plebs has right to dismiss, 29; presents itself before Caesar with decrees concerning him, 107; when games are in progress, holds its meetings near the theatre, 115; after assassination of Caesar meets in temple of Tellus, 126; a Roman Senate of three hundred men collects at Utica, 95; Senate of Sertorius, Mi. 68; of Belgida burned to death in senate-house, Sp. 100; Carthaginian Senate reproves rashness of the people, Pu. 35; Senate of Nuceria suffocated in bath-house, Pu. 63; of Acerrae thrown into wells, *ib.*; of the Vacenses put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.
Senatorial order, deprived of judicial function, C. I, 22; heads of senators suspended from the rostra, 71; senators of Marian faction put to death by Sulla, 94; interreges, 98; three hundred knights chosen for Senate, 100; senators carry Sulla's body to the Campus Martius, 106; senators assemble at house of

Bibulus, II, 11; go to meet Caesar in Gaul, 17; twenty senators lieutenants to Pompey in war against the pirates, 18; Mi. 94; Pompey addresses them, 50; three hundred senators proscribed, IV, 5; Octavian promises to his military tribunes and centurions senatorial office in their own towns, V, 128; senators go out to meet Octavian, 130.
Sentia (or Sentinum), town of Italy, C. V, 30.
Septimius, proscribed, betrayed by his wife, C. IV, 23.
Serapio, prefect of Cyprus for Cleopatra, C. IV, 61.
Sergius, proscribed, hides in house of Antony, C. IV, 45.
Serranus, prefect of fleet, Pu. 114.
Serrium, promontory of Thrace on the Aegean, C. IV, 101 *sq.*
Sertorius, associated with Cinna and Carbo, C. I, 65, 67, 85; departs to province of Spain, 86; receives reinforcements under Perpenna, 107; Sertorian war, 108–114; sends legates to Mithridates, Mi. 68; killed by Perpenna, C. I, 113; his white fawn, I, 110; his character, 112.
Servile war in Sicily, Sp. 99; C. I, 9.
Servilia, sister of Cato and mother of Marcus Brutus, C. IV, 135; beloved by Caesar, II, 112.
Servilius, Gn., consul against Hannibal, H. 8; sent by dictator Fabius to Rome, 12; returns to army, 16; approves Fabius's policy of delay, 18; loses his life at Cannae, 19, 22–24.
Servilius, Q., proconsul in Social War, killed by people of Asculum, C. I, 38.
Servilius Caepio, Q., brother of Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Sp. 70; succeeds his brother against Viriathus, *ib.*; procures murder of Viriathus by treachery, 74; vanquishes Tantalus, successor of Viriathus, 75; another, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40.
Servilius Casca, Q., conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 115, 117.
Servilius Casca, P., brother of preceding, C. II, 113.
Servilius Isauricus, consul, C. I, 103; accomplishes nothing against the pirates, Mi. 93; another, consul with Caesar, C. II, 48.
Servilius Rullus, general of horse for Octavian, routed by Antony near Brundusium, C. V, 58.
Servius Tullius, king of Rome, K. II; institutes *comitia tributa*, C. I, 59.
Sestius (Lucius: Appian wrongly Publius) proscribed, C. IV, 5.
Sestus, European town on Hellespont, Sy. 21, 23; C. IV, 82, 87.
Setium (or Setia), (Plutarch *Signia*), town of Italy in Latium, C. I, 87.
Setovia, town of Dalmatia, Il. 27.
Sextilius, lieutenant of Lucullus, besieges Tigranocerta, Mi. 84.
Sextius (or Sextilius) warns Marius away from Africa, C. I, 62; another (Sextius), condemned for bribery, C. II, 24.
Sextius, T. commands three legions in Africa for Caesar, C. III, 85; IV, 53; draws Arabio and Sittius over to his side, 54; kills Ventidius, Laelius, and Cornificius, and brings all Africa under control of triumvirs, 55 *sq.*; as lieutenant of Antony yields Africa to Octavian and delivers his army to Fango, V, 12; attacks and overcomes Fango and regains two provinces of Africa, 26; Lepidus deprives him of command of legions, 75.
Sextius Naso, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
Ship, sticking in mud of Tiber, H. 56; carrying fire, Sy. 24, 27; Romans burn Syrian, Sy. 46; different kinds and names of: *acatium*, C. V, 112; open ship (without deck), Pu. 75; *cercurus*, *ib.*; *celes celetium*, a fast-sailing ship, 13; Mi. 33; C. II,

56; *dicrotum*, galley with two banks of oars, Mi. 17, 92; *hemiolia*, one and a half banks, Pu. 75; Mi. 20, 92; *hexeris*, six banks, Ma. IX, 3; C. V, 71, 73; *lembus* (pinnace), Pu. 13; *liburnica*, II. 3; C. II, 39; *myoparo* (light piratical craft), Mi. 92; *oneraria* (ship of burden), Pu. 13; C. II, 56; *penteris*, *quinqueremis* (live banks), Pu. 75; Mi. 25; *phaselus triremis* (light vessel shaped like a kidney bean), C. V, 95; *praetoria* (flag ship), C. V, 80, 86; *remulus* (tow boat), Mi. 78; *rostratae* (beaked ships) Mi. 117; *tectae*, *cataphractae*, decked ships, Sa. VII, 1; Ma. IX, 3; Mi. 17.

Sibylline books, bought by Tarquinius, K. VIII; consulted by decemvirs during Hannibalic war, H. 56; prediction concerning Philip, Ma. II; forbid a war against Egypt, Sy. 51; C. II, 24; prediction concerning Parthians, 110.

Sicambri, a Gallic tribe, G. I, 4.

Sicily, claimed by Pyrrhus, Sa. XI, 1; he is driven out by the Carthaginians, 2; XII, 1; Marcellus hated by Sicilians, Si. IV; taken from the Carthaginians by the Romans, Pu. 2, 4; Si. II, 2; Scipio restores the temple gifts taken by the Carthaginians, 133; insurrection of slaves in, C. I, 9; Cato yields the government to Pollio, II, 40; Curio appointed prefect by Caesar, 41; afterward A. Albinus, 48; becomes province of Octavian, IV, 2; pro-praetor Bithynicus surrenders it to Sextus Pompeius, 84 *sq.*; conceded to him by triumvirs, V, 78; Lepidus seeks to obtain, 123; Octavian imposes tribute on, 129; infested by robbers, 132.

Sicoris, river of Spain, C. II, 42.

Sicyon, city of Peloponnesus, on gulf of Corinth, C. V, 55.

Sidetae, a people of Pamphylia, send ships to aid Scipio, Pu. 123.

Sidicini, a people of Italy in Campania, Sa. III, 5.

Sidonians, a people of Phoenicia, send ships to aid Cassius, C. IV, 61.

Silanus, consul elect, opinion on conspirators with Catiline, C. II, 5.

Silanus, lieutenant of Scipio in Spain, Sp. 28, 32.

Silvius, surname of the Alban kings, K. I, 1, 2.

Sinope, a town of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine, Mi. 78; captured by Lucullus, 83; statue of Autolycus there, *ib.*; tombs of kings of Pontus, 113; captured by Pharnaces, who surrenders it to Domitius, 120.

Sinorex, stronghold in Asia Minor, Mi. 101.

Sintos, Thracian tribe, against whom Sulla makes war, Mi. 55.

Sintricus, king of the Parthians, father of Phraates, Mi. 104.

Sipus, town of southern Italy, C. V, 56, 58.

Sipylus, mountain of Asia Minor, in Lydia, Sy. 30.

Sisenna, L., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95.

Sisinna, son of Glaphyra, obtains kingdom of Cappadocia from Antony, C. V, 7.

Sittians, followers of Sittius in Africa, C. IV, 54, 56.

Sittius Calenus, proscribed, C. IV, 47.

Sittius, Nucerinus, raises a military force in Africa, C. IV, 54.

Slaves, Senate frees and arms in Hannibalic war, H. 27; Fabius, lieutenant of Lucullus, does the same in Mithridatic war, Mi. 88; a slave occupies throne of Syria, Sy. 68; two slaves betray Piraeus to Sulla, Mi. 31, 34; price of a slave in Scythia four drachmas, 78; Italy endangered by vast number of slaves, C. I, 7, 9; slaves of proscripts enfranchised by Sulla, 100; slaves wear same garb as their masters, 120; slaves faithful to their proscribed masters, 73; IV, 22, 29, 39, 51;

a slave who betrays his master punished by triumvirs, 29; slave feigns himself a proscript, 49; manumission of slaves, 135; slaves in Perusia denied food by Lucius Antonius, V, 35; tax *per capita* imposed on ownership of slaves, 67; freedom decreed to slaves serving under Sextus Pompeius, 72, 131; Octavian returns them to their masters or puts them to death, 131.
Smyrna, city of Ionia, Sy. 29; C. II, 26; Smyrneans resist Antiochus and send legates to Flamininus, Sy. 2.
Sobadacus, Scythian put under arrest by Mithridates, Mi. 79.
Socrates, Athenian philosopher, Sy. 41.
Socrates Chrestus, brother of Nicomedes, and pretender to throne of Bithynia, Mi. 10, 13.
Sogdiani, a people of Asia between Jaxartes and Oxus, Sy. 55.
Soli, a town of Cilicia, Mi. 115.
Soothsayer, predicts danger of death to Caesar, C. II, 116, 153; prediction of an Etruscan soothsayer and his own voluntary death, IV, 4; soothsayer consulted, It. VIII, 1; admonishes Scipio to beware of fire, Pu. 29; predicts falsely to the consul Octavius that no harm will come to him, C. I, 71; Scipio drives soothsayers from his camp, Sp. 85.
Sophene, part of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 105.
Sophocles, Pompey quotes, C. II, 85.
Sophonisba, daughter of Hasdrubal, betrothed to Masinissa, but married to Syphax, Pu. 10; her heroic death, 28.
Sossius, designated consul by Antony, Octavian, and Pompeius, C. V, 73.
Sotera, a town of Parthia, Sy. 57.
Spain, exploited by Carthaginians, Sp. 5; by Romans, 14 *sq.*; reduced to province after expulsion of Carthaginians, 37 *sq.*; divided by Augustus into three parts, 102; arrayed in hostility to the Romans by Sertorius, 101; Mi. 68; C. I, 86, 108 *sq.*; war of Caesar with Petreius and Afranius in Spain, C. II, 42 *sq.*; with elder son of Pompey, 103–105.
Spartacus, Thracian gladiator, wages war against Rome for three years, C. I, 116–120.
Spartagena, New Carthage in Spain, Sp. 12.
Spoletium, town of Italy, in Umbria, C. I, 90; V, 33.
Spurius, M., conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113.
Staberius, appointed by Caesar governor of Apollonia, C. II, 54.
Stabiae town on coast of Campania near Mt. Vesuvius, C. I, 42.
Stabias, leader in Social War, C. I, 42.
Standards, taken from the Romans by the Lusitanians, Sp. 56; by the Dalmatians, Il. 28.
Statilius, conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 4.
Statilius Taurus, left by Octavian in command against the Dalmatians, Il. 27; lieutenant in war against Sextus Pompeius, C. V, 97–99, 103, 105, 109, 118.
Stola quadrata (a square-cut robe), worn by the Greeks, C. V, 11.
Strato, friend of Brutus, at Philippi, C. IV, 131.
Stratonice, wife of Seleucus Nicator, Sy. 57; stepmother and wife of Antiochus, 59–61; another, wife of Mithridates, Mi. 107.
Stratonicea, town of Asia Minor, in Caria, Sy. 57; Mi. 21.
Strongyle (Stromboli), one of the Aeolian islands, C. V, 105.
Strymon, river dividing Macedonia from Thrace, C. IV; 105 *sq.*
Suba, Numidian general of horse, deserts from Masinissa to Carthaginians, Pu. 70.
Suburra, street in Rome, C. I, 58.
Sucro, town of Tarraconensis, in Spain, C. I, 110.
Suessa, town of Campania, on Liris, C. I, 85, 108.

Sulla, L. Cornelius, quaestor of Marius, Nu. IV, V, lieutenant in the Cimbrian war, C. I, 77; as pro-praetor of Cilicia restores Ariobarzanes to his kingdom, Mi. 57; C. I, 77; lieutenant of Sextus Caesar in Social War, 40; overcomes Marsians, *ib.*, 46; also Cluentia and other places, 50 *sq.*; as consul departs to take command against Mithridates, 53; Marius, with help of Sulpicius, seeks to take the command from him, *ib.*; Sulla marches against Rome, defeats Marius and drives his faction out, 57 *sq.*; regulates affairs in the city, 59; marches against Mithridates, 63 *sq.*; obtains money, Mi. 22; despoils the temples of Greece, 54; besieges and captures Athens and Piraeus, 30–41; overcomes Archelaus at Chaeronea, 42 *sq.*; and at Orchomenus, 49 *sq.*; declared public enemy by Senate, 51; C. I, 73; peace conference with Archelaus, Mi. 54 *sq.*; crosses to Asia to fight Fimbria and Mithridates, 53, 56; grants peace to Mithridates, 56–58; gains possession of army of Fimbria, 59 *sq.*; regulates Asia and imposes heavy fine on inhabitants, 61–64; C. I, 76; writes to Senate, 77 *sq.*; returns to Italy with his army, Mi. 64; C. I, 79; gains Metellus and Pompey as allies, 81 *sq.*; puts his enemies to flight and enters the city, 89; proscribes senators and knights, 95; imposes heavy penalties on Italian cities, 96; assumes name of Fortune's Favourite, 97; created dictator, but is in fact king, 98 *sq.*; his constitution, 100; lays down dictatorship, 103; his death, 105; funeral, 106; his son, Faustus, *ib.*

Sulla, lieutenant of Caesar at Pharsalus, C. II, 76.

Sulpicius, C., dictator, overcomes Boii, G. I, 1.

Sulpicius Publius, tribune, of Marian faction, C. I, 55; perishes in war against Sulla, 58, 60.

Sulpicius, S., lieutenant of Gn. Pompeius in Social War, C. I, 47.

Sun, festival of, at Rhodes, Ma. XI, 3; C. V, 116.

Sutrium, town of Etruria, C. V, 31.

Synodium, town of Dalmatia, Il. 27.

Syphax, prince of the Numidians, Pu. 10; attacks Carthaginians, Sp. 15; marries daughter of Hasdrubal, who had been betrothed to Masinissa, Pu. 10; Sp. 37; joins Carthaginians in a war against Romans, Pu. 11; feigns friendship for Masinissa, 13; returns home, 14; seeks in vain to negotiate peace between Rome and Carthage, 17; openly sides with Carthage, 18; defeated and captured by Masinissa, 22; sent to Rome, where he dies of grief, 28.

Syracuse, city of Sicily, Si. II, 2; III; C. V, 70.

Syria, from the Persian rule to the Seleucidae, Sy. 52 *sq.*; C. V, 10; conquered by Tigranes, Sy. 48; Mi. 105; recovered by Antiochus, son of Pius, Sy. 49; and made Roman province by Pompey, 49 *sq.*; Mi. 106, 118; its governors from time of Pompey to Decidius Saxa, Sy. 51; Parthians make an incursion, C. IV, 63; V, 10, 65; governors after Saxa, Ventidius, V, 65; Plancus, 144; L. Bibulus, IV, 38; the son of Cicero, 51; different divisions of Syria, Pr. 2; Sy. 48, 50; Mi. 106, 118.

T

Taenarum, promontory of Peloponnesus, C. IV, 74.

Tagus, river of Spain, Sp. 51, 57, 71.

Talabriga, town of Lusitania, Sp. 73.

Talaura, town of Pontus, Mi. 115.

Talent, a money weight, Egyptian, Pr. 10; Euboic, Si. II, 2; Pu.

54; Sy. 38; Attic, Mi. 94; of silver, Sy. 56; Mi. 3; of gold, Pu. 127.
Tanais (the Don), river which separates Europe from Asia, Mi. 15.
Tangius, a robber, Sp. 77.
Tantalus, successor of Viriathus, Sp. 75.
Tarentine war, Sa. VII.
Tarentum, city in Calabria, Sy. 15; C. II, 40; V, 50, 80 *sq.*, 84, 93-99, 103; betrayed to Hannibal, H. 32; he takes citadel, 33 *sq.*; Romans recapture it by treachery, 49; its harbour, 34.
Tarquinius, Priscus, K. II.
Tarquinius Superbus, K. II, VII *sq.*; XI; C. IV, 95.
Tarsus, town of Cilicia, C. IV, 52; treated with severity by Cassius, 64; given freedom from tribute by Antony, V, 7.
Tartessus, town of Spain, at mouth of Baetis (Guadalquivir), Sp. 2.
Tatius, king of Sabines, K. III, IV; H. V, 5.
Taulantii, a people of Macedonia, Il. 2, 16, 24; C. II, 39.
Taulas, son of Illyrius, grandson of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
Taurasia, Gallic town on the Po, H. 5.
Taureas, a Capuan, single combat of, H. 37.
Tauri, allies of Mithridates, Mi. 15, 69.
Taurisci, a people of Pannonia, Il. 16.
Tauromenium (Taormina), town of Sicily near Mt. Etna, Si. V; C. V, 103, 105, 109, 116.
Taurus, mountain range of Asia, Sy. 29; Mi. 62, 106.
Taxiles, general of Mithridates, Mi. 70, 82.
Teanum, town of Campania, H. 27; C. I, 45; V, 20.
Tectosagi, inhabitants of Galatia, in Asia Minor, Sy. 32, 42.
Tegea, town of Syria (and of Arcadia), Sy. 57.
Tellus, temple of, C. II, 126.
Telmissus, town of Asia Minor between Caria and Lycia, Mi. 24.
Tempe, vale of Thessaly at mouth of Peneus, Sy. 16.
Tenchteri, people of Germany, on the Rhine, G. I, 4; XVIII.
Tenus, one of the Cyclades islands, C. V, 7.
Terentius Varro, C., consul, H. 17; hastens to fight Hannibal, 18 *sq.*; gives signal of fight at Cannae, 23; goes to Rome with remains of army, 26.
Terentius Varro, M., lieutenant of Pompey in war against pirates, Mi. 95; composes satire on triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, C. II, 9; philosopher and historian, proscribed, IV, 47.
Tergestum, sea-coast town of Istria, Il. 18.
Termantia, town of Spain, Sp. 76, 77.
Termesus, town of Spain, Sp. 99.
Terponus, town of Illyria, Il. 18.
Terracina, city on coast of Latium, Sa. I, 1; C. III, 12.
Testimus, leader of the Dalmatians, Il. 26 *sq.*
Teutones, a Celtic people, G. I, 2; invade Noricum, XIII.
Thapsus, maritime town of Africa, Pu. 94.
Thasus, island of Aegean, near Thrace, C. IV, 106, 136; V, 2.
Thebans, allies of Antiochus, Sy. 13; of Mithridates, Mi. 30; deprived of part of their territory by Sulla, 54; aid Arcadians against Lacedaemonians, Sy. 41.
Themiscyra, town of Asia Minor in Pontus, Mi. 78.
Themistocles, C. IV, 48.
Theodorus, freedman of Pompey, C. V, 137.
Theodosia, stronghold on coast of Thracian Chersonesus, Mi. 108, 120.
Theodotus, tutor to boy king Ptolemy, advises the killing of Pompey, C. I, 84; crucified by Cassius in Asia, 90.
Theophilus, a Paphlagonian em-

ployed by inhabitants of Tralles to kill Italians there, Mi. 23.
Thermodon, river in Pontus, Mi. 69, 78.
Thermopylae, pass between Thessaly and Phocis, Sy. 17; Mi. 41.
Thermus, lieutenant of Flaccus, Mi. 52; another, abandons Sextus Pompeius and joins Antony, C. V, 139.
Thespians, in Bocotia, besieged by Archelaus, Mi. 29.
Thesprotia, part of coast of Epirus, Il. 1.
Thessalians, Ma. XI, 1; liberty given to them by Caesar, C. II, 88; Thessalian cavalry serving with Brutus, IV. 88.
Thessalonica, formerly Therma, city of Macedonia on Thermaic gulf, C. IV, 18.
Thessaly, part of northern Greece, Ma. XI, 4; XVIII, 3; XIX; Sy. 13 *sq.*, 16 *sq.*; Mi. 30, 41, 51, 95; C. I, 4; II, 52, 64; IV, 100, 108, 117.
Thetis, mother of Achilles, C. III. 13.
Thoas, commander of Aetolian forces, offers aid to Antiochus, Sy. 12.
Tholus, town of Africa, Pu. 18.
Thoranius, C., tutor of Octavian, proscribed, C. IV, 12; another, proscribed, C. IV, 18; his son seeks the father's death, *ib.*
Thorax, buries body of Lysimachus, Sy. 64.
Thorius (Sp.), C. I, 27
Thrace, mother of Bithys, ancestor of the Bithynians, Mi. 1.
Thrace, country of Europe, on the Euxine, Ma. IX, 5; Sy. 23; Mi. 56, 95, 102; subject to Perseus, Ma. XI, 1; subdued byAntiochus, Sy. 1, 6; *see* Il. 1; C. IV, 38, 75, 87; V, 133.
Thracians, Mi. 6, 13, 41; attack Romans passing through their territory, Ma. IX, 5; Sy. 43; destroy Lysimacheia, Sy. 1; followers of Rhesus at siege of Troy, Mi. 1; allies of Mithridates, 15, 69; Thracian slingers, C. II, 49, 71; cavalry, IV, 88; abstain from sea, 102.
Thucydides, what he says of Epidamnus, C. II, 39.
Thurii, town of Italy on gulf of Tarentum, Sa. VII, 1; H. 34 *sq.*, 49 *sq.*, 57; C. I, 117; V, 56, 58, 62.
Thyatira, plains of, in Lydia, Sy. 30.
Tiber, river of Italy, C. I, 16, 26, 67, 88; V, 33; ford of, H. 56; bridge of, III, 91.
Tiberius Caesar, conquers Moesia, Il. 30.
Tiberius Nero, lieutenant of Pompey, Mi. 95.
Tiberius Pandusa,wages war against the Iapydes, Il. 10.
Tiberius Silvius, descendant of Aeneas, K. I, 1.
Tibur, city of Latium, C. III, 45; obtains right of Roman citizenship, I, 65.
Tichius, mountain at Thermopylae, Sy. 17.
Tigranes, king of kings, takes Syria and Cilicia away from the Seleucidae, Sy. 48, 69; Mi. 105; holds them for fourteen years, Sy. 70; son-in-law of Mithridates, 15, 67; invades Cappadocia, builds Tigranocerta, 67, 84; does not admit Mithridates to his presence, 82; vanquished by Lucullus, 85, 87; deprived of his provinces, Sy. 49; kills two of his sons, surrenders himself to Pompey, and yields provinces gained by war, Mi. 104, 106; receives Lesser Armenia from Pompey, 114; Mi. 67, 84, 86.
Tigranocerta, city of Lesser Armenia, Mi. 67, 84, 86.
Tigris, river of Asia flowing into Persian gulf, Sy. 57.
Tigurini, a people of Helvetia, G. I, 3; XV.
Tillius Cimber, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 117; III, 2; IV, 102, 105.
Timarchus, governor of Babylonia, Sy. 45, 47.
Timarchus, tyrant of Miletus, Sy. 65.

Timotheus, physician to Mithridates, Mi. 89.
Tisaeum, town of Macedonia, Mi. 35.
Tisia, town of Bruttium, H. 44.
Tisienus Gallus, lieutenant of Lucius Antonius, C. V, 35; of Sextus Pompeius, 104, 117; surrenders his army to Octavian, 121.
Titinius, friend of Cassius, C. IV, 114.
Titius, P., tribune, passes law for creating triumvirate, C. IV, 7.
Titius, lieutenant of Antony sent against Sextus Pompeius in Asia Minor, C. V, 134, 136, 140, 144.
Titthi, a people of Spain, in Celtiberia, Sp. 44, 63, 66.
Titurius, lieutenant of Caesar in Gallic war, C. II. 29.
Tolistoboii, a people of Asia Minor, in Galatia, Sy. 32, 42.
Torquatus, quaestor of Pansa at Mutina, C. III, 69, 76.
Tracheotae, a people of Cilicia, Mi. 92.
Trajan, Roman emperor, born in Italica in Spain, Sp. 38; war with Jews, C. II, 90.
Trallians (inhabitants of Tralles), a people of Lydia, Sy. 32; kill Italians residing among them, Mi. 23; revolt to Mithridates, 48.
Trebatius, leader of Samnites, C. I, 52.
Trebia, river of Cisalpine Gaul, battle of, H. 6 *sq.*
Trebonius, conspirator against Caesar, C. II, 113, 117; takes command of province of Asia, III, 2; captured and beheaded at Smyrna by Dolabella, 26.
Triarius, lieutenant of Lucullus, captures Apamea, Mi. 77; battle with Mithridates, 88; defeated by Mithridates, 89, 112, 120.
Triballi, the people of Lower Moesia, Il. 2 *sq.*
Triballus, descendant of Polyphemus, Il. 2.
Tribes, thirty-five in Rome, C. I, 12; ten, composed of new citizens, added, 49; tribes divided into curiae, III, 94; Claudian tribe, K. XI; *comitia tributa*, C. I, 59; III, 30.
Tribunes, military, wear gold rings, Pu. 104; twenty-four tribunes slain in battle, Mi. 89; body-guard for Antony composed of tribunes and centurions, C. III, 5; tribunes receive double the prizes of centurions, IV. 120.
Tribunes of the plebs, first created on sacred mountain, C. I, 1; re-election of, 21; veto, 23; repeal law concerning legal age of consuls, and re-enact it following year, Pu. 112; power of, much reduced by Sulla, C. I, 59, 100; under Sulla's law, *ib.*; wounded in Forum, II, 11; utter imprecations on Crassus, 18; have power to adjourn the Senate, 31; cannot leave city during term of office, *ib.*; tribunes friendly to Caesar ordered to depart from senate-house, 33; two tribunes removed from office and banished by Caesar, 108; IV, 93; persons of tribunes inviolable, II, 33, 108, 138; IV, 17, 93; cannot be prosecuted while in office, II, 138; have not right of taking omens, III, 7; may sometimes imprison consuls, IV, 17; tribune threatens consuls, Pu. 112; Octavian appointed tribune for life, C. V, 132.
Tribute, or tax, imposed on Jews *per capita*, Sy. 50; annual tribute of Syrians and Cilicians, *ib.*; five years' tribute imposed on Asia at once by Sulla, Mi. 62, 83; ten years' by Cassius, C. IV, 74; nine years' by Antony, V, 5, 6; tax imposed according to style of houses and number of slaves, Mi. 83; tribute exacted with outrages by collectors, 63, 107; Illyrian tribute, Il. 6; tribute imposed on allies and states that were exempt, C. I, 102; Roman knights act as farmers of tribute of provinces, II, 13; tax imposed on plebeians and women in Rome, IV, 5; tax on slaves and

on inheritances, V, 67; Antony imposes tribute on kings of Asia, 75; past due taxes remitted by Octavian, 130.
Tricaranus, a satire written by Varro, C. II, 9.
Triumph, certain Romans sought command of army through desire for, Sp. 80; Mi. 64; form of, Pu. 66; of Scipio Africanus the elder, *ibs*; of Pompey, Mi. 116 *sq.*; of Pompey before legal age, C. I, 80; fourfold triumph of Caesar, II, 101; captives put to death on Capitol, Mi. 117; Caesar rejects a triumph in order to stand for consulship, C. II, 8; Caesar authorized to wear triumphal garb while offering sacrifice, 106.
Triumvirs, for dividing public lands, C. I, 9, 13, 18 *sq.*; for settling affairs of republic, IV, 27; issue a proscription, 8 *sq.*; absorb all powers of government, II. 28; C. V, 95; triumvirate turned into tyranny, 39.
Trocmi, a people of Galatia, Sy. 32, 42.
Troy (or Ilium), Pu. 1; Trojan war, 71; Sy. 63; Mi. 1, 67, 102.
Trypho (or Diodotus), usurper of throne of Syria, Sy. 68.
Tullius, M., consul, C. I, 100.
Tullius Cicero, M., a "new man," C. II, 2; as consul overthrows conspiracy of Catiline, 3–7; saluted as "father of his country," 7; prosecuted by Clodius, goes into voluntary exile, 14 *sq.*; recalled by Senate, 16; votes in favour of sending legates to Caesar to treat for peace, 36; writes in praise of Cato, 99; favours amnesty after murder of Caesar, 142; praises Antony, III, 4; thinks Antony should be voted public enemy, 50; speech in Senate, 52 *sq.*; proposes a thanksgiving on account of defeat of Antony at Mutina, 74; proscribed, IV, 6; and killed, 19.
Tullius Cicero, M., son of preceding, proscribed with his father, IV, 19; previously sent into Greece, 20; betakes himself to Sextus Pompeius, 51; with Cassius of Parma, V, 2; after Civil War becomes consul, IV, 51.
Tullius Cicero, Q., brother of Marcus, lieutenant of Caesar in Gallic war, G. 20; proscribed with his son, and both put to death, C. IV, 20.
Tullus Hostilius, king of Rome, K. II.
Tunis, town of Africa near Carthage, Si. II, 3.
Turbuletae, people of Spain, neighbours of Saguntines, Sp. 10.
Turditania, part of Spain lying on the ocean, Sp. 16, 55, 61.
Turnus, king of the Rutuli, K. I, 1.
Turpilius, Roman citizen put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.
Turulius, Roman nobleman of party of Brutus and Cassius, C. V, 2.
Tyndaris, town of Sicily, C. V, 105; attacked by Agrippa, 109; captured by him, 116.
Tyre, city of Phoenicia, Pu. 1; C. III, 77; V, 52; Tyrians, Pu. 1; C. II, 83; IV, 61; V, 9.
Tyrrhenians (or Etruscans), origin, C. V, 49; Tyrrhenian sea, Pr. 3; C. I, 109.
Tysca, region containing fifty towns near Carthage, Pu. 68.

U

Ulysses, carries away Palladium from Troy, Mi. 53; his dream, C. V, 116.
Umbria, part of Italy, on Adriatic, H. 8; Umbrians, C. I, 36, 49.
Uria, town of Calabria, C. V, 58.
Uritanian territory, C. I, 89.
Usipites, a people of Germany, on the Rhine, G. I, 4; XVIII.
Utica, city of Africa, Pu. 13 *sq.*, 94; C. II, 44 *sq.*; besieged by Scipio, Pu. 16, 25; siege raised, 30; gives itself to Romans, 75; situation, *ib.*; Romans assign to it part of Carthaginian terri-

tory, 135; Cato placed in command of, C. II, 95; kills himself there, 98–100.

V

Vaccaei, people of Hither Spain, unjustly attacked by Lucullus, Sp. 51; Vaccaean and Numantine war, 76; Vaccaei accused of aiding Numantines, 80; largest town, Pallantia, besieged, *ib.*; Scipio plunders territory, 87; great slaughter of, 99.
Vaccenses, a people of Numidia, their Senate put to death by Metellus, Nu. III.
Valeria, daughter of Poplicola, It. V, 3.
Valerius, L., military tribune, Sy. 18.
Valerius, P. (error for P. Varinius), Roman general defeated by Spartacus, C. I, 116.
Valerius, Q., prefect of Sardinia appointed by Caesar, C. II, 40 *sq.*
Valerius Corvinus, overcomes a Gaul in single combat, G. X; created consul under legal age, C. III, 88; Sa. I, 1, 2.
Valerius Messala, lieutenant of Rutilius in Social War, C. I, 40.
Varinius, *see* Valerius, P.
Varius, M., sent by Sertorius to Mithridates, Mi. 68, 76 *sq.*
Varius, Q., tribune, proposes law to prosecute those who aid Italians to acquire Roman citizenship, C. I, 37.
Varus, L., prefect of Rhodes, appointed by Cassius, C. IV, 74.
Varus, river between Gallia Narbonensis and Liguria, C. II, 43.
Varus, Roman of consular rank, proscribed, is taken for a robber, C. IV, 28.
Vatinius, lieutenant of Caesar, sent to Illyria with three legions, II. 13; delivers them to Brutus, C. IV, 75.
Veii, town of Etruria, near Rome, It. VIII.
Venafrum, town of Italy in Campania, C. I, 41.
Ventidius, leader of Italians in Social War, C. I, 47; another, proscribed, traverses Italy in guise of centurion, C. IV, 46; another, lieutenant of Cornificius, 53, 55.
Ventidius, P., friend and lieutenant of Antony, C. III, 66, 80; consul, IV, 2; sides with Lucius Antonius, V, 31 *sq.*, 35; betakes himself to Antony, 50; sent by Antony against Parthians, 65.
Venus of Elymais, temple of, Sy. 66; temple of, at Rome, C. I, 93; Caesar vows temple and games to, II, 68, 102; III, 28; Caesar derives his descent from, II, 151; "Venus the Victorious" Caesar's watchword, 76, 104; temple of, near Tauromenium, V, 109; Venus Mountain, Sp. 64.
Venusia, city of Italy in Apulia, H. 50; C. I, 39, 42, 52; IV, 3.
Vermina, son of Syphax, Pu. 33.
Vespasian, Roman emperor, destroys Jerusalem, Sy. 50.
Vesta, temple of, Mi. 23, 54; C. I, 54; III, 92.
Vestal virgin, Rhea Silvia, K. I, 2; Vestals accompany funeral of Sulla, C. I, 106; offer public prayers for safety of Caesar, II, 106; III, 92; preserve treaties of peace, V, 73; sacrilege for man to enter their house, I, 54.
Vestini, a people of Italy in Samnium, on Adriatic, C. I, 39, 52.
Vesuvius, mountain of Italy in Campania, C. I, 116.
Veterans, dismissed after six years' service, Sp. 78; presented with lands by Sulla, C. I, 96; settled in colonies by Caesar, II, 119, 132; ready to be bought for any purpose, 120; urge Octavian to avenge murder of Caesar, III, 12; not willing to fight against Antony, 53; seek to reconcile Antony and Octavian, V, 57.
Vetilius, C., praetor in Viriathic war, taken prisoner and killed, Sp. 61–63.
Vettius Scaton, leader of Italians

in Social War, C. I, 40; Publius, I, 47.
Vettius, an informer, C. II, 12.
Vettones, a people on border of Lusitania in Spain, Sp. 56, 58.
Vetulinus, proscribed, perishes fighting, C. IV, 25.
Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, It. V, 3, 5.
Veturius, consul, sent under yoke by Pontius, Sa. IV, 6.
Via Sacra, street in Rome, K. IV; C. I, 59, 64; V, 68.
Vibo, town of Italy in Bruttium, C. IV, 3, 86; V, 91, 99, 103, 105, 112.
Vidacilius, leader in Social War, C. I, 40, 42, 47 *sq.*
Vinius, proscribed, C. IV, 44.
Virginius, proscribed, C. IV, 48.
Viriathus, Spanish general, carries on war of ten years against Romans, Sp. 60 *sq.*; assassinated at instigation of Caepio, 74; his funeral, 75.
Volas, one of the body guard of Octavian, Il. 20.
Volcatius Tullus, consul with Octavian, Il. 27.
Volsci, a people of Italy in Latium, It. I, IV; C. I, 1.
Volumnia, wife of Coriolanus, It. V, 3.
Volusius, proscribed, escapes in guise of priest of Isis, C. IV, 47.
Vulcan, Romans will not fight on day of his festival, Sp. 45; temple of, at Perusia, C. V, 49; the Perusians choose him as their deity, *ib.*
Vulturcius, of Croton, conspirator with Catiline, C. II, 4.
Vultures, twelve appear to Romulus and also to Octavian, C. III, 94.

X

Xanthippus, a Lacedaemonian, as general of Carthaginians, vanquishes Romans, Pu. 3.
Xanthus, city of Asia Minor, in Lycia, C. IV, 52; besieged and captured by Brutus, 76–80; citizens kill themselves, 80.
Xenophanes, ambassador of Philip to Hannibal, captured by Romans, Ma. I.
Xerxes, at Thermopylae, Sy. 18.
Xerxes, son of Mithridates, Mi. 108, 117.
Xiphares, son of Mithridates by Stratonice, killed by his father, Mi. 107.

Y

Year, in Roman calendar, regulated by Caesar, C. II, 154.
Yoke, Romans sent under the, Sa. IV, 6; G. I, 3.

Z

Zacynthus, an island in Ionian sea, near Elis, besieged by Archelaus, relieved by Romans, Mi. 45; Saguntum, colony of Zacynthus, Sp. 7.
Zama, town of Africa, Pu. 36.
Zenobius, general of Mithridates, persecutes inhabitants of Chios, Mi. 47; put to death by Ephesians, 48.
Zeuxis, general of Antiochus, Sy. 33.
Zorus, one of the founders of Carthage, Pu. 1.
Zygactes, river of Thrace near Philippi, C. IV, 105, 128.

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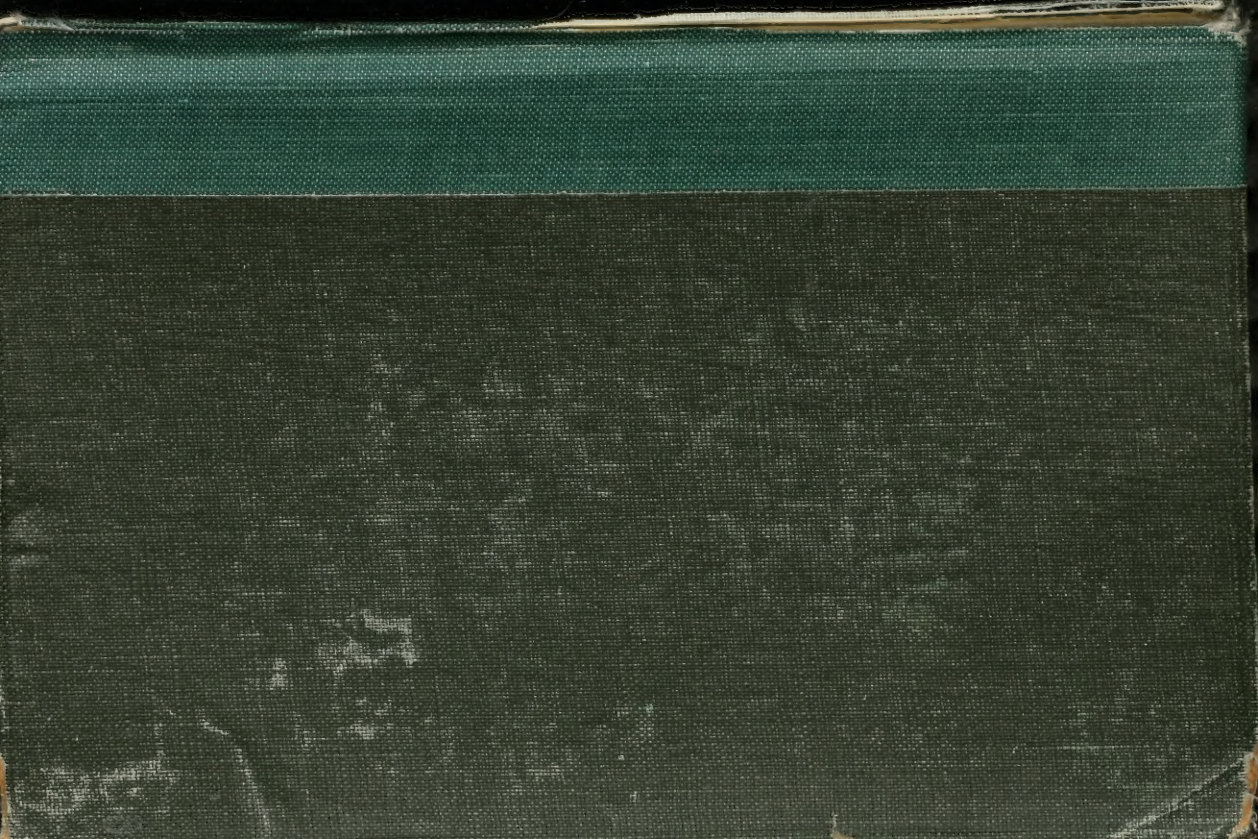
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